FRONTISPIECE to the PRIMITIVE MARTYRS.

But one of the Soldiers *with a* Spear *pierced his Side, and forthwith came thereout* Blood *and* Water. *John 19, Verse 34.*

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T. Smith sculp.

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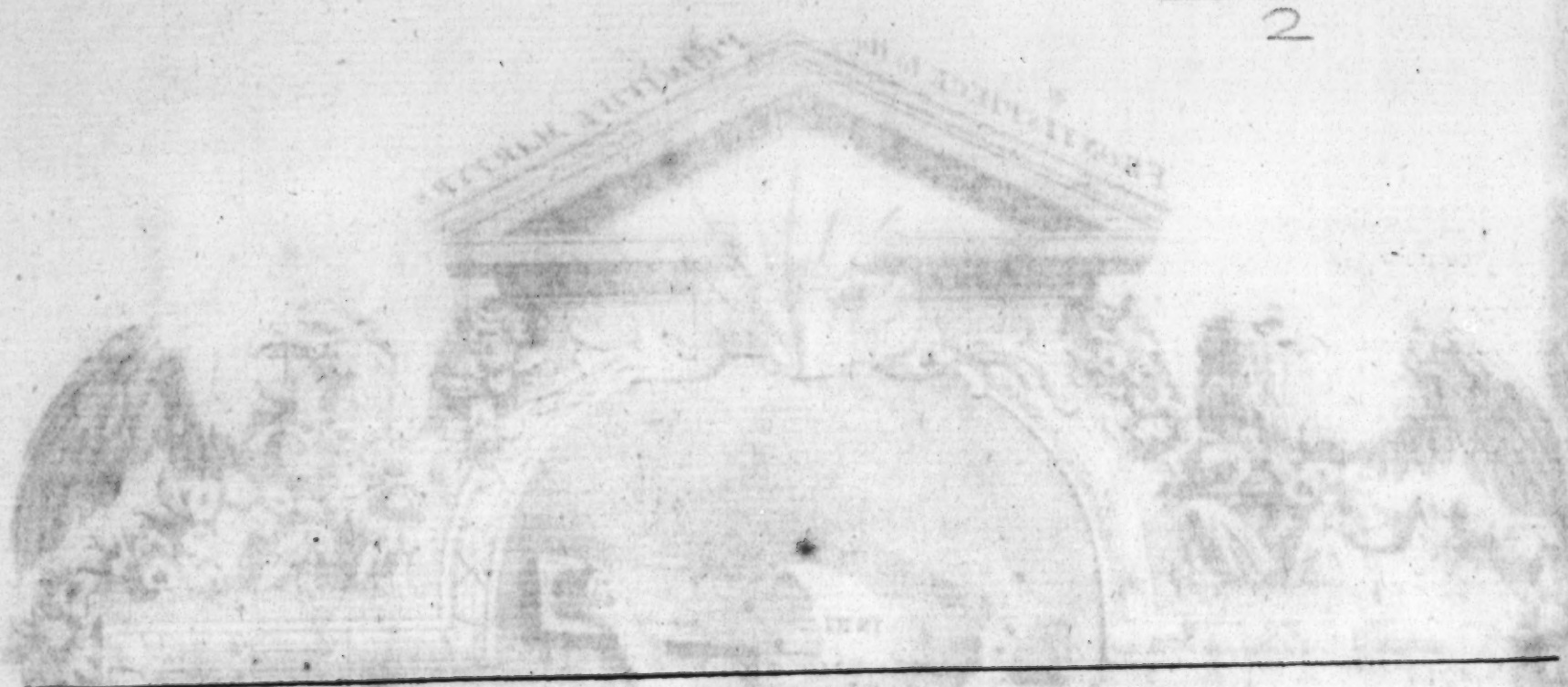

THE

LIVES

OF THE

PRIMITIVE MARTYRS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

LIVES

OF THE

PRIMITIVE MARTYRS,

FROM THE

BIRTH OF OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR,

TO THE

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY I.

WITH THE

LIFE

OF

Mr. JOHN FOX.

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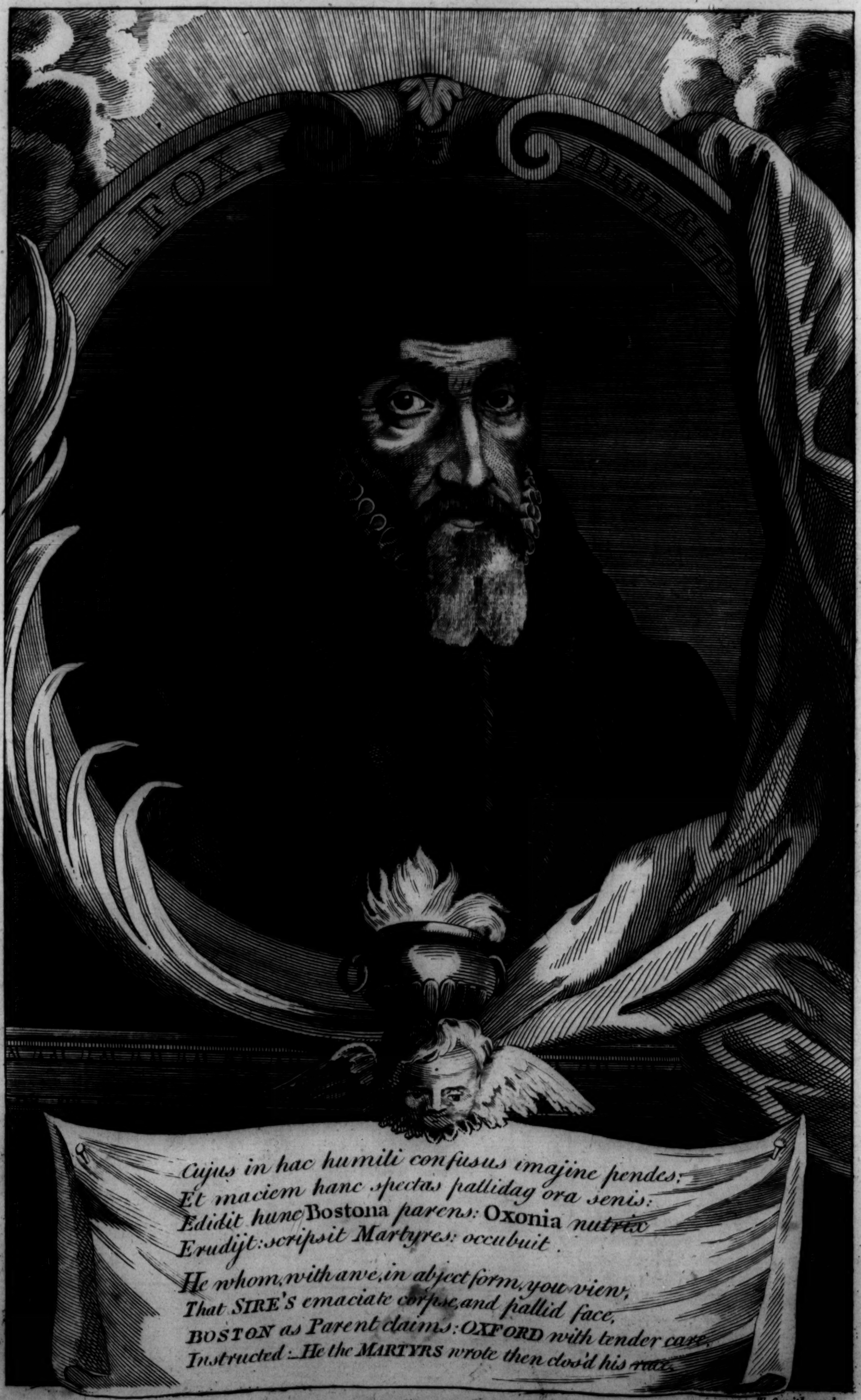

Cujus in hac humili confusus imajine pendes:
Et maciem hanc spectas pallidag ora senis:
Edidit hunc Bostona *parens:* Oxonia *nutrix*
Erudijt: scripsit Martyres: occubuit.

He whom, with awe, in abject form, you view;
That SIRE'S *emaciate corpse, and pallid face,*
BOSTON *as Parent claims:* OXFORD *with tender care,*
Instructed:—He the MARTYRS *wrote then clos'd his race.*

Published as the Act directs, for H. Trapp, Pater noster Row. *T. Smith sculp.*

THE

LIFE

OF THE

AUTHOR

Mr. JOHN FOX.

JOHN FOX was born in Boſton, an ancient town in the county of Lincoln, anno 1517, his father and mother being of the commonalty of that town, well reputed of, and of good ſtate. While he was very young, his father dying, and his mother being married again, he came into the tutelage of his father-in-law, with whom he dwelt during his childhood: which he had ſcarce paſſed over, when his friends well approving his good inclination and towardneſs to learning, ſent him to ſtudy at Oxford. The firſt nurſe of his more ſerious ſtudies, was Braſen Noſe college, where he was chamber-fellow with doctor Nowell, ſo famous a man in this city afterward, and dean of Paul's, that no great marvel it was, if their manners were ſo like in the courſe of their lives, whoſe education, and nurture in youth was the ſame. The native excellence, and ſharpneſs of his wit, were well ſeconded by the fitneſs of the place; where the emulation of equals was frequent; and where each ſtudent's proficiency was narrowly ſought into: neither was induſtry wanting, which as it ſeldom accompanieth the greateſt wits, ſo where it is conjoined is moſt available. By which virtues, when in a ſhort ſpace he had won the admiration of all, and the love of many, in reward of his learning, and good behaviour, he was choſen fellow of Magdalen-college; which being accounted a principal honour in the univerſity, and uſually due to the ſtudents of that houſe, was ſeldom, and not unleſs in regard of ſingular deſerts, beſtowed upon any other. It ſhould ſeem he deſigned the firſt over-branching of any early wit, to the exerciſes of poetry, and wrote divers Latin comedies yet to be ſeen, in a copious, and graceful ſtile, but ſomewhat lofty, which fault of writing, (in all things elſe ſo grave and temperate) he left not altogether in his elder years, though age, and experience did not a little mitigate it. But even then he began to give earneſt of what he afterward proved, for that neither thoſe firſt flouriſhes of his youth were ſpent, but in holy hiſtories of the Bible: nor followed he that vein long. He betook himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity with ſomewhat more fervency than circumſpection, and diſcovered himſelf in favour of the reformation then in hand, before he was known to them that maintained the cauſe, or were of ability to protect the maintainers of it: whence grew his firſt troubles. This was the time when king Henry the eighth uncertain what courſe to take, being at variance with the pope, and unreſolved in himſelf, thinking the affairs of the church (then grown to an infinite height of power and pride) neither in all reſpects tolerable, nor that it was neceſſary wholly to alter them, while he deſired to ſhew moderation in both, prevailed in neither, obſcuring an act, than which none was of more glory ſince the world began, by an unprofitable indifferency. Never before were the people in more diſtraction, or leſs ſecurity of their lives, and eſtates, there being in the laws ſuch contrarieties, as no man could tell what to take to with ſafety, or what to avoid. For although the pope's ſupremacy had been renounced, yet was his doctrine ſtill retained. The firſt news of the aboliſhing the pope's ſupremacy was as proſperous as welcome to the reformers; and divers joined themſelves to them out of love to the truth, being further aſſured of the king's intentions, by the puniſhment taken on ſome of the contrary part, and eſpecially when the abbies were diſſolved; nor was their hope a little increaſed, when they perceived the noblemen more or leſs to riſe in the good opinion and favour of the king, as any of them moſt oppoſed the pope's dominion. In the mean while the act of the ſix articles was ſtill in force, and if any were found guilty of the breach thereof, they were ſure of puniſhment. So that as long as the king held the middle way between his own genius, and the advice of his counſellors, feeding them with favours, upon which they could build no aſſurance, and pleaſing himſelf in his own ſeverity, fear and hope equally prevailed.

But when the protectors themſelves, and pillars of the reformed religion, were taken away; the duke of Suffolk by untimely death, the lord Cromwel by the ſword, the archbiſhop Cranmer and his friends borne down by thoſe of the contrary ſide; and that neither in the laws, nor the protection of the peers, there was any, the leaſt help remaining; then began all things to haſten back again headlong to their former abuſes, and that with ſo much the more violence, becauſe the conqueſt ſeemed a kind of revenge.

In the univerſities and ſchools there was yet no open change, or innovation: I know not whether through fear, or that they would not be followers.

This was the eſtate of the church affairs, when maſter Fox began attentively to ſeek into the ſubſtance of the controverſy, then in agitation.

He found the contention to have been of great antiquity, and no age to have been free from ſome debate in the church. But thoſe firſt quarrels were rather for dominion, and increaſe of territory. The Romans endeavoured by ſubtil practices, and pretext of religion, to retain under the juriſdiction of a high prieſt, the ancient honour of their city, which by open force they could not defend.

Then no ſooner could any ſhew himſelf to differ from them in point of faith, but the haſtening of his puniſhment prevented any infection that might ſpread itſelf among others.

Thus by their cruelty, and the patience of princes, who ſuffered it, the greateſt part of theſe diſſenſions were appeaſed: neither hitherto were all tracts of the old Roman virtue quite worn out, at leaſtwiſe ſome reſemblances of virtue remained among many things that were perverted, and by long time utterly defaced.

Afterward the pope grown bolder by good ſucceſs, began to draw to himſelf all power and authority, nor contented to have weakened the eſtate of the Roman empire alone, now longed to be fingering the ſcepters of other princes; and to compaſs his deſign, ſpared not to violate any human, or divine right: mean while the clergy little weighed with how great damage to religion, men of ſpotted life and converſation were ſometimes choſen to the papacy, by whoſe example the ſtrictneſs of life, uſed by their forefathers, was drawn into ſcorn, and their poverty into exprobration; the induſtry of the prieſthood languiſhed, and on the contrary ſide ambition, riot, and avarice began to reign among them. Then at length were the practices of the churchmen brought to light, and their deluſions laid open. It was then known why the ceremonies and rites in the church, had been brought to that exceſſive multitude, to wit, that the number of the clergy might be increaſed to perform them: theſe of neceſſity were to be maintained; and to that end were ſuch opinions broached, as ſeemed moſt likely to draw money from all places: of the dignity of works; of purgatory; of the power of abſolution, and the pope's indulgencies: all which being in themſelves falſe, and ſoon ſubject to decay, were thought fit to be cemented together with that new and ſubtil invention of the pope's infallibility in matters of faith.

By this handſome connexture, and linking one opinion to another, the credulity of the chriſtians was eaſily inſnared; all this while the new forged opinions yielding plentiful increaſe, and great ſums of money, by a hundred devices ſcrewed out of the clergy, and common people, came daily to the pope, and court of Rome.

I have often heard maſter Fox affirm, that the firſt matter which occaſioned his ſearch into the popiſh doctrine, was, that he ſaw divers things in their own natures moſt repugnant to one another, thruſt upon men at one time to be both believed: as that the ſame man might in matters of faith be ſuperior, and yet in his life and manners inferior to all the world beſides. Upon this beginning, his reſolution and intended obedience to that church, were ſomewhat ſhaken, and by little and little followed ſome diſlike to the reſt.

His firſt care was to look into both the ancient and modern hiſtory of the church: to learn what beginning it had; what growth and increaſe; by what arts it flouriſhed, and by what errors it began to decline; to conſider the cauſes of all thoſe controverſies which in the mean ſpace had ſprung up, and to weigh diligently of what moment they were, and what on either ſide was produced ſound or infirm.

This he performed with ſuch heat of ſtudy, and in ſo ſhort a time; that before the thirtieth year of his age, he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin fathers had left in their writings; the ſchoolmen in their diſputations; the councils in their acts; or the conſiſtory in their decrees; and acquired no mean ſkill in the Hebrew language.

By report of ſome who were fellow ſtudents with him, he uſed over and above his days exerciſe, to beſtow whole nights at his ſtudy, or not till it were very late to betake himſelf to reſt. Near to the college was a grove, wherein for the pleaſantneſs of the place, the ſtudents took delight to walk, and ſpend ſome idle hours for their recreation. This place, and the dead time of the night, had maſter Fox choſen, with the horror of ſolitude and darkneſs, to confirm his mind; which as a freſh water ſoldier trembled at the guilt of a new imagination.

How many nights he watched in theſe ſolitary walks; what combats and wreſtlings he ſuffered within himſelf; how many heavy ſighs, and ſobs, and tears he poured forth with his prayers to Almighty God; I had rather might be ſpared from this diſcourſe, than touched with opinion of oſtentation: but therefore of neceſſity, was it to be remembered, becauſe from hence ſprang the firſt ſuſpicion of his alienated affections. For no ſooner was the fame ſpread of his nightly retirements, but that the more underſtanding ſort out of their own wiſdom, others according as they ſtood inclined towards him, were apt to interpret all to the worſt ſenſe. At length thoſe with whom he was intimate, being drawn into ſuſpicion of him; there were ſome employed, who under pretence to admoniſh him, might obſerve his walks, and pry with more curioſity into his words and actions; and there wanted not others, who comparing his cuſtoms formerly uſed, with the preſent courſe he now took, did with more bitterneſs aggravate the fact. Why ſhould he not come to church, ſo often as in former times he had accuſtomed? Why ſhould he ſhun the company of his equals, and refuſe to recreate himſelf after his wonted manner, unleſs he had felt in his mind ſome ſudden alteration? nor if that alteration were for the better, would he conceal it.

Being thus reported of, ſurrounded with treacheries, and by every one accuſed; when the matter came to more ſevere ſcanning, and that he could neither hide his reſolution longer, nor, being a man of plain dealing, thought fit to excuſe himſelf by forging a lye; by the judgment of the college, he was convicted, condemned as an heretic, and removed the houſe. Nevertheleſs his adverſaries affirmed he was favourably dealt with by that ſentence, and might have been queſtioned for his life, if they had not rather uſe clemency towards him than extremity. But this wound raged worſe than was thought it would; his friends upon the report of this accident being ſorely diſpleaſed, and eſpecially his father-in-law, who was now grown altogether implacable, either through a real hatred conceived againſt him for this cauſe, or pretending himſelf aggrieved, that he might now with more juſtice, at leaſt with more ſecurity, withhold from maſter Fox his own father's eſtate. For he both knew it could not be ſafe for one publicly hated, and in danger of the law, to ſeek remedy by it; and that maſter Fox was by nature ſo ignorant in requiting injuries, that he would many times with much ado confeſs himſelf wronged, even then, when he had in his hands ability of revenge.

When he was thus forſaken by his own friends, and left naked of all human aſſiſtance, God's providence began to ſhew itſelf, procuring him a ſafe refuge in the houſe of a worſhipful knight of Warwickſhire, called Sir Thomas Lucy, to whom he was ſent for, to inſtruct his

his children: in which houſe he afterwards married a wife, and there continued till the children, coming to riper years, had now no longer need of a tutor. But the fear of the popiſh inquiſitions haſtened his departure thence; which now relying on the favour of the laws, were not contented to purſue public offences, but began alſo to break into the ſecrets of private families.

Oft would maſter Fox in the latter times of his life, with much vehemency of mind, in diſcourſe with his friends, deteſt the wretched condition of that departing; and ſay, That all other miſchances he had pretty well indured; but in this caſe the miſery was ſo much the greater; becauſe to have borne it patiently, would have ſeemed unnatural; having brought his faithful conſort, who intirely loved him, from her friends and kindred, whoſe grief and tears were with all officious piety to be comforted. It behoved him therefore, either to find ſome ſpeedy remedy, or in aſſurance of his love to weep with her. For in vain ſhould he ſhew an example of his conſtancy, where ſhe might rather ſuſpect her grief unregarded, than his mind unconquered with ſo great calamities. He conſulted therefore with himſelf what was beſt to be done, and of two ways only left, whereby he might free himſelf from further inconvenience, long debated, whether he might with moſt ſafety make choice of; either to go to his wife's father, or his father-in-law by marriage of his mother.

His wife's father dwelt neareſt, being a citizen of Coventry, not yet bearing any hatred towards him, and more likely to be intreated for his daughter's ſake. His father-in-law was better known to him, but more ſuſpected. At laſt he reſolved to go firſt to his wife's father; and in the mean while by letters to try, whether his father-in-law would receive him or not. His father-in-law's anſwer was, That it ſeemed to him a hard condition, to take one into his houſe, whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a capital offence: neither was he ignorant, what hazard he ſhould undergo in ſo doing: nevertheleſs that he would ſhew himſelf a kinſman, and for that cauſe neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come, on condition to ſtay as long as himſelf deſired: but if he could not be perſuaded to that, he ſhould content himſelf with the ſhorter tarriance, and not bring him and his mother into hazard of their fortunes, who were ready to do any thing for his ſake.

Maſter Fox his eſtate was at that paſs, that he thought no condition to be refuſed: beſides he was underhand adviſed by his mother to come, and not fear his father-in-law's ſeverity; for that, perchance, it was needful to write as he did, but when occaſion ſhould be offered, he would make recompence for his words with his actions. The truth is, he had better entertainment with both of them, than he any way hoped for: but ſo his buſineſs required, that he ſhould rely long upon neither; and therefore by often going to and fro, from the one to the other, (which carried with it ſome ſhew of buſineſs) he both deceived their diligence, who inquired after him, and effected, that neither grew weary of his company.

But howſoever he by this means kept himſelf concealed; yet certain it is, that no time of his life paſſed more unknown to poſterity than that; whether that while he did but little, which is ſcarce credible; or whether it more concerned them who knew what he did, that it ſhould be ſhut up in ſilence, than publiſhed abroad. For his own part, he always forbore with particular regard to ſpeak of that ſtory; leſt where he had deſerved ſo much, he might by extolling a ſmall courteſy, ſeem rather to upbraid the ſlenderneſs of the requital, than to ſhew himſelf thankful by remembering it. Afterward he took his journey towards London; but upon what motives is uncertain; unleſs we may imagine the convenience of the place enticed him thither; which being full of all ſorts of company, both inhabitants and ſtrangers from all places, might aſſure him ſufficient occaſions, whether he ſhould chuſe to conceal himſelf, or make known his abilities, and get acquaintance with thoſe of a like inclination.

By computation of times, I ſhould think the chief cauſe of his going thither to have been, that about that time religion began at length a little to recover itſelf, and gather ſtrength, eſpecially about the city. For he came not to town till within a few years before king Henry departed this life: who, as I ſaid before, though the kingdom were divided into factions, yet as long as his youth and ſtrength remained, ſo ordered the matter, that ſometimes the power of each party being equalled, and ſometimes one or other prevailing, by his authority both were retained in their obedience; but when he grew into years, perceiving his health every day impaired, and that his death could not be far off; he then began to conſider with himſelf which ſide was moſt truſty, and which moſt to be doubted; and at what age he ſhould expoſe his ſon to the raging hatred of the papiſts, who was yet by reaſon of his youth unfit to govern, and brought up in the diſcipline of a religion which they oppoſed.

He therefore at laſt reſolved upon that, which in reaſon ſeemed moſt wholeſome, and in the end proved moſt fortunate; and having put the papiſt officers from their authority, by his will he appointed his ſon ſuch tutors, whoſe love to himſelf he had always found readieſt, and by long trial of their fidelity, thought likely to continue the ſame to his ſucceſſor. This ſet religion again in ſafety: but howſoever the profeſſors thereof were thereby ſecured of their lives; yet hence no public benefit or profit was afforded them: ſo that Mr. Fox was ſtill in as much want as before, having already ſpent what either his friends had beſtowed on him, or his own daily induſtry had acquired.

I ſhould forbear to ſpeak of a marvellous accident, and great example of God's mercy, were not the matter ſo well known abroad, that it would be to no purpoſe for modeſty ſake to be ſilent.

As maſter Fox one day ſate in Paul's church, ſpent with long faſting, his countenance thin, and eyes hollow, after the ghaſtful manner of dying men; every one ſhunning a ſpectacle of ſo much horror, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have ſeen before, who ſitting by him, and ſaluting him with much familiarity, thruſt an untold ſum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer; adding withal, that he knew not how great the misfortunes were which oppreſſed him, but might ſuſpect it was no light calamity: that he ſhould therefore accept in good part that ſmall gift from his countryman, which common courteſy had enforced him to offer; that he ſhould go, and make much of himſelf, and take all occaſions to prolong his life; in the mean time let him know, that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood. Never could maſter Fox learn who that man ſhould be, by whoſe ſo ſeaſonable bounty in that extreme neceſſity he had been relieved; though he earneſtly endeavoured to find him out. Some who looked further into the event which followed that prophecy, believed that this man came not of his own accord, but was ſent by ſome others, who by all means deſired maſter Fox's ſafety; and that it might, perchance, be through the ſervant's negligence, that he ſuffered the extremeſt of all miſeries before the relief came. Certain it is, that within three days ſpace the iſſue ſeemed to make good the preſage, there being ſome ſent from the ducheſs of Richmond, who upon fair terms did invite him into her ſervice. It had ſo fallen out not long before, that the duke of Norfolk, the famous warrior, and moſt renowned general of his time, together with his ſon, the earl of Surry, a man as far as may be imagined of ſincere meaning, and ſharp underſtanding, was committed to cuſtody in the Tower of London; for

for what crimes is uncertain: While they were in priſon, the earl's children were ſent to the foreſaid ducheſs their aunt, to be brought up, and educated: Thomas, who ſucceeded in the dukedom, Henry, who was after earl of Northampton, and Jane, afterwards counteſs of Weſtmorland.

To theſe young lords was maſter Fox oppointed tutor, to inſtruct them both in manners and learning: in which charge he deceived not the expectation which the ducheſs, a woman of great wiſdom, had of him.

For the two ſons grew to that height of proficiency in their behaviour and ſcholarſhip; that building in their riper years upon this foundation, the elder, Thomas, ſeemed to deſerve more than the kingdom could beſtow upon him; and the younger, Henry, came to that happineſs, that he was able to meaſure his fortunes, not by the opinion of others, but by his own ſatiety.

The young Lady Jane profited ſo wonderfully in the Greek and Latin Tongues, that ſhe might well ſtand in competition with the moſt learned men of that time, for the praiſe of elegancy in both kinds.

There he dwelt during thoſe golden days of felicity, not ſeen long time before, in the laſt years of king Henry's reign, and through the five years reign of king Edward the ſixth (a young prince incomparably hopeful, and hope by perfecting the work begun by his father, paſſed all the acts of his predeceſſors) till the beginning of queen Mary's ſovereignty; who coming to the crown, and turning the ſtream of religion, all things again yielded to the papiſts authority; whence not long after, that cruel tempeſt proceeded, the noiſe whereof hath come alſo to the ears of our age; many who ſuffered in that common ſhipwreck, ſwimming out to theſe peaceful times, as to ſafe harbours of everlaſting tranquillity.

Among theſe maſter Fox made one, at that time ſheltered by the protection of the duke his ſcholar; yet not without the eyes of many, who for hatred or envy looked aſkew on him, and ſecretly laid wait for, by doctor Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who both ſaw ſomething in him, which he greatly feared, and alſo diſdained much, that the heir of one of the chiefeſt families in the kingdom, and neareſt joined to himſelf in friendſhip, ſhould by his company be depraved.

Of this man, becauſe he was maſter Fox's greateſt enemy, it will not be from our purpoſe to ſpeak ſomething further; that both their natures may the better be known.

The biſhop of Wincheſter was a man famous in his youth (for of his birth and parentage I have no certainty:) one that ſtood in the midway, between good and bad; and always as he grew elder, growing worſe. Induſtry, wit, and eloquence, nature had beſtowed on him: his pride, craftineſs, and deſire of bearing ſway, he learned of the cardinal.

Hence were his abilities fit for any employments, which he managed with exceeding diligence, to gain new honours; and having obtained them, he then put on boldneſs inſtead of induſtry, flattery for obedience; and inſtead of fidelity, deceit and compliments, and ſuch like frivolus faſhions of the court. He was, in bearing thoſe honours which his virtue won to him, cruel and proud: in regaining any that he loſt, able to weary any man with ſubmiſſion and humility. For in his fortunes alſo appeared as great diverſity, as in his conditions. Some while he was pleaſing to king Henry, and high in his favour; having by his pen maintained the king's authority againſt the pope: afterwards, when his prevaricating therein was underſtood, he was by the king ſlighted, and that he might be the leſs able to do hurt, ſtript out of his dignity. Under Edward the ſixth he was not only neglected, but impriſoned, and abid the reproach of a mean eſtate. At length in queen Mary's reign he was ſet at liberty, and being again reſtored to his former honours, he exerciſed not ſo much command as tyranny: till even ſick with envy, that cardinal Pool in dignity outſhined him, and with height of honours overſhadowed his glory, having often, but ſtill in vain, tried to cure his malady with a cardinalſhip, anger at length exaſperating his diſeaſe, he pined away.

After this manner began and ended that man, commended for many excellencies of mind, while he led a private life; but in his honours unbridled, and of no moderation; well might one ſay, nature had made him a worthy man, and fortune corrupted him.

Now maſter Fox, although he was cheriſhed in the boſom of a moſt loving duke; yet after he ſaw all ſorts of men troubled for their religion's ſake, ſome impriſoned, and others burnt; in brief, nothing on all ſides, but flight, ſlaughter, and gibbets; and that the biſhop of Wincheſter was the principal incendiary of all this, who for private reſpects was already his enemy; he then began to fear what might become of him, and to think of ſome ſpeedy way for his departure thence. As ſoon as the duke knew his intent, gently chiding his fearfulneſs, he uſed many words to perſuade him to leave all thought of going away; affirming it neither agreeable to honour or modeſty, for him to ſuffer his tutor, ſo well deſerving at his hands, at any time of his life to be taken from him: but that it ſhould then be done, was not beſeeming for him that deſired it. Let him but think with himſelf, how great a burthen of hatred his ſcholar muſt needs bear, among thoſe who were ignorant, whether he forſook him of his own accord, or were forſaken by him: yet that he intreated not to be excuſed from any hatred which might light upon him, if at leaſt he might do it with maſter Fox's commodity: but in flying what miſery would be wanting? baniſhment, poverty, contempt, and among thoſe which knew him not, the reproach of a runagate. That he acknowledged all this leſs evil than death; but that it was not yet come to ſuch extremity; neither would he ſuffer it ſhould: that he had yet wealth, and favour, and friends, and the fortune of his houſe: if the miſchance prevailed further, himſelf would partake of the danger, and make the deſtruction common: that he remembered with what precepts he had fortified his younger years; neither had he with more attention hearkened to his inſtructions, than he would with conſtancy put them in practice; only let him be of good courage, and ſo avoid the violence of his enemies, as not to be weary of his friends company: that this he ſpake, as hoping by his authority to prevail with him: but if that might not be obtained, he would then further him in the courſe he intended.

There was in the duke's ſpeech the more credit, becauſe it was known to proceed from the inbred ſincerity of his heart, and a moſt tender good will towards him: and he grew now aſhamed, not ſo much of that he had done in asking leave, as that he had believed his requeſt might have been granted: but his modeſty excuſed him: his anſwer being, That the ſame care befitted not the lord, and his ſervant: that it was indeed for the duke's honour to defend his tutor from any injury; but his own part, to have a care, leſt for his ſafety the duke might incur apparent danger, or perpetual trouble: neither that his fear wanted all excuſe. For tho' he well knew the duke could not be drawn from his promiſe and good intentions towards him; yet was he not ignorant, that by ſome wile or other he might be circumvented and deceived.

For even at that time was the biſhop of Wincheſter very intimate with the duke, relying upon the ancient obſervance he had always uſed to that family, by whoſe credit he had increaſed his dignity. Thither he often reſorted, to preſent his ſervice to the duke; and at ſeveral times deſired of him that he might ſee his old tutor. At firſt the duke denied his requeſt, one while alledging his

abſence, another while that he was ill at eaſe; ſtill after feigning ſeveral delays to put him off. At length it chanced, that maſter Fox (not knowing the biſhop was within the houſe) entered the room where the duke and he were in diſcourſe; and ſeeing the biſhop, with a ſhew of baſhfulneſs withdrew himſelf. The biſhop aſking who that was; the duke anſwered, his phyſician, who was ſomewhat uncourtly, as being new come from the univerſity. I like his countenance and aſpect very well, replied the biſhop, and when occaſion ſhall be, will make uſe of him. The duke ſtrait underſtood that ſpeech, as the meſſenger of ſome approaching danger; and now he himſelf thought it high time for maſter Fox no longer to remain within the ſame city, or within the ſame ſee, againſt the force of a crafty, and then open deceiver: but by all means, the biſhop's being ſick, muſt be prevented. From that time he cauſed all things neceſſary for his flight, with the leaſt noiſe that might be, to be provided; ſending one of his ſervants before to Ipſwich haven, to hire a bark, and make ready all things needful for the voyage: and becauſe it ſeemed ſcarce ſafe for maſter Fox to ſtay in any city, or place of reſort, he choſe out the houſe of one of his ſervants, a farmer, where he might with convenience expect the warning of a fair wind to put to ſea. Thither maſter Fox went as ſecretly as he could, taking his wife as companion in his travels, then great with child, but reſolved to go with him, not yielding to the intreaty of thoſe who perſuaded her to the contrary; and as ſoon as it was told him, his company expected him, he made haſte to the port, and went aboard.

Scarce had they weighed anchor, when ſuddenly a rough wind riſing from the contrary ſhore, troubled the ſea with ſo great violence of waves, that the ſtouteſt mariners began to tremble: then followed a dark night, with continual ſhowers, and a great multitude of clouds gathered together into a thick ſtorm of rain and hail, both hindered the ſeamen's work, and took away all poſſibility by the compaſs any longer to direct their courſe. That night with much ado they lay at anchor, and as ſoon as the day appeared, when the tempeſt ſeemed not like to ceaſe, they began to caſt about, and make back again to the ſhore: ſo that the tide a little favouring them, at length with much difficulty they arrived in the evening at the ſame haven again from whence they looſed the day before. In the mean while that maſter Fox had been at ſea, a purſuivant from the biſhop of Wincheſter had broke open the farmer's houſe with warrant to apprehend him, whereſoever he might be found, and bring him back priſoner to the city; but underſtanding he was gone already, after he had purſued him even to the port, and there found that the ſhip he was embarked in was yet ſcarce out of ſight, had returned back without his errand. Maſter Fox, as ſoon as he came aſhore, hearing by report of the people what had paſſed, although the news ſomewhat amazed him, yet recollecting himſelf, preſently took horſe, and made as if he would leave the town; but the ſame night returning, he bargained with the maſter of the ſhip to ſet ſail again with the firſt convenience of the winds; telling him that ſo his buſineſs required, nor did he much care what ſhore he landed at; only deſiring him to go forward, and not doubt but that God would proſper ſo pious a work. Whether for reward or piety's ſake, the pilot took upon him this venturous taſk, and performed it accordingly. For looſing thence in the night's ſilence, as ſoon as the tide turned, though the ſea were rough, and the weather bluſtering, within two day's ſpace he landed maſter Fox and his company in ſafety at Newport haven on the other ſide the ſea.

Whoſoever ſhall read this ſtory, needeth not a more evident argument, to force him to acknowledge, either the certain courſe of providence, or the uncertainty of all human forecaſt; when he may ſee the ſubtileſt deliberations of the wiſeſt heads oftentimes by errors come to no effect; often overthrown by ſudden accidents; and now and then thwarted by contrary counſels: and that all this is done to teach men to uſe their authority, as that the more power fortune hath conferred upon them, ſo much the leſs they ſhould know they are able to do of themſelves, and not deſpiſe thoſe that are of meaner condition. For that God regardeth all men alike, having made them in nature equal, and differenced them by degrees, not to ſwell the one ſort, or ſhame the other, but to exerciſe both their modeſties, or his own juſtice, if they neglect their duty.

Maſter Fox, when he had ſpent ſome few days at Newport, in refreſhing himſelf and his company, went to Antwerp, and from thence by ſmall journies to Baſil.

This city was at that time much ſpoken of for the great friendſhip and courteſy ſhewed to thoſe of the Engliſh nation: for which cauſe many famous men withdrawing themſelves from the cruelty of the times, had eſcaped out of England thither. Of theſe were many, but of ſlender eſtate, who, ſome one way, and ſome another, but the moſt part, maintained their livelihood, reviewing and correcting the eſcapes of the preſs; this place for careful printing, and plenty of diligent and wealthy men in that profeſſion, then ſurpaſſing all the cities of Germany; and preferring the induſtry of our men, in that employment, before any of their own countrymen.

To theſe men maſter Fox joined himſelf, ſo much the better liked of, becauſe having been always inured to hardineſs, and in his youth put to the trial of his patience, he had learned how to endure labour; and that which ſeemed the greateſt miſery to others, to ſuffer want, to ſit up late, and keep hard diet, were to him but the ſports of fortune. This, perhaps, may ſeem ſtrange to many, who remember maſter Fox to have been all his life long but a ſlender bodied man, and in his elder years ſomewhat ſickly: but let no man compare his old age, worn out, and eaten up with cares, and even by the courſe of nature ruinous, with the flouriſhing prime of his youth; which by ſo many his works appeareth to have been moſt healthful: whether it be, that in thoſe of indifferent ſize, an upright ſhape of the limbs and members may ſufficiently ſerve for health: or that the mind inflamed with deſire of virtuous actions, being content with its own abilities to purſue thoſe things it affecteth, needeth the leſs help from the body.

His induſtry from hence may be abundantly teſtified, that being ſo full of employment at Baſil, there nevertheleſs he began to write his hiſtory of the Acts and Monuments of the Church: a work by the title alone ſeeming beyond man's belief. At firſt it ſufficed only to mark it out, and to draw the firſt lines or rudiments, or as it were to faſten the warp to the loom: the whole body of the hiſtory he added, and interwove it, after he returned into his own country. Firſt, he wrote it in Latin, and ſent the copy to Baſil to be printed; where the work is ſtill in great eſtimation, as alſo in divers other foreign nations, among our own men hardly known, whilſt we ſeek after and admire ſtrangers only; either through careleſſneſs or envy neglecting our countrymen. Shortly after to gratify the unlearned, he wrote it in his mother tongue.

In the mean time, while the reformed religion began again to flouriſh in England, and the papiſt faction much to decline, by the death of queen Mary; a woman, while ſhe followed her own inclination, every way excellent, and well worthy ſo royal parentage; but while ſhe denied not any thing to ſome wicked counſellors, getting this, that ſhe both wanted that praiſe ſhe had otherwiſe deſerved; and if ſhe be not ill ſpoken of, it may be accounted the modeſty of the ſucceeding age, whoſe cuſtom it is either to commend, or at leaſt to tolerate all the actions of princes.

I dare neither affirm, that Mr. Fox foreſaw this ſudden change of the public affairs; nor yet (which by no

other I would do) will I take from him the teſtimony of the reverend and famous divine, doctor Elmare, ſometime biſhop of London; who in preſence of many yet living was wont to ſay, That he was himſelf at a ſermon, wherein maſter Fox, among many things that he preached, to comfort the baniſhed Engliſh, did with confidence tell them, That now was the time come for their return into England, and that he brought them that news by commandment from God. For which words he was then ſharply reproved by the graver divines there preſent; but excuſed afterwards by the event; when by comparing of times it was found, that queen Mary died but the day before maſter Fox had thus preſaged.

The whole chriſtian world ſtrait felt ſome benefit by this change of the Engliſh government.

The neighbouring nations, now diſburdened of the exiled Engliſhmen, rejoiced for the good fortune of their gueſts, as for their own. But at home what could be deviſed to aſſure their ſafety, or relieve their diſtreſſes, which they did not ſooner enjoy than preſume to hope for? They who had forſaken their houſes, were now called home: they who had ſuffered impriſonment, were now releaſed: they who by loſs of goods were decayed, were now by gifts repaired: they who had been thruſt from places of honour, were now reſtored to their former dignities: the unjuſt laws were in the mean while abrogated, and the wholeſome laws eſtabliſhed in their places: their minds were at quiet; their conſciences at liberty; all degrees at peace among themſelves, and every man's goods without danger. For in ſuch ſort did queen Elizabeth, even in the infancy of her reign, diſpoſe the affairs of the commonwealth, that whatſoever the long and proſperous government of other princes doth hardly produce in many years, at her very firſt entrance, all at once brake forth, beyond the people's wiſh, as if ſome deity had diffuſed itſelf, and poured forth felicity upon the world. Of which incomparable, and ſince man's creation, moſt glorious queen, to have made mention upon any occaſion, and not from thence taken cauſe of ſome further digreſſion, let it be counted for a capital crime among all writers of hiſtory.

She was born of the lady Anna Bolen, whom king Henry the VIIIth, after his divorce from his firſt marriage took to wife. From her ſhe received, as a princely dowry, a true zeal to religion. As ſhe grew elder in years, ſo ſhe increaſed in manners, wit and beauty, which as well make as beſeem a princeſs. So that both nature ſeemed to have boaſted in her, the maſter-piece of her moſt abſolute workmanſhip; and fortune to have raiſed her to as high a degree, as hope could ever aſpire to.

It made her the more capable of ſo great a fortune, that ſhe had firſt learned to obey; then to command, and to uſe that honour firſt to others, which was ſhortly after to be uſed by others to her: having in a private life had experience of the hatred, fatal to the ſucceſſors of great empires, yet of a more noble ſpirit, than to return the like upon thoſe who were to ſucceed her. As ſoon as ſhe came to the kingdom, her ſeveral virtues appeared at once in their brighteſt luſtre; eſteeming all vices, as well as men, beneath her. Her mind therefore deſcended not to an over-nice care of her body. The principles of her new ſovereignty were, to acquaint herſelf with the public reaſons of ſtate; to ſeek fit men to bear part of her cares; to ſtrengthen all parts of the kingdom with faithful miniſters; to know the natures and abilities of thoſe about her; and to ſearch into the ſtrength, councils, and attempts of foreign princes; but all theſe qualities, if not well tempered, might have had, perhaps, no long continuance. Such therefore was her gravity, as nothing more pleaſing; ſuch her ſeverity, as nothing more gentle; and ſuch her frugality, as nothing more bountiful. Only ſhe knew no meaſure in thoſe excellencies, whoſe glory is founded, not in the even balancing of different virtues, but as it were in the throng of illuſtrious actions. So was the nobility of her birth, heaped with deſire of glory; her religion, though moſt ſincere, ſeconded with zeal to a holy life; and her beauty, though of itſelf unparalleled, inriched by a reſolution of perpetual chaſtity. But when all theſe virtues brake forth into actions, good God, what days of happineſs we then enjoyed! What ever more cheerful, more ſecure or wealthy did England ſee, than that four and forty years of peace? for never voluntarily did ſhe provoke any with war, and always preferred the juſtice of the quarrel before the victory: To the Iriſh war, honour, and ſhame to have loſt a province, enforced her: To the French, piety, and pity of her neighbour's danger: To the Spaniſh, her own ſafety, and neceſſity, comprehending in itſelf the force of all other cauſes, compelled her.

In the progreſs of this war we heard of, and ſaw that which, perchance, never happened in any before. For other nations, tho' they fought with never ſo mortal hatred to each other, yet were their battles reſtrained to ſome certain fields and places; but this war was ſo ſcattered over all places, that managed with ſuch haughtineſs of courage on both ſides, that through all ſeas and havens from eaſt to weſt, the ſun might ſtill behold the Engliſh and Spaniſh navies fighting for their lives, honours or eſtates. Never till then had that ſea, which was accuſtomed to no other command but ours, frothed with ſtrokes of foreign oars. Nor would a large volume contain the diſcourſe, if I ſhould relate the number and ſtatelineſs of ſhips, the ſtrength of ſea and land forces, the multitude of munition, engines, weapons, guns, and proviſion of victuals belonging to that navy, which Philip the ſecond, king of Spain, with intention to raze out the Engliſh name, ſent hither in the year of our redemption, 1588. Let this ſuffice, that never was any preparation by ſea comparable to this fleet, made by any the moſt powerful princes or ſtates to be ſhewed in all the records of antiquity: yet that ſo hugh and threatening Armada, ſwelling with ſelf-confidence, and a preſumed hope of victory, was by the fortune of this invincible princeſs, even in a moment utterly defeated.

The navies met together, for number and ſtrength unequal: but the matter of the fight was to the Spaniards diſadvantage, becauſe the Engliſh veſſels being for bulk much leſs, and lower built afore, could with more eaſe caſt about for the wind, and immediately having diſcharged, retire to open ſea; thereby deluding the ſluggiſh and unweildy ſhips of their enemies, and by levelling at the broadſides of the Spaniſh galleons, beſtowing their ſhot with a more certain and ſucceſsful aim. To this, our captains in the ſkill of ſea-fight, and knowledge of the tides, far excelled the Spaniſh commanders, who now taught by the former day's experience, that they could no way but in a ſea-fight bear the Engliſh encounters, caſting their anchors near Calais, there expecting new forces out of Flanders, and by the goodneſs of their ordnance defended themſelves. This laid them open to the Engliſh for the victory. For having filled ſome ſhips with tow, pitch, brimſtone, and all ſorts of materials ſuddingly combuſtible, and ſetting them on fire, with a favourable tide, they drove them directly upon the enemies; who were by this action ſo exceedingly terrified, that the whole fleet, cutting their cables as faſt as they could, betook themſelves headlong to flight. In which flight ſome of their ſhips were burnt, ſome ſunk, ſome forced to run themſelves on ſhore, ſome ſplit upon the rocks, and ſome for haſte falling foul of their fellows, and ſo torn and bruiſed, were taken by our ſoldiers. Thoſe that ſcaped beſt, not daring to go back the ſame way they came thither, with long travel both by ſea and land, returned at length into Spain, by the coaſts of Scotland, and the iſlands of the Or-

cades, through thoſe ſeas, which in no ages had been ſailed on, but by ſuch as were very good at flying.

Where ſo great virtues and victories met together in one perſon, of neceſſity envy would be an attendant, followed by hatred and treacheries; which could not, by this moſt innocent queen, be ſo avoided, but that her ſafety (upon whom the ſafety of almoſt all nations in Europe depended) was thro' all her life daily indangered. Which maketh me the rather wonder, what rare doctrine of our adverſaries this may be, for piety's ſake which they pretend, perſecuting even virtue itſelf, whereas (not only in no heathen, but in none the moſt barbarous nation, which doth at all acknowledge any deity) it was never thought juſt to take revenge upon virtue (which certainly cometh neareſt to the nature of God) even in their enemies: unleſs it be ſo that the indulgence of the Chriſtian religion may be ſo far extended, that although we are commanded to forgive our enemies, either they muſt not be virtuous, or they muſt not be forgiven. But evident enough it is, that in human affairs, the deſires of men are often employed to one end, and the will of God to another. By him was queen Elizabeth protected always from the injuries and wicked enterprizes of her enemies, and brought full of years to that honour, as to carry with her that glory unſpotted to heaven, which ſhe won upon earth, envy now in vain barking at her after death, which cauſe all poſterity doth patronage.

Now let us return to our ſtory.

Maſter Fox, when by his friends he underſtood the happy news in England, that queen Elizabeth reigned, and that the ſtate of religion was ſure, and ſo like to continue, about the end of that year, in which this was in hand, came back to his country: ſo much ſpace he had taken to bethink himſelf, leſt (if by any inconſtancy of the people they ſhould grow weary of their preſent eſtate) he ſhould again be forced to ſeek his fortunes abroad: beſides, his family being then increaſed with two children, he was fain to ſtay, till money might from home be ſent him, to bear his charges in travelling. But before he could get from thence, he was informed that ſome hard ſpeeches had paſſed of him, as if thro' pride he had delayed to come, thereby ſeeking a ſhorter and more ſpeedy way to preferment, as being due to him, when he ſhould be ſent for: this he knew to be a caſt of their cunning, who themſelves with all earneſtneſs ſtriving for honours, feared maſter Fox, as a man deſerving, and like, if he would, to be preferred before them. Yet he thought it not worth his labour, to make any excuſe for ſuch a crime, as would of itſelf come to nothing: but equally deſpiſing injuries, and neglecting his own right, hid himſelf wholly in his ſtudy.

As in our bodies it is commonly ſeen, that thoſe men are more healthful, which uſe moderate diet and exerciſe, than thoſe which exceed in either: ſo I ſuppoſe doth the caſe ſtand with our minds, that he, who if fortune hath given him no rule, preſcribeth none to himſelf, can hardly perſiſt in the ſoundneſs of his duty; whereas he who uſeth modeſty in his fortunes, is always more freſh and vigorous for any illuſtrious undertakings. For maſter Fox being for his abilities famous, and ſupported, as I have ſhewed, with the friendſhip of great perſonages, might with eaſe have attained to whatſoever his deſires had inclined him: but affecting neither riches nor authority, the wiſhes of happy men, though his deſerts were equal with any, yet was he well contented to keep the conſcience of well-doing to himſelf, and that rewards ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of others. This I neither admit, as wholly to his commendation, nor yet find fault with, as many have done: let us at leaſt favour good men ſo far, as to allow virtue to chooſe what degree of fortune it liſteth to ſhine in; or if we will needs reſtrain it within certain limits, let us do it to thoſe who are good with hope of reward; as for them who are ſo for no deſign, if their glory overwhelm us not, we ſhall not need to fear their multitude.

I ſhall write of a life, bearing continually true and ſolid fruits, but not ſuch whereon the reader's ſenſes may ſurfeit; where neither the rare ſtratagems of war or peace ſhall be related, nor any ſuch diſcourſes as writers uſe, when they intend to captivate the ears of the hearers. I am to ſpeak of a life paſſed over without noiſe, of modeſty at home and abroad, of continence, charity, contempt of the world, and thirſt after heavenly things; of unwearied labours, and all actions ſo performed as might be exemplary or beneficial to others.

I have ſhewed before, that Mr. Fox firſt applied himſelf to write the hiſtory of the church, whilſt he was at Baſil; and that the cauſe he did not there finiſh it, was, that he might afterwards uſe the teſtimony of more witneſſes. This work, not a little vexed the minds of the papiſts. For well they ſaw, that in vain, they had ſpilt ſo much blood, and to no effect been guilty of ſo great cruelty, if an account of theſe proceedings muſt be rendered to ſucceeding ages: and that the work itſelf could not be taken out of men's hands, they well underſtood. There was therefore no other hope left, but by charging the author with falſhood, and feigning ſome cavils againſt him, ſo to leſſen his credit and authority; which whilſt Mr. Fox endeavoured to remove, and take away from himſelf, he could not avoid it, but muſt needs paſs much the lawful bounds of an hiſtory, by a new heap of matters and teſtimonies. And let us but by this judge of the induſtry of our author, that he not only gathered together ſo many ſeveral things, as the materials of his work, from all diſtances of times or places, and through all ſhires of the kingdom, collected the acts of both courts, and the records of matters judged, but alſo alone by a moſt diſtracted kind of diligence ſearched out, examined, freed even from moth-eating, and afterward reduced into convenient order thoſe things themſelves, being partly as it were ruſty, and eaten out by antiquity, partly by hatred or flattery of authors corrupted, and partly hid in the rugged and ſhort form of old writing. I find by the author's own notes, that in the eleventh year after he began to write it, the work was finiſhed; and very probable it is, that work ſhall live, which was ſo long in bringing forth: neither in all that time, uſed he the help of any ſervant about his writing or other buſineſs: ſo much doth induſtry employed to one purpoſe, and gathered into itſelf, afford more uſeful aſſiſtance, than being ſcattered, and the mind divided into many cares at once, though it hath never ſo many helping hands. I have often begun to conſider with myſelf, of thoſe two ſorts of toilings, which men eſteem an honour to undertake, which may be the more painful or more grievous, warfare or ſtudying. Many things ſeem to make for both ſides, but not in ſhew alike perſuaſive. For the miſeries of war being grievous, not only to thoſe who endure them, but even to thoſe that but hear them reported, as they give ſcope enough to the relator, ſo they make no light impreſſion in the judgment of the ſenſe itſelf: whereas the labour of ſtudying is chiefly conſiderable in the ſilent teſtimony of that, whereby life is maintained, and whereof only the intellect can determine. Thus is the queſtion transferred to the mind, and the body, that of theſe two, that may be thought to have the better cauſe, whoſe evils do in greatneſs outweigh the other. I will neither take to myſelf authority to decide ſo weighty a controverſy; nor yet will I conceal what I know many wiſe men to have thought concerning that matter: which is this, That thoſe evils which happen to the body, though they may be exceſſively raging and diſpleaſant, yet they uſe always to determine in one of theſe three, wearineſs, pain, or death; whereof the two firſt are curable by time, and aſſuaged by remedies, and the laſt valiant men uſe alſo to deſpiſe. Now the mind when it is overſtrained, though it produceth in

ſome

ſome ſort the ſame miſchiefs, yet it ſtopeth not at wearineſs or pain, but rather proceedeth to the ruin of that whereon even the life of man dependeth. For that in the evils of the mind, he who is once tired, cannot by giving over his work for a while, or abating ſome part of his diligence in labour, recover again his former ſtrength; nor overcome the diſcommodities he ſhall thereby indure, though with never ſo great abundance of other contentments. They do therefore conclude, that there is as much more miſery in this ſober than in that glorious kind of warfare, as there is more danger in loſing an appetite to meat or drink, than in having the meat or drink itſelf taken away; or to lie long ſick of a lingering conſumption, than to endure the ſmarting of a wound for the preſent; in ſum, that in war, a man loſeth more of his pleaſures, but in eagerneſs of ſtudying, more of himſelf.

The truth of this was, by Mr. Fox's example confirmed, who when he had, for many years, left no time free from thought of his ſtudy, either not at all, or not ſeaſonably affording himſelf what nature required, was at length brought to that paſs, that his natural livelineſs and vigour being ſpent, neither his friends nor kindred could by ſight remember him. By this means he firſt fell into that withered leanneſs of body, in which many afterward ſaw him, never again returning to that pleaſing and cheerful countenance which he had before; but when he would by no means be perſuaded to leſſen his accuſtomed labours, or lay aſide his ſtudy, to recreate himſelf, the cauſe of his hurt not being removed, the ſigns thereof did likewiſe remain.

From this time maſter Fox began to be much ſpoken of, for a good hiſtorian; the other virtues of his mind, as they were leſs known abroad, ſo being by that which was known overſhadowed. Shortly after, he began alſo for other endowments, to wax famous, not only as a man learned, but as one for his friendlineſs uſeful, and no leſs by art, than a natural inclination made to be helpful to others. But modeſty will not allow me, by way of journal, to rehearſe the voluntary pains he took upon him: in general to ſay ſomething of it will not be amiſs; and how, either by good advice, comfortable perſuaſions, or a charitable hand, he either relieved the wants, or ſatisfied the deſires of innumerable perſons; whereupon no man's houſe was in thoſe times thronged with more clients than his. There repaired to him both citizens and ſtrangers, noblemen, and common people of all degrees, and almoſt all for the ſame cauſe; to ſeek ſome ſalve for a wounded conſcience. At length, ſome who were likewiſe ſick in body, would needs be carried to him; but this, to ſtop rumours, he would not ſuffer to be uſed. For, becauſe they were brought thither, they were by ſome reported to be cured.

Thus ſpending the day at home in ſuch like duties, frequently preaching abroad, and going to viſit thoſe, who were not able to come themſelves to him, he both fulfilled that, which by the courteſy of his own diſpoſition was injoined him, and neglected not the performance of that duty, which the office of his miniſtry had impoſed upon him. That little time which his friends, either called away by other occaſions, or aſhamed of being too tedious, had left free to his own diſpoſure, he beſtowed not in ſleeping, or taking his pleaſure, but in prayer and ſtudying; in both which, he always retired himſelf into ſome private place apart, or made uſe of the night's ſilence for ſecrecy, unleſs by chance ſometimes the vehement groans he mingled with his prayers, being heard by ſome that were near the place, gave notice how earneſt he was in his devotions. For at no time of the night could any man come to find his labours ended; but often hath the next morning's light ſeen the laſt of his night's care diſpatched.

Now although theſe things be true, yet well I know there are many who will find fault, that I have ſo ſlightly paſſed them over; and demand, why I produce not the matters themſelves, as witneſſes of his actions, or at leaſtwiſe ſome particular example in each kind, that they may with more ſecurity give credit to the reſt. But many things there are which hinder me from ſo doing. Firſt, that common civility forbiddeth us, to publiſh abroad that, which the conſcience of another hath committed to our ſecrecy; and a very ill example ſhould he give, who ſhould not rather by all means conceal, than make known to the world, the ſecrets of private houſes, the jarrings of friends, and ſuch privy ſlips in men's lives, whereof it may either aſhame, or repent them: Next, that the matters themſelves, which uſed in the greateſt privacy that might be, to be diſpatched, could by no means come to our knowledge; or if by ſuſpicion ſomewhat were gathered, and that I ſhould inſtance in one or two particulars; yet what great aſſurance in the reſt, could I draw from hence.

I will now bring the laſt argument, I know not whether I ſhould ſay, of his ability or induſtry; that he, who ſo wholly had given himſelf to pleaſure his friends, that he had ſet apart no time for his other occaſions, yet wrote ſo much, as it might well have been believed, he had done nothing elſe.

I have here for their ſakes, who may deſire it, ſet down the titles of thoſe books he wrote; which are theſe, Comædiarum libri 2. Syllogiſticon. Admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapſis per errorem in Eccleſiam reſtituendis. Oliva Evangelica. De Chriſto gratis juſtificante. De Chriſto Crucifixo. Papa confutatus. Contra Oſorium de Juſtitia. Meditationes ſupra Apocalypſim Rerum in Eccleſia geſtarum Commentarii. The Acts and Monuments of the Church.

We are now come ſo far, as to be able from hence to give the readers a full ſight at once, of the reſt of maſter Fox's life; which ought, I ſuppoſe, in like manner to pleaſe them, as we ſee thoſe that travel, when they have been long tired with continual rugged ways and rough foreſts, and come at length into the plain and champain countries, are with the very change of ſoil not a little delighted and refreſhed.

In this, as it were, draught of his conditions, we ſhall firſt obſerve that which might well be thought the chiefeſt of his virtues; to wit, a deliberate and reſolved contempt of all things, which are in greateſt eſteem among men, and eſpecially of pleaſures: which mind of his, whether inbred by nature, acquired by diſcipline, or infuſed by God, did of neceſſity give him great ability to perform with commendation in whatſoever he liſted to take in hand; there being nothing which can miſlead the mind into errors, which would otherwiſe of itſelf hold the right way, but what proceedeth from ſome pleaſure or other; lying in wait to entrap us in our journey. But ſo did maſter Fox hold play with theſe enemies, as one who deſired not to ſave himſelf by flying, or ſhelter himſelf in ſome ſecret place of retire; but by often ſkirmiſhing, and experience in the manner of fight, to increaſe his own ſtrength, and give to others an example of fortitude; uſing to ſay, That they did no great matter, who forſook buſineſs and employments in the world, leſt they ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be allured and deceived by them. For, that the things were in themſelves innocent, and then firſt of all grew hurtful, when they were over-valued and purſued with avaricious deſire; which he that can beat back when it aſſaileth him, and ſtriveth to break in upon him, is deſervedly called temperate; but that he who was never in any temptation, may rather ſeem to have been good through want of occaſion to be otherwiſe, than by his own virtue.

He never therefore declined the friendſhip of illuſtrious perſonages; not to gain honour to himſelf, that thereby he ſaw his commendation would be more effectual, when he ſhould deſire favour on the behalf of others. The money, which ſometimes rich men offered him, he accepted, returning it back to the poor. He likewiſe

likewiſe frequented the tables of his friends, not for his pleaſure ſake, being of a ſpare diet; but both in courteſy to keep them company, and leſt any ſhould imagine, he either feared, or fled from the wreſtling, and ſtriving with voluptuous encounters, or that he thought himſelf, by being abſent, better defended againſt the pleaſures incident to eating and drinking, than by the guard of his own moderation. In a word, ſo did Mr. Fox behave himſelf in thoſe things which are followed by delights, that certain it is, none of thoſe who were always in his company, can remember any ſpeech or action of his, which might bewray the leaſt ſhew of a deſire to them; and ſo far was he from thirſting after honour, riches, applauſe, or any outward good, that he would at no time ſuffer the care of his private eſtate to enter his mind, much leſs that it ſhould by taking thought for his houſhold affairs, be overcome or drawn aſide: which either ſecurity of his, or, as ſome called it, ſlothfulneſs in his own fortunes, I will hereafter declare whence it proceeded. In the mean time, whilſt I conſider the cauſe wherefore he thought all other things ſo much contemptible, eſpecially ſince that could not be imagined to ariſe from any obſtinate diſdainfulneſs, much leſs from a ſleepineſs or ſluggiſhneſs of mind: I aſſure myſelf, it was only the love of God, wherewith his mind was ſo filled, and ſo much delighted, that he left no room, nor any affection free for other pleaſures, of his own accord, ſeparating himſelf from the faſhions of the world, of which he was not otherwiſe incapable; and devoting himſelf wholly to this care, like one who had found an invaluable treaſure, he bent his eyes and his mind upon this only, neither hoping nor expecting any thing beſides, but reſolved to make this the ſcope of all his wiſhes and deſires: whereby (as in ſuch a caſe muſt needs happen) it ſo fell out, that they who obſerved his mind ſo ſtedfaſtly fixed upon God, and that he both ſpoke and did many things beyond the opinion of an ordinary good man, believed that he could not be void of ſome divine inſpiration; and now ſome began, not as a good man to honour him, but as one ſent from heaven, even to adore him, through the folly of mankind, madly doting upon any thing, whatſoever their own will hath ſet up to be worſhipped.

I will neither mince the truth of any ſtory, nor will I with additions flatter report. Many things did maſter Fox foretell, by occaſion of comforting the afflicted, or terrifying thoſe that were ſtubborn, to which the event proved after anſwerable, and, perchance, in many things he was deceived.

It hath been already related, with what conſtancy, whilſt he remained at Baſil among his baniſhed countrymen, he ſignified the time of their return. It is likewiſe well known, what anſwer he gave concerning that noble and virtuous woman, the lady Anne Hennage, who lying ſick of a violent fever, when the diſeaſe had ſo far increaſed, that the phyſicians had pronounced it deadly, maſter Fox was called to be preſent at her ending, whoſe counſel and fidelity ſhe had often made uſe of, in matters appertaining to her ſoul's health. After he had performed what he came for, in reading prayers, and comforting the ſick woman, with ſuch perſuaſions as ſeemed good to him; Well have you done, ſaid he, and according to your duty, to prepare yourſelf for all events; but know this from me, That of this ſickneſs you ſhall not die. By chance, among thoſe who ſtood by, was Sir Moyle Finch, a well-known and honourable knight, the lady's ſon-in-law, who either moved with ſo unuſual a ſpeech, or deſirous to get ſomewhat more out of him, as ſoon as maſter Fox was a little withdrawn from the reſt of the company, began ſeemingly to chide with him; telling him, that he could not but marvel what his intent was, that contrary to the opinion of the artiſts, he being an unſkilful man, ſhould preſume to determine the end of the diſeaſe, and by ſo doing bring the ſick woman, by condition of her ſex, wavering, yet hitherto undiſmayed, to an impatience of dying, by giving her this hope and expectation of life: if his mother-in-law might be likely to live, that no man had more cauſe of joy than himſelf; but if her death were indeed at hand, it befitted no man leſs to diſſemble it, than he, who ought to provide for the good of her ſoul: that he did therefore, for the friendſhip he bare him, much fear, leſt, by that untimely word, he had loſt a great part of the good opinion which men had formerly of his truth and modeſty. To this maſter Fox, ſmiling, made anſwer, That for his part he hindered not any man to think of him as he pleaſed; but concerning the ſick lady, it had ſo ſeemed good unto God, that ſhe ſhould recover of that diſeaſe; and that he had ſaid no more than was commanded him. The lady recovered: nor can I in this tell an untruth, there being many yet living, who could reprove me.

Like to this, and no leſs true, was that ſtory of miſtreſs Honiwood, an honourable gentlewoman, who had almoſt twenty years lain ſick of a conſumption through melancholy, neither did any one ſeem to have advice or courage ſufficient againſt the force of ſo miſchievous a diſeaſe, though ſhe had already conſulted with the graveſt divines, and the beſt phyſicians, and with all, who either in the art of curing, or power of perſuading, were accounted to excel the reſt. At length ſhe ſent alſo for Mr. Fox. They who went along with him thither related afterward, that never had they entered into a more heavy or afflicted houſe. There ſate by the ſick woman to attend her, her friends, kinsfolk, children and ſervants, ſome upon ſeats, and ſome on the chamber floor, not weeping or ſighing, as thoſe commonly do that lament, but having ſpent all their tears, reſolutely ſilent, neither riſing to thoſe that came in, nor anſwering thoſe who aſked any queſtion, as if that alſo became their mourning; you might have gueſt them ſo many ſtatues of mourners in human likeneſs. The ſick woman lay upon her bed, without any hope of life, together with her frequent ſighs, faintly breathing forth ſome few words, the effect whereof was, That ſhe deſired to end her days. Maſter Fox when he had ſo many patients under his hands at once, not thinking fit, where a grief ſo violent would make ſtrong reſiſtance, to attempt any thing in vain, leſt, in not being by reaſon overcome, they might ſeem to have had reaſon on their ſides, left all other means of conſolation, and what he thought neceſſary to cure their afflicted minds, he diligently mingled with his prayers; ſo that within a few days, they who were thought impoſſible by man's help to be cured, did now ſeem, of their own accord, to begin to recover. At length, having farther endeared himſelf, he then told her, That ſhe ſhould not only grow well of that conſumption, but alſo live to an exceeding great age. At which words the ſick gentlewoman, a little moved, and earneſtly beholding maſter Fox, As well might you have ſaid, quoth ſhe, that if I ſhould throw this glaſs againſt the wall, I might believe it would not break to pieces; and holding a glaſs in her hand, out of which ſhe had newly drunk, ſhe threw it forth; neither did the glaſs, firſt by chance lighting on a little cheſt ſtanding by the bed-ſide, and afterward falling upon the ground, either break or crack in any place about it: and the event fell out accordingly. For the gentlewoman, being then threeſcore years of age, lived afterward for all example of felicity, ſeldom ſeen in the offſpring of any family, being able, before the 90th year of her age, for ſhe lived longer, to reckon three hundred and threeſcore of her children's children and grandchildren.

I could here relate many ſtories of like nature, but they, for the moſt part, being dead, who might juſtify the particulars, I will not intreat to be believed, where I cannot bring proof enough to deſerve it. That which followeth is more commonly known, than that it ſhould need to be confirmed by witneſſes.

Maſter Fox went one day, in duty, as his cuſtom was, to ſee the earl of Arundel, ſon to the duke of Norfolk,

and father to this right honourable earl now living. The earl, in his courteſy, when he was going away, brought him to the water-ſide, at the lower end of his garden; but obſerving the river very rough by the ſudden riſing of the winds, he counſelled maſter Fox not to truſt himſelf in ſo boiſterous a tempeſt upon the waters: but he continuing in his reſolution of going; So my lord, quoth he, let theſe waters deal with me, as I have in truth and ſincerity delivered to you all that I have ſpoken: and with that entering into the boat, before they could put off from the bridge, the wind ceaſed, and the river began to run with a ſmoother ſtream.

Being often aſked by his familiar friends, why he had no more regard to the ſtraitneſs of his own eſtate, it being the firſt precept of charity to begin at home; his anſwer was, That God by his covenant had the charge of his affairs, who well knew both what was fit for him, and when to beſtow it; and ſince he had never yet failed him, when could he begin to doubt of him, without manifeſt ingratitude?

Theſe and ſuch like things, although by all men much wondered at, yet dare I not preſume to affirm, what that was in all theſe actions, which did principally tend to maſter Fox's commendation: whether it be, that the mind by how much the purer and more ſublime it is, ſeeth ſo much the farther: or whether there be ſome hidden cauſe, why God may be pleaſed ſometimes to declare his purpoſes, by men, not ſpeaking out of their own knowledge, but as they are moved.

We muſt make haſte now to other matters, in which there was nothing that ſo much won to maſter Fox the love of the people, as the pity he uſually ſhewed to all ſorts of men in diſtreſs; and ſome you may find, who affirm, that maſter Fox not only gave away to the poor his money, but his cloaths and houſhold-ſtuff alſo, without his wife's privity; which modeſty forbiddeth me to maintain for truth. For ſince I know well enough, that many things, concerning the reſt of his behaviour, have been either feigned, or amplified by the affections of men, I ought not a little to ſuſpect, leſt in this they have done the like. True it is, that maſter Fox gave largely to the poor, and therein exceeded the meaſure of his own ſubſtance; but that his bounty ever proceeded to the diſfurniſhing of his houſe, I neither have any author worth the credit, who avoucheth it; nor is it likely that he ſhould deſcend to ſuch extreme courſes, who by the liberality of others that ſupplied him with money to that purpoſe, wanted not ſufficient means to ſhew his charity.

All theſe virtues of his were fenced about, as with a bulwark, by a ſingular modeſty and integrity of life; which ſuffered not any thing either to enter into his manners, or to break forth in his actions, but what was firſt with much diligence ſearched into and examined, whether it might beſeem him or not; which alſo having always before him, if at any time, by the condition of man's frailty, aught within began to be ſhaken, yet was proviſion quickly made, before the matter proceeded to any great breach in his manners, by forſaking all commerce with any kind of vices, againſt which the ſhame to do evil, and the regard he had to his own credit, kept a continual watch and ward.

Yet for all this there want not ſome, who accuſe maſter Fox of injuſtice, in the higheſt degree; which injury, becauſe many are intereſted in, I ſhall further inquire into.

Maſter Fox in that part of his hiſtory, wherein he deſcribeth the lamentable troubles in the five years reign of queen Mary, hath by name mentioned not only the authors of thoſe executions, but alſo many, who were but miniſters and aſſiſtants, among whom were ſome perſons of great note. This, ſome of their poſterity complain to have been done unjuſtly by maſter Fox, and that the fatal neceſſity of thoſe times, their modeſty in obeying, or the publick offices impoſed upon them, ought not to be a ſcandal to them, or their poſterity. Now though I might juſtly anſwer theſe men, that the ſame excuſe of neceſſity, which they alledge for their anceſtors, ought to ſuffice on maſter Fox's behalf, ſince he could no way leave the miniſters nameleſs, but he ſhould leave his adverſaries occaſion of cavilling at his ſtory: yet willingly would I give them further ſatisfaction, than they can in juſtice challenge; deſiring, that what hath been done might poſſibly have been done otherwiſe, and intreating them, not to ſuppoſe that done with a thought of hurting, which was only the fortune of thoſe who were hurt; in the mean while, notwithſtanding, I adviſe them, that they join not their grief, with the anger of thoſe men, who are offended with maſter Fox for a far different cauſe, and under colour of the perſons, ſtrike at a matter of another condition, there being two ſorts of men, who in this reſpect complain they are injured, the one out of nature, the other out of faction. To the firſt, as their due, I willingly grant all benefit that courteſy can afford them. Though they are angry, they are ſtill ſubjects, and in their obedience: neither would I make ſo light of the grief, though unjuſtly taken by any good ſubject, as not rather to loſe a part of my right, than that he ſhould relinquiſh any part of his loyalty. To the laſt, I have ſomewhat elſe to ſay, as to men, who had the fortune to fall out firſt with their country, and to have that as the true and principal cauſe of their hatred, than to grow angry with maſter Fox, whom they hate not, but for their country's ſake. To theſe men I am ſo far from thinking any ſatisfaction due, as that I cannot afford them the favour of reaſoning with them, which is granted even to enemies. For the ſafety of civil intercourſe, and all hope of reconcilement they have taken away, and broken all ties of human ſociety: and what can I hope he ſhould ever after do, either like an underſtanding man, or like a man at all, who could forſake his duty to his country? which alone ſo draweth into itſelf the power and right of all duties, that according as any man ſheweth more or leſs love towards it, ſo may the moſt infallible judgment be given, how he ſtandeth affected towards God. But if they ſay, their country hath failed in its duty: firſt, that will be a queſtion, whether it hath failed or not, and how far it hath failed; but it is without all controverſy their duty to let paſs any diſcontent for their country's ſake: next, how bold a face muſt he have, who being himſelf a party to an action, of which God only can determine, ſhould preſume to make himſelf his own judge, and (not content to have ſet at naught that authority, which amongſt men is moſt weighty), neither grant to his country ſpace of appealing, nor await the judgment of Almighty God, but as if he had already won the day, ſeize all things beforehand by foul and ſtubborn attempts, and rather gratify an enemy with his diſloyalty, than perform his duty to his country ſo well deſerving it? So that if it ſhould happen at any time, that this famous kingdom, which is not impoſſible in this ſtate of human weakneſs, ſhould err in any part of duty towards God, yet might moſt dangerous examples of treachery be given, if when any man ſhall have a deſire to his country's deſtruction, he may by excuſe of his country's crime, not only ſeem to have quitted himſelf of ſo heinous a fault, but alſo to have done what his duty required.

This I have ſpoken of the more largely, becauſe I underſtand that many of our own party think fit, that ſome anſwer ſhould be made to the papiſts, concerning the evil ſpeeches they have uſed againſt maſter Fox. To ſatisfy whoſe deſire in a few words, let us firſt ſee what thoſe evil ſpeeches are: that he is a lying author: it is therefore a lye, that maſter Rogers, archbiſhop Cranmer, biſhop Hooper, biſhop Ridley, biſhop Latimer, and other moſt holy and innocent men of the ſame train were burned for their religion. But if this, even by their own confeſſion, be true, what, I marvel, may thoſe matters be, by whoſe falſhood the reſt of the whole work hath

incurred the infamous title of a lye, as they do make their followers believe? Some things they alledge miſtaken in the names or number of ſuch as ſuffered, or in the time of their ſuffering, which were either recalled in the following editions, or by the author ſo well defended, that as long as he lived no man exclaimed any more. Some things they likewiſe urge in the hiſtory of former ages, contradicted by the hiſtoriographers themſelves, which they might eaſily do, in ſo great contention of differing opinions, that whatſoever author a man ſhould follow, he muſt ſtill fall into the ſame inconvenience. Yet all they can ſay is of ſuch a nature, as neither we much care if it were true, nor they if it be falſe. But let us, if you will, grant them ſomewhat, and be liberal of maſter Fox his right: if I ſhall take quite out of the hiſtory all that they have ſaid to be falſe, will they then promiſe me to ſuffer their followers with freedom to read the reſt? They will no more yield to this condition, than they will be contented to be quiet: what ſhall a man do to ſuch men, as are never ſatisfied, whether you grant that they plead for, or deny it them? And how great a frowardneſs it were to expect from any author, that in the whole courſe of ſo long a ſtory, whilſt one man doth with his own only labours handle ſo many ſeveral matters, he ſhould never ſo much as miſtake any thing? as well might they tax that moſt accompliſhed writer Julius Cæſar with telling a lye, if, where he deſcribeth our iſle of Great Britain, he ſhould by chance in the circuit of any iſland, or paſſage from one place to another, differ by a few miles from later accounts, who, indeed, wrote the hiſtory of his wars and expeditions, with that truth he ought to do, but in the reſt followed the common report, and believed the relations of others, not willing to be over curious in things of no great importance.

And thus much it ſeemed good to me to anſwer, rather out of the opinion of ſome of our own ſide, than that myſelf thought it neceſſary: but if our adverſaries themſelves require a further anſwer, I will deal with them upon other terms: let them firſt return to their obedience, make ſatisfaction to their country, and then proſecute their private diſpleaſures, when they are clear of all public offences: but if they will needs run on ſtill in this heat, and after they have neither any hope nor credit left, think to frighten us with railing, I ſhall, for my part, be well content to let them gain as much commendation for their good pleading, as they have reaped fruit in that courſe of life they have heretofore uſed; and to allow them this double glory, neither in evil-doing, nor in evil-ſpeaking, to have any fellows: if this condition ſeemeth over hard, yet, at leaſt, let them equal the dignity of that hiſtory they ſo much carp at. Let them be authors of equal credit. So would the fight be more honourable, if they might with as much damage to themſelves be overcome, as they ſhould with advantage get the victory. If otherwiſe it be their deſire to purchaſe to themſelves ſome blaſt of fame, by cavilling at this laſting work, in their pamphlets, and under-hand invectives, not ſuch as the judgments of underſtanding men, but the fancies of ſome eaſier woman; is there any man ſo ſenſeleſs, as by oppoſing them, to make thoſe writings of longer continuance, which would, by being countenanced, in a ſhort time be quite forgotten?

Now further, that they may underſtand how much their ill language hath made more for maſter Fox his honour than reproach; I will ſpeak a word or two of his moderation towards them. I could produce letters of his, wherein he perſuadeth the lords and others, who then held the places of chiefeſt authority, not to ſuffer EdmundCampian, and his fellow conſpirators, to be put to death, nor to let that cuſtom continue longer in the kingdom, that death rather than ſome other puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the papiſt offenders. And leſt he might ſeem only out of the goodneſs of his nature, and not out of the judgment of his mind to have ſo ſpoken, he there endeavoureth to prove by many reaſons, how much it was to the weakening of the cauſe, rather to follow the example of their adverſaries, in appointing puniſhments, than their own mildneſs; and that they much rather ought to ſtrive, as well in mercy and clemency to overcome them, as they had already in the juſtice of their cauſe got the upper hand. This he repeated often, adventuring, even till he was in danger of giving offence by his importunity, to intreat for them. Whereas on the other ſide the lords gave him to underſtand; that this was a matter of ſtate, not of controverſy; that the king's life, the public liberty, and the aſſurance of the kingdom reſted on this point; that ſubjects ought by their own peril to be warned, how they grow too prodigal of their country's bleſſings; that ſuch was the eſtate of the kingdom, as that nothing could be more glorious, or more ſecure, if the ſubjects only would conſent, to keep their abilities to their country's uſe, nor had it further failed of that felicity, than it had been hindered by the revolts and conſpiracies of our own men. Yet for all this did maſter Fox continue in his opinion, and though he could by intreaty gain nothing, yet would he with many ſigns teſtify his ſorrow, as often as he heard, that any of them were put to death.

And thus having ſeen his moderation to the perſons, it will not be out of the way to add in general what he thought of the churches of Rome, and the biſhops thereof, as far as they may be gathered out of his ſpeeches, when being of ripe years, he had ſtrengthened his judgment with much experience.

The heads of his opinions were theſe:

That among the chriſtian churches, the Roman had been in dignity always chiefeſt, and of moſt antiquity. That it retained this dignity and opinion many ages after, by little and little growing to greater authority, not by conſent of people, or by any right to that claim, but by reaſon of a certain inclination and cuſtom among men, that where any chance far to excel others, they firſt begin to be powerful among the reſt, and at length to exerciſe command over them. That the greateſt honour and authority it had, was among theſe weſtern kingdoms, which, as every one moſt affected the chriſtian religion, ſo were they by the diligence and piety of the Romans moſt aſſiſted, in which reſpect it had not ill deſerved to be called the mother of thoſe churches. That the occaſion of ſo great an increaſe was, that the city of Rome being of ſo ancient renown, and as it were by deſtiny appointed monarch of the world, in all ages abounding with men of great courage and virtue, being well peopled, wealthy, uſefully ſeated, and always under the emperor's ſight, eaſily afforded this convenience. That at the firſt the chriſtians could no where meet together with leſs trouble, more plentifully be provided for, more ſafely be concealed, or, when need was, die with more conſtancy; all which made poſterity ſo much to admire and honour them. That the church at firſt flouriſhed rather in good diſcipline, and the approved holineſs of the profeſſors, than in abundance of riches, there being yet no looſeneſs, no pride or ambition found in the manners of the clergy, and money, ſervants, lands, jewels, and ſuch like goods, altogether unknown to them; in fine, all things ſo reſtrained, either by modeſty in uſing what they had, or contentedneſs in wanting what they had not, as that in Rome only, ſeemed to be the ſeat of chriſtian religion. That all this was with moſt ſtrictneſs obſerved in the times neareſt to the churches infancy; but in proceſs of time, by little and little began to be neglected and corrupted, after the ſame manner as rivers, whoſe ſtreams near their head being ſmalleſt and cleareſt, the farther they proceed, run in a larger channel, but with more troubled waters; till at length, by mixture with the ſea, they grow alſo unwholeſome; and though in no one place, we can perceive where they are any jot changed from their firſt purity;

yet

yet may we eaſily enough find a great difference, if we compare the extremes together. For that in the church it ſo fell out, that having brought all nations to the chriſtian faith, after they once began to think it for the honour of the empire, that the prieſts ſhould no longer, as they had formerly accuſtomed, endure poverty, but live in a more plentiful way, to which purpoſe the emperors granted many things to the churchmen, both as an ornament and reward to them; then alſo the prieſts began firſt to be taken with the love of riches, then by degrees to grow wanton through abundance, and not care how little pains they took; after, as always the ſucceeding age addeth to the vices of the former, they affected power alſo, which when they had once obtained, and by the emperor's gift, received the command of the church, they gave not over, till, having caſt down the emperors, by whoſe bounty they had ſo prevailed, they both invaded the privileges of the empire, and now laid claim to both ſpiritual and temporal government; in the mean while neglecting thoſe rules of religion which their predeceſſors had preſcribed them, neither themſelves much ſearching the ſcriptures, nor permitting others to do it; and eſteeming the worſhip of God to conſiſt rather in outward devotion, and pomp of ceremonies, than in the obedience of faith. That by this means it ſo came to paſs, that the church of Rome, as all other immoderate empires, not only fell from that high degree it once held, but alſo ſubverted in itſelf the very ſubſtance and ſtate of a church: nor that this ought to ſeem ſtrange, as if the moſt healthful bodies fall into ſickneſs with moſt danger, ſo it befalleth, that the prime of all churches ſhould have no mean, but either remain in the perfection of health, or become the moſt dangerous enemy to it; and that for this cauſe the pope now ſeemed to be antichriſt. That notwithſtanding the caſe was ſo plain, yet neither part ought to lend too much belief to arguments, nor be too earneſt in hindering it, if by any moderation of men, the matter might be brought to ſoundneſs and agreement. That it was not, perchance, in our power to take from Rome her ancient honour, and the opinion of her religion ſo fixed already in the minds of men. That the church of Rome had fallen by her own covetouſneſs, ambition, and prevarication; but that never any man had gone ſo far in ſinning, as that repentance had not pierced as far. That therefore it were fit to allow them, as a returning to repentance, ſo ſome convenient means to move them to it, and ſufficient ſpace to repent in. That it might be the author diſliked them, becauſe a German or Frenchman, and not an Italian of their own nation had told them of their errors. That their might one day among their own men be found ſome, by whoſe authority they ſhould not be aſhamed to amend their faults, and with more willingneſs part with their own power, to procure the peace of the whole world. That there was at leaſt this hope left, it might ſo fall out, that they had no further erred in the articles of faith, than that they would not ſuffer too much to be known. That the conditions of agreement would be, firſt, That the pope ſhould forſake all thoſe tenets, by which he gained ſo great ſums of money; there being nothing, whereto the people might with more difficulty be perſuaded, than that Chriſt, the Saviour of the world, had inſtructed his church in the ways of money, and ſetting ſcriptures to ſale. Next that he ſhould renounce all ſecular juriſdiction, and not ſuppoſe himſelf to have title, or any thing to do with the right of princes. That on the other ſide his oppoſers ſhould not refuſe, that ſome one man may have the principal place of counſel and government in the church affairs, as being a thing which would have many conveniencies in it, when it might be done with ſecurity; neither that the Roman church had once fallen, ought to make againſt it, nor that it had firſt flouriſhed, to prevail for it, herein to be preferred before any other, but that all this was to be left to the diſcretion of a general council of the chriſtians, which might be ſo equitable, as that neither the power or favour of any one ſhould be able, either from the place of meeting, or the difference in the number of voices, to promiſe itſelf any advantage to the injury of the reſt. That in the mean while it would be of great moment to the hope and ſpeedineſs of ſettling all controverſies, if hereafter on both ſides they would give ſuch inſtructions as might cauſe in each party a better hope and opinion of the other, eſpecially that they ought to leave off that ſtubborn conceit, whereby each of them, preſuming itſelf to be the only true church, ſuppoſeth the other excluded. For that it were not only wicked, but alſo to the diſhonour of God, to think that he had ſo given his commandments to mankind, as that they ſhould be turned to the deſtruction of thoſe that obey them; which muſt of neceſſity come to paſs, if when all men will not conſent in the ſame opinion, they who underſtand moſt, ſhall refuſe to admit of the reſt; was therefore the kingdom of heaven reſerved only for the more underſtanding ſort, and thoſe that know moſt? Where ſhould then the fools of the world be; where ſhould little children be, whom Chriſt had ſet apart for himſelf? how much better ſhould we ſerve God by following that which was evident, than by interpreting that which was doubtful? How much more probable were it, that God's mercy was ſo abundant, as when men were once agreed in point of general obedience, there ſhould nothing elſe be laid to their charge? For, that the force of obedience was before God ſo great, as thereby only all other inequalities might be made even; but if all were not in equal condition, that certainly with God they were beſt eſteemed, who judged with moſt modeſty of others.

From maſter Fox his enemies, I will now paſs to his friends, among which I have already ſhewed, with how great affection he was beloved by the duke of Norfolk, being by his bounty maintained in his life, and after his death, by the penſion he beſtowed on him, which his ſon, the right honourable the earl of Suffolk, to whom theſe revenues deſcended, out of his liberality confirmed.

His fortunes were increaſed by the lord William Cecill, then lord treaſurer, a man beyond expreſſion excellent, whom it as much availed queen Elizabeth to have for her miniſter, as it availed the kingdom to have Elizabeth for their queen; and without doubt the moſt deſerving, that in himſelf, and his poſterity, he ſhould flouriſh in that kingdom, which he had by his wiſdom and advice made moſt flouriſhing. He of the queen's gift obtained for Mr. Fox the rectory of Shipton, upon no other inducement but his public deſert; and when Mr. Fox delayed, and after his manner intreated leave to excuſe himſelf, the lord Cecill politicly overcame his baſhfulneſs, by telling him, That he neither accepted that for an anſwer, nor had he deſerved that the blame of Mr. Fox's refuſing the queen's gift ſhould be laid upon him, as if he had been his hindrance.

To the earls of Bedford and Warwick he was very acceptable, and approved by them for the likeneſs of his inclination.

He was very intimate with Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, a prudent and vigilant man, and one who deſervedly was the firſt that advanced the power of the ſecretariſhip.

The two brethren, Sir Thomas Hennage, and maſter Michael Hennage, he intirely affected, the firſt for the ſweetneſs of his behaviour, the other for his ſolid learning and ſingular modeſty of life; and though they were each of them in their kind moſt accompliſhed gentlemen, yet he was wont to ſay, that Sir Thomas Hennage had as much as was requiſite any way to a complete courtier, but that maſter Michael Hennage had both all his brother in himſelf, and that beſides of his own, which the court had not corrupted.

To Sir Drue Drury he bare likewiſe ſingular affection, as to a man of ſincere intentions, and of great conſtancy in all fortunes, and, perchance, the only man in the court who continued his favour, without loſs of his freedom.

Among the prelates he principally reverenced doctor Grindal, archbiſhop of Canterbury, doctor Elmar, biſhop of London, doctor Pilkington, biſhop of Durham, and doctor Nowell, dean of Paul's, who were his partners in baniſhment at Baſil.

Among the writers of his time, he preferred before the reſt, doctor Humprey, doctor Whiteaker, and doctor Fulk, with whoſe learning he was wonderouſly delighted, and eſteemed it no ſmall benefit to be again beloved by them.

But with none had he more familiar acquaintance, than with maſter John Crowly, and maſter Baldwine Collins, whoſe counſel he made uſe of in all his affairs, eſpecially of maſter Collins, concerning whom he was wont to ſay, That he knew not which had the greateſt ſhare in him, excellence of knowledge, or modeſty of mind.

Among military men, Sir Francis Drake was much delighted with his familiarity; whom to commend near the times he lived in were needleſs, but to commend him to poſterity according to his deſert, many volumes would ſcarce ſuffice.

Among the citizens of London, he always found great good-will; eſpecially with Sir Thomas Greſham, Sir Thomas Roe, alderman Bacchus, maſter Smith, maſter Dale, and maſter Sherington, who had him in great account and eſtimation, being part of them ſuch as had borne the higheſt places of honour in the city, and part of them merchants of great ſubſtance.

I paſs by many, who, perchance, had as great ſhare in maſter Fox his friendſhip, as any of theſe; nor ought it to be accounted a fault, if I either knew not, or remembered not all; but this I ought not to ſlip, as being the chiefeſt cauſe why I thought fit to mention the forenamed worthy men, that theſe were they from whom I before ſaid maſter Fox received ſuch large ſums of money to divide among the poor: which although they did with ſo much privacy, as that they truſted not to meſſengers in delivering it, not regarding any outward praiſe their well-doing might procure them, knowing the conſcience thereof to be as much as they needed to deſire; yet was it not fitting for me in maſter Fox his hiſtory to diſſemble it, or to give any man occaſion to ſuppoſe the truth not opened by maſter Fox, though they themſelves thought good to neglect the fruit of ſo great liberality, eſpecially ſince it may abundantly ſerve for commendation of both him and them, that they ſhould be known by their own actions, and he by none but his own.

He uſed always among his friends a pleaſant kind of familiarity, wherewith he ſeaſoned the gravity and ſeverity of his other behaviour.

Being once aſked at a friend's table, what diſh he deſired to be ſet up to him to begin his meal with, he anſwered the laſt; which word was pleaſantly taken, as if he had meant ſome choicer diſh, ſuch as uſually are brought for the ſecond courſe; whereas he rather ſignified the deſire he had to ſee dinner ended, that he might depart home.

It happened at his own table, that a gentleman there ſpake ſomewhat too freely againſt the earl of Leiceſter which when maſter Fox heard, he commanded a bowl filled with wine to be brought him, which being done, This bowl, quoth he, was given me by the earl of Leiceſter; ſo ſtopping the gentleman in his intemperate ſpeeches without reprehending him.

When a young man, a little too forward, had in preſence of many ſaid, That he could conceive no reaſon, in the reading of the old authors, why men ſhould ſo greatly admire them. No marvel indeed, quoth maſter Fox, for if you could conceive the reaſon, you would then admire them yourſelf.

I could ſpeak of many ſtories of this kind, but that I will not exceed my intended limits too far.

At length having in ſuch actions and ſuch behaviour, ſpent out his age, being now full of years, and ſtored with friends, ere he had quite paſſed through his 70th year, he died, not through any known diſeaſe, but through much age. Yet did he foreſee the time of his departure, nor would ſuffer his ſons, which notwithſtanding he intirely loved, to be preſent at his death, but forbad the one at any hand to be ſent for, and ſent the other on a journey three days before he died; then calling both of them unto him, when he well knew, tho' they made never ſo great haſte, they ſhould come too late; whether he thought them unable to bear ſo heavy a ſpectacle, or would not have his own mind at that time troubled with any thing that might move him to deſire life. Which to me and my brother was the moſt grievous of all chances, that thereby we could neither come to cloſe his eyes, to receive his laſt bleſſing and exhortations, nor ſatisfy our minds with that laſt ſight of him. Perchance we could with more patience have endured to ſee the fainting approaches of his death drawing on, than to have loſt in him ſo good an example how to die.

Upon the report of his death, the whole city lamented, honouring the ſame funeral which was made for him, with the concourſe of a great multitude of people, and in no other faſhion of mourning, than as if among ſo many, each man had buried his own father, or his own brother.

THE

LIVES of the Primitive MARTYRS,

FROM THE

Birth of our Bleſſed SAVIOUR, to the Reign of Q. Mary I.

As Mr. Fox has paſſed over in Silence the Years of our Saviour's Life, and many eſſential Particulars of the Lives of the Apoſtles, we have done our utmoſt to ſupply that Deficiency, in as brief a Manner as poſſible, extracted from the primitive Fathers.

WHEN Herod reigned in Judea, and Cæſar Auguſtus was emperor of Rome, there dwelt at Nazareth, an inconſiderable city of Galilee in the Holy Land, a virgin whoſe name was Mary, the ornament of her ſex, and the ſhining example of unaffected piety and ſanctity of manners; one, who notwithſtanding ſhe was eſpouſed to Joſeph, a juſt and upright man of her own family, that is to ſay, of the tribe of Judah, and the houſe of David, had no knowledge of him, till a long time after the ſolemnization of their nuptials. God Almighty ſent his angel Gabriel down from heaven to viſit her, and reveal the ſecret purpoſe of his divine will; who at his firſt approach addreſſed himſelf thus unto her; Hail thou that art highly favoured! the Lord is with thee; bleſſed art thou among women. Mary, when ſhe ſaw him, was troubled at his ſaying, and caſt in her mind the manner of his ſalutation: whereupon Gabriel further ſaid unto her, Fear not, Mary, for thou haſt found favour with God. And behold, thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a ſon, and ſhalt call his name Jeſus. Then Mary replied, How ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not a man? But when Gabriel told her, that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould come upon her, and the power of the Higheſt ſhould overſhadow her; with innate modeſty, and a cheerful ſubmiſſion to the divine goodneſs, ſhe bowed her head, ſaying, Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word: At that time the Son of God, the Word, which in the beginning was with God, and was God, co-equal with his Father, became incarnate; that is to ſay, aſſumed the human nature, and was like unto man, ſin only excepted. Joſeph and Mary were obliged to go to Bethlehem, a city of Judea, and to take up their lodgings in a ſtable, there being no room for them in the inn where they purpoſed to refreſh themſelves, and there the child was born. At the cloſe of the eighth day he was circumciſed, and, purſuant to Gabriel's direction, named Jeſus, that is to ſay, the Saviour. Not long afterwards there came ſeveral Magi, or wiſe men, from the Eaſt, to Jeruſalem, plentifully provided with rich preſents of gold, myrrh, and frankincenſe, ſaying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have ſeen his ſtar, and are come to worſhip him. When Herod the king heard thereof, he was troubled, and all Jeruſalem with him: whereupon he ſent forth, and ſlew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coaſts thereof, from two years old and under: but Joſeph fled with the child Jeſus and his mother Mary by night into Egypt, and continued there till the death of Herod. Afterwards they returned to Nazareth, where Jeſus lived in a ſtate of obſcurity, till he was about thirty years of age, and was ſubject to his mother Mary and Joſeph his reputed father, who followed the trade or profeſſion of a carpenter.

Thirty years after the nativity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, there aroſe a great prophet, called John, the ſon of Zacharias the prieſt, and of Elizabeth, a near relation of the bleſſed virgin Mary. He dwelt in the wilderneſs, and led a more abſtemious life than any of the ancient prophets. He preached there the baptiſm of repentance; the kingdom of heaven being, as he ſaid, near at hand. He baptized in the river of Jordan all ſuch as followed him, and adhered to his doctrine; that is to ſay, he plunged them into the waters thereof for the remiſſion of their ſins, in like manner as the Jews of old were waſhed for their purification, according to the laws; from whence he was called the Baptiſt. The Jews would fain have acknowledged him to be the Meſſiah; but he openly and ingenuouſly declared to them that he was not, and that he was only his forerunner, that is to ſay, a meſſenger ſent before his face, to prepare the way before him, according to the predictions of the ancient prophets. Jeſus ſuffered himſelf to be baptized by John, in the river Jordan; by which act of humility and condeſcenſion, he conferred a ſupernatural virtue on that ſacred inſtitution. Soon after, St. John ſeeing Jeſus coming towards him, teſtified to thoſe about him, that he ſaw the Holy Ghoſt deſcending, as a dove, upon the bleſſed Jeſus, and in a holy rapture cried out, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the ſins of the world!

After Jeſus was baptized, he was led up of the Spirit into the wilderneſs, where he faſted forty days and forty nights, and there ſuffered himſelf to be expoſed to the various

various temptations of the devil. He returned to Galilee, and dwelt for ſome time near the lake of Genneſareth. There he called four fiſhermen unto him, that is to ſay, Andrew and Simon his brother, and James and John, the ſons of Zebedee, and ordered them to follow him. Afterwards he called ſeveral others, particularly Matthew, a publican, and a collector of the cuſtoms. As ſoon as they heard his voice, they left all, without the leaſt reluctance, and followed him. His diſciples ſoon grew numerous; and multitudes were ambitious of attending to, and embracing his doctrine. He ſelected Twelve from amongſt the number of his diſciples, whom he called his Apoſtles, or meſſengers; becauſe he gave them commiſſion to travel into diſtant countries and propagate his goſpel. The names of the twelve apoſtles were theſe; firſt, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the ſon of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, and Matthew the publican, James the ſon of Alpheus, and Lebbeus, whoſe ſirname was Thaddeus; Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iſcariot, who betrayed him.

Jeſus went through all the cities and villages round about Jeruſalem, preaching the goſpel of the kingdom of heaven; teſtifying that he was the Meſſiah, ſo long expected, and ſo ardently wiſhed for by the patriarchs, and foretold by the prophets; that he came down from heaven to be the Saviour of the whole world, and that the time was come wherein mankind in general ſhould be called to the knowledge of the true God; aſſuring them, that ſuch as believed in him, and truly repented, ſhould receive the full remiſſion of their ſins here, and be made partakers of everlaſting happineſs hereafter. In order to demonſtrate the truth of what he had aſſerted, and to convince them that he really was the Son of God, he wrought an infinite number of miracles. By his word alone all manner of diſeaſes were cured; he made the blind to ſee, the deaf to hear, the dumb to ſpeak, and reſtored thoſe who were poſſeſſed with devils. He fed, in a very miraculous manner, above five thouſand in the wilderneſs, with only five loaves and two ſmall fiſhes; and after they had eaten and were filled, there were taken up twelve baſkets of the fragments. He reſtored to life the daughter of Jairus; and raiſed Lazarus from the grave, after he had been buried four days. In this manner, and in the conſtant practice of the moſt ſhining virtues, did the bleſſed Jeſus employ his whole life. He was meek and lowly, affable and courteous, and endured with patience the ſting of penury, and the inſolence of the vulgar. He ſhewed the tendereſt affection for all ſuch as were deſirous of being converted, and was deeply concerned for all obſtinate and impenitent ſinners. In all his actions he aimed at nothing but the glory of his Father, and ſpent whole nights in acts of private devotion.

All the world ſtood aſtoniſhed at the bleſſed Jeſus; he drew a numberleſs train of auditors after him, even into the wilderneſs: not only the Jews, but the Gentiles alſo, flocked about him to ſee him and hear his doctrine. The Scribes and Phariſees were full of reſentment, and highly diſguſted at the liberty he took to laſh in public their moſt enormous vices. The Scribes were the Jewiſh doctors, whoſe ignorance and impoſtures he ſet forth in the moſt glaring light. The Phariſees were ſuch as pretended to a more ſtrict obſervance of the law than any other ſect; but the greateſt part of them were vile hypocrites, haughty and avaricious men, who impoſed upon the credulity of the vulgar by an external ſhew and colour of religion. The prieſt and rulers, or governors of the Jews, were equally offended and angry with Jeſus, becauſe he foretold, that not only Jeruſalem, but the temple too, ſhould ſoon be deſtroyed. In ſhort, the carnal Jews would not be convinced, that he was the Meſſiah, becauſe he was poor, meek, and lowly. His doctrine gave diſtaſte, becauſe he preached up the contempt of riches, pleaſures, and all other alluring enjoyments of this tranſitory life; and frankly aſſured them, that they muſt take up his croſs, bid adieu to the pomps and vanities of this world, and deny themſelves if they would be his diſciples. The enemies of our bleſſed Lord inceſſantly loaded him with the moſt opprobrious language; caſt dirt and ſtones at him; and, in ſhort, determined, at all adventures, to put him to death. Accordingly they prevailed on Judas Iſcariot, one of his diſciples, to betray him, and deliver him up to them, upon their payment of thirty pieces of ſilver, amounting to the ſum or value of three pounds fifteen ſhillings, or thereabouts.

It was at the time of the Paſſover when the enemies of the bleſſed Jeſus were reſolutely bent upon putting him to death. On Thurſday in the evening he eat his laſt ſupper with his diſciples, and whilſt they were at table, he took bread, bleſſed it, and brake it, and gave it to them, ſaying, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you: After that, he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, ſaying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many, for the remiſſion of ſins; do this in remembrance of me. Afterwards he went out with them to the mount of Olives, into the garden, where he frequently retired to pray; there he implored his heavenly Father, that if poſſible, the bitter cup might paſs from him; Nevertheleſs, ſaid he, with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion, Not my will, but thine be done. In the mean time cometh Judas, and with him a rude multitude, armed with ſwords and ſtaves; who, as ſoon as he ſaw Jeſus, drew near to him, and kiſſed him; that being the ſign or token which he had given them whereby they ſhould know him: accordingly they ſeized on him, and led him away to Caiaphas the high prieſt, who upon falſe evidence pronounced ſentence of death upon him. All the diſciples of Jeſus forſook him; and Peter himſelf, notwithſtanding all his proteſtations, denied him thrice, as Chriſt had foretold he would. Judas likewiſe, when he ſaw that Jeſus was condemned, repented himſelf, and brought back the thirty pieces of ſilver to the chief prieſts and elders, who were aſſembled together in the temple, ſaying, I have ſinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they ſaid, What is that to us? ſee thou to that. Whereupon he caſt down the pieces of ſilver before them, departed, and went and hanged himſelf. The chief prieſts thereupon, conſidering that it was not lawful to put the money into the treaſury, purchaſed therewith the Potters Fields, called afterwards the Field of Blood. From Caiaphas they carried him before Pontius Pilate, who was governor of Judea, by the ſpecial order and appointment of the Romans. Pilate being conſcious to himſelf that Jeſus was perfectly innocent, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to acquit him. Jeſus notwithſtanding was ſcourged in his preſence, and afterwards crowned with thorns by the ſoldiers, by way of deriſion, becauſe he had ſtiled himſelf King of the Jews.

Pilate in ſhort condemned Jeſus, though with the utmoſt reluctance, and ordered him to be conducted, with his croſs on his ſhoulders, to a place called Golgotha, that is to ſay, the place of a ſkull, where the bleſſed Jeſus was crucified between two malefactors. To ſuffer on the croſs was looked upon at that time as the moſt ignominious death, none but ſlaves, thieves, and the moſt notorious delinquents being ſo ſhamefully expoſed. The patient Jeſus hung thereon till all the prophecies were fulfilled. At his death the ſun was darkened, the earth ſhook, and the vail of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom. It was on a Friday, the day of the Paſſover when the lamb was ſlain, which was a type or figure of Jeſus Chriſt. Thus his death was the real ſacrifice, whereof all the others were only emblems or repreſentations. His death was a full and plenary ſa-

tisfaction to divine juſtice for the ſins of the whole world. The innocent Jeſus paid down a ranſom for the guilty; he redeemed us by his blood from the ſlavery of the devil, and by his death opened a free paſſage to everlaſting life.

Jeſus being dead, his body was embalmed, and laid in a ſepulchre, over which his enemies took particular care to ſet a ſtrong watch, recollecting that he had confidently aſſerted, that he ſhould riſe again. Accordingly, on the third day, which was Sunday, Jeſus roſe triumphant from the grave, whilſt the guards, thunderſtruck as it were, fell on their faces like dead men. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the apoſtles themſelves were prevailed on to acknowledge his reſurrection. They ſuſpended their belief thereof, till they had ſeen him with their eyes, touched him with their hands, and had familiar converſe with him. He appeared to them divers times within the ſpace of forty days, enlightened their underſtandings, and gave them commiſſion to go forth and preach the goſpel to all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. He gave them likewiſe power to remit ſins, and promiſed to be with them to the end of the world. After that he aſcended into heaven before their eyes, and now ſits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, infinitely above all created beings; yet will never ceaſe, through his merits, to intercede with God for us, and to aid and aſſiſt his church, till he ſhall deſcend from heaven in all his glory, to judge both the quick and the dead at the laſt day.

The fiftieth day after the Paſſover the Jews kept a ſolemn feſtival, called pentecoſt, in commemoration of their law being given to them at that time. On the ſame day, which was the fiftieth after the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, as the diſciples were all with one accord in one place, on a ſudden there came a ſound from heaven, as of a ruſhing mighty wind, which filled the whole houſe where they were ſitting; and there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like of fire, which ſate upon each of them: and they were all filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and began to ſpeak with other tongues, which plainly intimated, that they were to go forth and preach the goſpel to all nations. The Jews were troubled and confounded at it; but Peter accounted for that miraculous gift; explained to them the prophecies; and declared to them, that Jeſus, whom they had crucified, was riſen again; that he had ſent his Holy Spirit, according to his promiſe; and that he was the Lord, and the Chriſt; and that they could not be ſaved but in and through his name, and upon their ſincere repentance. Three thouſand ſouls were converted by that diſcourſe, and were accordingly baptized. The apoſtles and others who had received the Holy Ghoſt, found a manifeſt alteration in themſelves. Their underſtandings were enlightened, inſomuch that they readily diſcerned the genuine ſenſe of the ſacred ſcriptures: they were then fully convinced, that the whole race of mankind were notorious ſinners, and ſtood in need of the grace of God, which was to be obtained no other way than by faith in Jeſus Chriſt; and that his kingdom was a ſpiritual kingdom. At the ſame time they were inflamed with love and affection for their bleſſed Saviour, which made them take delight in keeping his commandments, and enabled them with invincible courage and reſolution to bear teſtimony to the truth of his moſt holy doctrine.

Notwithſtanding there were ſuch multitudes of the Jews made proſelytes to the chriſtian faith, yet ſtill a far greater part of them oppoſed and rejected the doctrine of the apoſtles, and perſecuted them in the moſt barbarous and inhuman manner. They ſtoned Stephen, who was one of the ſeven deacons appointed by the apoſtles as overſeers of the church. He was the Proto-Martyr, that is to ſay, the firſt who ſuffered death for bearing teſtimony to the truth of the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt. At that time the Samaritans, who were a ſchiſmatical ſect of the Jews, embraced the word of God. Many of them were converted and baptized; and the apoſtles not only laid their hands upon them, that they might receive the divine influence of the Holy Spirit, but likewiſe confirmed them. The Gentiles ſoon afterwards began to inliſt themſelves under Chriſt's banner. The firſt was a Roman captain, Cornelius by name, who already acknowledged the true God, prayed to him without ceaſing, and was a liberal benefactor to the poor and needy; God by an angel directed him to ſend for Peter, who on his part was alſo informed, by divine revelation, that he might, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any danger, attend the meſſenger; and as ſoon as he had entered into the houſe, and began to ſpeak, Cornelius, and all that were with him, received the Holy Ghoſt, and the gift of tongues. Peter forthwith baptized them all; at which time the miniſtry of the vocation, or call of the Gentiles, began to be accompliſhed; which conſiſts in this, that God of his infinite goodneſs hath invited the heathens to believe in, and be admitted into, Chriſt's favour, as well as the Jews; and that they are ſubſtituted in the place and ſtead of the Jews, who were obſtinate and impenitent ſinners. Jeſus Chriſt, after his aſcenſion, called Paul, who was his thirteenth apoſtle, or ſecond twelfth, after a very peculiar manner, to labour more abundantly than any one of the reſt, in making proſelytes of the Gentiles.

Saint Matthew the evangeliſt, who was alſo called Levi, was an Hebrew of the Hebrews, the ſon of Alpheus and Mary, a relation of the bleſſed virgin, and probably was born either at or near Capernaum. He was a publican, and by profeſſion a collector of the cuſtoms to the Romans, an office odious to the Jews, on account of the covetouſneſs and extortion of thoſe concerned in the direction. His particular province conſiſted in gathering the duties on all merchandize that came by the ſea of Galilee, and receiving the tribute which all paſſengers paid who went by water; for which reaſon he had a commodious office erected by the ſea-ſide. There it was that our apoſtle was ſitting, when our Saviour firſt called him to be his diſciple. Notwithſtanding he was a rich and ſubſtantial man, and eſtabliſhed in a very profitable poſt, he readily obeyed his maſter's call, and and choſe rather to attend on the Son of Man, who had not where to lay his head, than to live amongſt his relations in the full poſſeſſion of all ſenſual enjoyments. His contempt of the world was not only conſpicuous from this ſudden exchange to all outward appearance for the worſe; but from his extraordinary abſtemiouſneſs during the remainder of his life. He refuſed to indulge himſelf in any fleſh-meats whatſoever, and ſubſiſted wholly on herbs, roots, ſeeds, and berries. However, in order to expreſs the veneration and high eſteem he had for our Saviour, he made an elegant entertainment for him and his apoſtles, and invited ſeveral of his relations and brother officers at the ſame time, with the pious view of their becoming converts like himſelf, through the prevailing influence of our Lord's good company and converſation. He continued with the reſt of the apoſtles till ſome time after our Saviour's aſcenſion. He ſpent eight years in preaching to the Jews in Judea, and the parts adjacent; but after that he travelled into Æthiopia, that being the province of his apoſtolical office by allotment. There he preached the goſpel of Chriſt with great ſucceſs, and by working of miracles, triumphed over error and ſuperſtition. He is thought to have ſuffered martyrdom at Naddaber in Æthiopia; but as to the manner of his death, and the place of his burial, hiſtorians are not determined. He wrote his goſpel during his reſidence in Paleſtine, about eight years after our Saviour's crucifixion, at the requeſt of the Jewiſh converts, and by the expreſs orders of the apoſtles, in which great work he was aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt. Though it is thought he wrote it originally

nally in the Hebrew language for the uſe of his countrymen, yet it was ſoon afterwards tranſlated into Greek; which verſion was approved of by the apoſtles, and hath ever ſince been received by the church as genuine and authentic.

Saint Mark, according to the opinion of the ancients, was a Jew by extraction, originally a deſcendant of the tribe of Levi. He was made a proſelyte to the chriſtian faith by one of the apoſtles; but by whom in particular cannot be determined: it is moſt probable, however, that Saint Peter was the principal means of his converſion, ſince our evangeliſt conſtantly attended him in his travels, and acted in the capacity of his amanuenſis and interpreter, whenever occaſion offered. His firſt miſſion was into Egypt; and for the moſt part he reſided at Alexandria, and the parts adjacent; where his labours in his miniſtry were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that he not only converted multitudes of both ſexes to the chriſtian faith; but prevailed on them to be exemplarily ſtrict in the practice and profeſſion of it. From thence he removed weſtward into Lybia, travelling through Marmorica, Pentapolis, and the adjacent countries; where notwithſtanding the inhabitants were blindly devoted to idolatry and ſuperſtition, yet by the prevailing influence of his pious diſcourſes, and the miracles which he wrought, he planted the goſpel of Chriſt amongſt them, and confirmed them in their moſt holy religion. Having ſettled his affairs there to his ſatisfaction, he returned to Alexandria, where he employed his whole time in the regulation and diſcipline of the church. But after he had reſided there ſome time, he met with a violent oppoſition in the exerciſe of his miniſterial office; for about Eaſter the inhabitants of the place, being zealous for the honour of their god Serapis, and incenſed at our evangeliſt's averſion to their idolatrous practices, ruſhed in upon him whilſt he was employed in the very act of divine worſhip; and having bound his feet with cords, they dragged him along the ſtreets upon the ſtones to a place called Bucelus, ſome ſmall diſtance from the city; by which barbarous treatment his body was bruiſed and mangled to that degree, that he died of his wounds. Not contented with this act of inhumanity, according to ſome hiſtorians, they carried their reſentment to a ſtill higher pitch, and burnt the remainder of his body; the bones and aſhes whereof were afterwards conveyed by ſome compaſſionate chriſtians to Venice, and decently interred in the church of St. Mark in that republick, which is looked upon as one of the moſt magnificent ſtructures in the world. He left no other writings behind him but his goſpel, which was compoſed at the repeated ſolicitations of the Jewiſh converts who reſided at Rome. However, he firſt ſubmitted what he had written to the peruſal of St. Peter. After it had received the ſtamp of his great maſter's approbation, it was ordered to be read publicly in their moſt ſolemn aſſemblies, and has ever ſince been received by the church as canonical, and a valuable ſupplement to the goſpel of St. Matthew.

Saint Luke was born at Antioch, the richeſt and moſt populous city of all Syria, not only famous for its being one of the moſt flouriſhing academies in the world, and its eminent profeſſors in all arts and ſciences, but more ſo, on account of this one peculiar honour, that there our Saviour's diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians. Having been educated from his childhood in this ſeat of polite literature, and having viſited all the Aſian and Grecian academies for his further improvement, he returned to Antioch, and applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of phyſic, in which he became a great proficient. He practiſed painting likewiſe for his amuſement, and was looked upon as one of the greateſt artiſts therein that age ever produced. Whether St. Luke was one of the ſeventy diſciples of Chriſt or not, cannot be determined, ſince the ſcripture is ſilent in that particular, but it is the received opinion of the ancients, that he was converted by St. Paul; ſince it is certain that apoſtle had a peculiar value and regard for him. And that after his converſion they were conſtant companions in all perils and dangers; and fellow-labourers in the miniſtry of the goſpel for a long time. However, parting at laſt from his dearly beloved tutor and maſter, he travelled into Egypt and ſeveral parts of Lybia, where by his exemplary life, and the prevalence of his preaching, he converted multitudes to the chriſtian faith, and took upon himſelf the epiſcopal charge of the city of Thebias. As to the time of his death and the manner of it, the ancient hiſtorians are not agreed; ſince ſome aſſert, that he died in Egypt, and others at Epheſus; ſome in Bithynia, and others in Greece; ſome again affirm, that he died a natural death; and others, that a band of infidels incenſed at the ſucceſs of his miniſtry, led him to execution, and for want of a croſs hung him on an olive-tree in the 84th year of his age. After his martyrdom, in caſe it was ſo, his body was removed to Conſtantinople by the expreſs order of Conſtantine, or his ſon Conſtantinus, and interred in the great church there, erected in commemoration of the apoſtles. All the writings which he left behind him, and which are univerſally acknowledged to be canonical, are his Goſpel, and his hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles: the former, ſaid to be written when he was at Achaia with Paul, who is ſuppoſed by ſome to have had a conſiderable hand in it, about the year of Chriſt fifty-ſix; and the other, when he was at Rome with Paul in his firſt impriſonment. Both were written originally in the Greek language, and by him dedicated to Theophilus, a perſon of great honour and diſtinction, and one of his principal converts.

Saint John the evangliſt, was by birth a Galilean, the ſon of Zebedee and Salome, and the younger brother of St. James the Great, under whom he exerciſed the trade or profeſſion of a fiſherman. He was called to be a diſciple and an apoſtle of our bleſſed Saviour, before he was thirty years of age. He and his brother James, who was likewiſe called to the dignity of the apoſtolate at the ſame time, were afterwards ſtiled Boanerges, or Sons of Thunder. St. John in particular, is ſaid to be the diſciple whom Jeſus loved; his particular favourite, who laid his head in his maſter's boſom, at the adminiſtration of his laſt ſupper; and to whoſe peculiar care and conduct our Lord intruſted his mother the bleſſed virgin, at the approach of his crucifixion. St. John, accordingly, in purſuance of the truſt repoſed in him, ſhewed her all the teſtimonies of the profoundeſt veneration and reſpect; and after the death of her huſband Joſeph, gave her all the accommodations his houſe afforded. He contracted a more intimate acquaintance with St. Peter than any other of the apoſtles, and was the firſt that gave him notice of our Saviour's appearance after his reſurrection. He likewiſe entertained him at his houſe in Jeruſalem till the death of the bleſſed virgin, which happened, according to Euſebius, in the year of our Lord forty-eight. Some time after, he took his journey into Aſia, that being his peculiar province by allotment. He founded the churches of Smyrna, Thyatira, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, &c. his principal place of reſidence, however, was Epheſus, whereof he was biſhop; though St. Paul had planted a church there long before, and conſtituted Timothy the biſhop thereof. Soon after he had ſettled affairs to his ſatisfaction in Aſia Minor, it is ſuppoſed that he removed from thence more eaſtward, and preached the goſpel amongſt the Parthians, to whom, as ſome imagine, his firſt epiſtle was anciently inſcribed. After ſome years thus employed in his apoſtolical function, the perſecution of the cruel Domitian came on, wherein ſo eminent a miniſter of Chriſt's goſpel as St. John, could not fail of being a ſufferer. He was accordingly repreſented to the emperor, as a profeſſed atheiſt, and a public ſubverter of the eſtabliſhed religion of the empire. Whereupon, by his imperial orders, the proconſul of Aſia ſent him bound to Rome, where he

met with the moſt barbarous and inhuman treatment. He was caſt into a cauldron of boiling or burning oil, but was as miraculouſly delivered by divine providence, from that ſeeming inevitable ruin, as Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego had been long before, from the flames of a fiery furnace. The ſtupid and obdurate Domitian, regardleſs of the miracle, ſtill perſecuted this holy man, and baniſhed him into the iſle of Patmos in the Archipelago, where he inſtructed the inhabitants for many years together, in the grounds and principles of the chriſtian religion; and where, towards the latter end of his reign, he wrote his Apocalypſe or Revelations. Soon after the emperor's death, Cocceius Nerva, his ſucceſſor, by a ſpecial edict, recalled him and ſeveral others from their ſtate of exile. Whereupon he returned to Aſia, and fixed his reſidence again at Epheſus. Timothy the former biſhop of that place being martyred, for preaching againſt the lewdneſs and idolatry of thoſe pagan feſtivals which were then obſerved amongſt them, St. John took upon him (in conjunction with ſome other eminent divines) the government or biſhopric of that dioceſe, and erected ſeveral oratories or churches within its juriſdiction. At the requeſt of the Aſian biſhops he wrote his Goſpel there, about the year of our Lord 96, when he was near an hundred years old. He lived till the beginning of the reign of the emperor Trajan, and was, according to St. Chryſoſtom, about an hundred and twenty years of age when he died. Some are of opinion, that he died a martyr; others, that he never died at all: but was tranſlated, as Enoch and Elias were of old. Beſides his Goſpel and Revelations, he wrote three epiſtles, one already taken notice of to be anciently inſcribed to the Parthians; a ſecond to a lady of great honour and quality, a convert to the chriſtian faith, and ſtiled the Elect Lady; and a third to Gaius, a very hoſpitable man, and peculiarly indulgent to all indigent chriſtians.

Simon, otherwiſe called Peter, was born at Bethſaida, a city of Galilee, ſituate on the banks of the lake of Geneſareth: he was the ſon of Jonah, a poor illiterate fiſherman of that place, and the brother of St. Andrew. At his circumciſion he received the name of Simon or Simeon; to which our Saviour afterwards added that of Cephas, a Syriac term, which ſignifies a Rock or Stone; and from this laſt Peter became his moſt uſual name; whereby our Saviour ſeemed to allude to the firmneſs of Peter's faith, and his indefatigable labours in the eſtabliſhment of the church. He was inured to hardſhips from his infancy, and before his call to the apoſtleſhip, followed the ſame mean and laborious profeſſion as his father did before him. Andrew his brother, being firſt acquainted with our bleſſed Saviour, introduced him into his company and converſation. However, neither he nor his brother were commanded by Chriſt to follow him at that time; nor were they made Fiſhers of Men, till they were eye-witneſſes of the miracle which he wrought of a great draught of fiſhes. In his firſt ſermon after the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, he converted, as we have before obſerved, about three thouſand ſouls. Some time after he puniſhed Ananias and Sapphira with immediate death for their ſhameful covetouſneſs, and their aggravation thereof, by lying to the Holy Ghoſt. His firſt miſſion was into Samaria, in order to viſit and confirm thoſe chriſtians who had been converted there by Philip the deacon; and to communicate to them the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, by the impoſition of hands. Simon Magus, a ſorcerer, being very deſirous of having that divine favour conferred on him, preſumptuouſly offered to treat with the apoſtles about the purchaſe of it; but was repulſed by Peter with the utmoſt diſdain, and diſmiſſed with this ſevere reprimand, Thy money periſh with thee. By the expreſs orders of Herod, he was afterwards impriſoned, ſtrictly guarded, and loaded with fetters; however, the night before his intended execution, he was ſet at liberty by an angel of the Lord. Soon after this miraculous deliverance, he withdrew to Antioch, where he employed his whole time and ſtrength in making proſelytes to the chriſtian religion, and according to Euſebius, was the firſt biſhop of that place. After his departure from thence, as he was the Apoſtle of the Circumciſion, he preached the goſpel to the Jews who were ſcattered and diſperſed all over Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Aſia. Towards the latter end of his life he went to Rome, where he laboured likewiſe, without ceaſing, in the eſtabliſhment of the chriſtian doctrine principally amongſt the Jews. About the year of our Lord ſixty-nine, he was crucified with his head downwards, by the inhuman order of the tyrant Nero. After his death, his body is ſaid to have been embalmed by Marcellinus the preſbyter, after the Jewiſh manner, and then buried in the Vatican, near the Triumphal Way, where there was a church erected to his pious memory, which at this time is one of the wonders of the world. He left only two epiſtles behind him that are genuine, and conſtitute a part of the ſacred canon.

Saint Paul, otherwiſe called Saul, was born at Tarſus, the chief city of Cilicia, where not only trade and commerce, but all the liberal arts and ſciences flouriſhed; he was a Jew by extraction, and of the tribe of Benjamin. After he had laid the foundation of human learning in the ſchools erected there for that purpoſe, his parent ſent him to Jeruſalem, in order to have him brought up to the ſtudy of the law, at the feet of Gamaliel; in which ſcience he became in a ſhort time a diſtinguiſhed proficient. However, they cauſed him to be inſtructed likewiſe in the mechanical profeſſion of a tent-maker, in compliance with their Jewiſh proverb, That he who teacheth not his ſon a trade, teacheth him to be a thief; the intention whereof was to recommend induſtry, and ſecure their children a ſubſiſtence in caſe of unforeſeen misfortunes. As to his principles, before his converſion, he was a Phariſee, the ſtricteſt ſect of all thoſe who profeſs the Jewiſh religion; and he was of a ſanguine conſtitution, he zealouſly oppoſed all ſuch as were looked upon to be enemies to the Moſaic œconomy. Accordingly he perſecuted with the utmoſt rigour all who profeſſed the chriſtian religion at Jeruſalem; and procured a commiſſion to impriſon all the diſciples of our Saviour that he could find in Damaſcus: however, as he was on his journey for that purpoſe, on a ſudden there ſhined round about him a light from heaven, above the brightneſs of the ſun; which ſtruck him with ſuch horror and amazement, that he and his companions fell to the ground: in the mean time he heard a voice ſaying to him, Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? To which he anſwered, Lord, who art thou? Who informed him, That he was Jeſus whom he perſecuted; and that it would be for his everlaſting advantage not to diſobey the commands that ſhould be then given him. Accordingly, he became obedient to the heavenly viſion, the luſtre whereof had ſtruck him blind for three days; and upon this converſion and diſcovery of Chriſt, he required to know his will and pleaſure, and inſtantly followed his divine directions. After he had faſted three days, by way of humiliation, for thoſe outrages he had committed againſt the church of Chriſt, he was admitted a member thereof by Ananias, one of the ſeventy diſciples, who baptized him, and laying his hands on him, reſtored his ſight, and conferred on him the gift of the Holy Ghoſt. As a demonſtration of the ſincerity of his converſion, he preached that very Jeſus whom he before had perſecuted, and proved, to the amazement of the Jews at Damaſcus, that Chriſt was the Meſſiah, the Son of God. He was more indefatigable than any of the apoſtles, the ſphere of his miniſtry being much more extenſive: he travelled as it were all over the Roman empire; from Jeruſalem through Arabia, Aſia, Greece, and ſo round about to Illyricum, Rome, and even to the utmoſt bounds of the weſtern world, preaching the glad tiding of the goſpel wherever he came with undaunted courage

and reſolution. Notwithſtanding he was frequently ſcourged and impriſoned, and even brought to the confines of death both by ſea and land, yet he was preſerved for the ſpace of thirty-five years together, in the good fight of faith till he had finiſhed his courſe. Being at Rome, and joining with St. Peter in procuring the fall of Simon Magus, he incurred the diſpleaſure of the tyrant Nero, by whoſe order he was beheaded, in the 68th year of his age. He left behind him fourteen epiſtles, which contributed very much towards confirming the churches of Chriſt at firſt, and has been highly ſerviceable ever ſince to the cauſe of religion.

Saint Andrew, as before mentioned, was the brother of Peter, and ſon of Jonah a fiſherman. He was born at Bethſaida in Galilee, and followed the ſame profeſſion as his father did before him. He was a diſciple of St. John the Baptiſt; by whoſe means he became acquainted with our bleſſed Saviour. He and his brother Simon being ſome time afterwards eye-witneſſes of the miracle which Jeſus wrought of a great draught of fiſhes, were ſufficiently convinced of his divinity, and from that time became his conſtant and inſeparable diſciples. After our Lord's aſcenſion, St. Andrew travelled into Scythia and the parts adjacent, as being thought the province peculiarly allotted to him, and by his indefatigable labours there, made many proſelytes to the chriſtian religion. Towards the latter end of his life he removed to Petræ in Achaia, where he confirmed the truth of his doctrine by ſuffering martyrdom under Ægeas the proconſul of that place, who commanded him to be firſt ſeverely ſcourged, and then faſtened to a croſs with cords, and not nails, in order that his death might be the more lingering and painful. When he was led to his execution, he ſhewed a perfect calm and ſerenity of mind; and when he drew near to the inſtrument of his martyrdom, which was in the form of an X, and from thence called St. Andrew's croſs, he ſaluted it with a formal addreſs, and embraced it with joy and triumph. He hung thereon for two days ſucceſſively, and exhorted the numerous ſpectators that ſurrounded him all the time, to conſtancy and perſeverance in the chriſtian faith. At laſt, when the proconſul could by no importunities be prevailed on to ſpare his life, he prayed to the Lord that he might depart in peace, and ſeal the truth of thoſe doctrines which he had preached with his blood; and accordingly he gave up the ghoſt. After he was taken down from the croſs, his body was embalmed and decently interred by Maximilla, a lady of great fortune and diſtinction. Afterwards Conſtantine the Great removed his corpſe to a great church at Conſtantinople, which he had erected there in commemoration of the apoſtles.

Saint James, who was ſirnamed the Great, (either on account of his ſuperiority of age with reſpect to the other St. James, or by reaſon of ſome peculiar acts of indulgence ſhewn him by our bleſſed Saviour) was born, as ſome imagine, at Capernaum, and according to others, at Bethſaida in Galilee. He was the ſon of Zebedee, a fiſherman by profeſſion, of conſiderable repute in thoſe parts, keeping ſeveral ſervants under him for that particular employment. He had the honour to be related, though at ſome diſtance, to our bleſſed Saviour, his mother Salome being couſin-german to the virgin Mary. As he and his brother John were fiſhing in the ſea of Galilee, Jeſus accidentally paſſed along the ſhore, and ſeeing them intent on mending their nets, commanded both of them to follow him, and become his diſciples. They inſtantly obeyed his call, and left their aged father behind them without the leaſt reluctance or excuſe. In proceſs of time they became ſuch warm and zealous advocates of the chriſtian cauſe, that they received from their Lord and Maſter the new name of Boanerges, that is to ſay, the Sons of Thunder. However, at the ſame time he rebuked them on account of the inordinate heat of their diſpoſitions, as being repugnant to the mild and gentle nature of the goſpel diſpenſation. He likewiſe took an opportunity at another time of checking their ambition, when he found they had urged their mother Salome to petition for their promotion to the higheſt poſts of honour in his ſervice. St. James, after our Saviour's aſcenſion, preached the goſpel in Judea, and the parts adjacent, that ſeeming to be his peculiar province by allotment. At the latter end of his life he exerciſed his apoſtolical function at Jeruſalem; but Herod, ſon of Ariſtobulus, and grandſon of Herod the Great, on his firſt acceſſion to the government of that city, being willing to gratify the populace, who deteſted St. James, and the religion he publicly profeſſed, cauſed him to be apprehended, and upon the falſe accuſation of one evidence only, ordered him to be thrown into priſon, and be beheaded; by which means he became the firſt apoſtle who died a martyr for bearing teſtimony to the truth. Having ſhewn an unſhaken conſtancy and reſolution at his trial, the witneſs, by whoſe means he was convicted, conſcious of the priſoner's innocence, and his own perfidiouſneſs, fell proſtrate at his feet, and with tears in his eyes petitioned for forgiveneſs. The holy man, though ſtartled a little at his unexpected ſorrow and contrition, raiſed him up, and with a tender embrace, ſaid, Peace be unto thee; whereupon the penitent, tranſported with joy, boldly profeſſed himſelf a chriſtian before the whole court. Sentence of death was immediately paſſed upon him for making that open declaration, and both of them were accordingly beheaded at the ſame time.

Saint Philip was born at Bethſaida in Galilee, a town ſituate near the ſea of Tiberias. Who his parents were, or what employment he principally purſued, cannot juſtly be determined, ſince the goſpel is ſilent in both theſe particulars; it is generally conjectured, however, that he was a fiſherman by profeſſion, as moſt of the inhabitants of that place were. He had the peculiar privilege of being firſt called by our Saviour to the office or dignity of the apoſtolate; with which command he readily complied, notwithſtanding he had ſeen no miracle to convince him that Jeſus was the expected Meſſiah. What part of the world fell by allotment to the care and government of this apoſtle, we have no very certain or authentic account; but it is a very probable conjecture, that Upper Aſia was his peculiar province. There, as we are informed, he was indefatigable in the propagation of the goſpel; and by the power of his preaching, and the miracles he wrought, prevailed on a great number of the inhabitants to become converts to the chriſtian faith. Towards the latter end of his life, he removed from thence to Hierapolis, a rich and populous city of Phrygia; where the natives were ſo ſtupid, and ſunk ſo far into idolatry, as to pay adoration to a ſerpent, or dragon of a prodigious bigneſs: St. Philip, however, by his ardent prayers to heaven on that occaſion, either accompliſhing the total deſtruction of that famous idol, or at leaſt procuring its abſolute diſappearance, convinced great numbers of the ſin and folly of their blind and ſuperſtitious worſhip, and prevailed on them, by his pious diſcourſes, to embrace his doctrines. The magiſtrates of Hierapolis were incenſed to the laſt degree at the ſucceſs chriſtianity met with amongſt the people; and, in order to put a ſtop to the progreſs of it, determined to put Philip to death. As a preliminary puniſhment, they cauſed him to be ſeverely ſcourged; and to complete their reſentment, either crucified him immediately afterwards, or, as ſome hiſtorians aſſert, hung him up by the neck againſt a pillar. He left no writings in reality behind him; for the goſpel which the Gnoſtics aſcribed to him was a ſpurious piece of their forging, in order to give a ſanction to their vile principles, and more abominable practices.

Saint Bartholomew, otherwiſe called Nathaniel, was born at Cana in Galilee. Some conjecture, that he was the

the ſon of Tolmai, and a fiſherman by profeſſion; others however differ from that opinion, and aſſert, that he was a learned doctor of the Moſaic law. Whoever his parents were, whatever the place of his nativity or employment might poſſibly be, he was univerſally allowed to be a perſon of a very fair and unſpotted character. Our Saviour himſelf honoured him at firſt ſight with the appellation of an Iſraelite indeed, in whom there was no guile. The province which fell to this apoſtle by allotment, was that part of India which lies the neareſt to Aſia. He travelled thither accordingly, and met with great ſucceſs in his apoſtolical office. After he had ſettled affairs there to his ſatisfaction, he returned to the northern and weſtern parts of Aſia, and reſided for ſome time at Hierapolis, where he was indefatigable in teaching and confirming the inhabitants in the doctrines of the goſpel. From thence he travelled into Lycaonia, where he employed his time, as he had done before, in making proſelytes to the chriſtian faith. Towards the latter end of his life he removed to Albanople, a city in Armenia the Great, where he preached with great ſucceſs. The governor of the place being highly incenſed to find that Saint Bartholomew publicly endeavoured to reclaim the inhabitants from the adoration of their idols, and ſubvert their eſtabliſhed religion, determined to put him to death. His skin, as a preliminary puniſhment, was flayed off from his fleſh, and after that, as ſome hiſtorians aſſure us, he was crucified with his head downwards. He bore the cruel treatment of his enemies with uncommon patience and unſhaken reſolution. To the laſt moment of his life he perſiſted in comforting and confirming his chriſtian converts in the faith they had embraced. His body was removed after his crucifixion to ſeveral places, till at laſt it was decently interred at Rome. He left no writings in reality behind him; for tho' a goſpel was aſcribed to him by ſome Heretics, in order to countenance their erroneous tenets, yet pope Gelaſius abſolutely rejected it as a romantic and ſpurious performance.

Saint Thomas, called likewiſe Didymus, the ſignification of which name is a Twin, was a Jew, and probably a Galilean by birth, and a fiſherman by profeſſion, though the goſpel takes no particular notice of either. Notwithſtanding his being honoured with the dignity or office of the apoſtleſhip, and his inviolable fidelity and adherence to our bleſſed Saviour in his life-time; an evident teſtimony whereof he gave in his readineſs to accompany him into Judea, to raiſe Lazarus from the dead, when all the other apoſtles diſſuaded him from that journey, for fear of being ſtoned; yet, after his death, no teſtimony of his reſurrection would ſatisfy him but occular and manual demonſtration. When the reſt of the apoſtles aſſured him that they actually ſeen him alive again, he could not be prevailed on to give credit to their aſſertion, but declared, That unleſs he ſhould ſee in his hands the print of the nails, and thruſt his hand into his ſide, he would not believe. Our bleſſed Lord, in order to convince him of his infidelity, took compaſſion on his weakneſs, and appeared to his diſciples again, when St. Thomas was with them, and gave him the demonſtration he required. The apoſtle, convinced of his error, immediately acknowledged his omnipotence. Whereupon our Savjour told him, He did well to believe upon ſuch an inconteſtable proof; but that it was a more laudable act of faith to acquieſce in a rational evidence, ſuch as might ſatisfy a wiſe and ſober man, without the additional teſtimony of his own ſenſes. The province which fell to his ſhare for the exerciſe of his apoſtolical function, was Parthia: there he preached the glad tidings of the goſpel to the Medes, Perſians, Carmanians, Hyrcani, and Bactrians. Some of the ancient writers aſſure us, that he met with the very Magi who brought their oblations to our Saviour at the time of his nativity, and that they were very ſerviceable to him in the propagation of the goſpel. Some time afterwards he travelled through the Aſian Æthiopia, and at laſt ſettled amongſt the Indians, great numbers of whom, by the power of his preaching, became proſelytes to the chriſtian faith. Amongſt the reſt, he had the honour to convert the prince of the country. Whereupon the Brachmans, conſcious that the progreſs which chriſtianity made through his means, would prove prejudicial, if not deſtructive to their trade, determined the firſt opportunity that offered to take away his life. Accordingly, as our apoſtle ſome few days afterwards retired without the city of Malopur, in order to ſpend ſome time in his private devotions, they fell upon him with a body of armed men; who firſt loaded him with a ſhower of darts and ſtones, and at laſt one of the gang, in order to give a finiſhing ſtroke to their villainy, run him through the body with a lance. His corpſe, thus mangled and abuſed, was interred by his diſciples in a church which he had then lately erected in the before-mentioned city, which afterwards became a very magnificent ſtructure.

Saint James the Leſs, otherwiſe called St. James the Juſt, on account of his unaffected piety, and ſanctity of manners, is ſtiled in ſacred hiſtory, the brother of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, though he was only the Son of Joſeph by his firſt wife Eſcha. As to the place of his nativity, or his particular profeſſion, there is no mention made of either in the holy ſcriptures. The title or name of James the Leſs was given him, either on account of his low ſtature, to diſtinguiſh him from the other Saint James, who was a taller and more bulky man; or elſe on account of his being the younger brother. Our apoſtle having ſolemnly ſwore, that from the time he had drank of the cup at the inſtitution of the ſacrament, he would eat bread no more till he ſaw the Lord riſen from the dead; our bleſſed Lord appeared to him in particular, after his reſurrection, and ſaid to him, Bring hither bread and a table: and he took the bread, and bleſſed and brake it, and gave it to our apoſtle, ſaying, Eat thy bread, my brother, for the Son of man is riſen from among them that ſleep. Soon after which he was choſen biſhop of Jeruſalem, by the unanimous conſent of all the apoſtles, as a teſtimony of their peculiar veneration for him; he being ſo near a relation of our Saviour. He was of a very meek and lowly diſpoſition: notwithſtanding the dignity of his ſtation, and his conſanguinity to our bleſſed Lord, he only ſtiled himſelf in the inſcription to his epiſtle, the ſervant of the Lord Jeſus. He was ſo temperate, that he grew pale with faſting; he abſtained not only from all manner of fleſh-meats, wine, and all ſtrong liquors, but denied himſelf the innocent refreſhment of the bath. Prayer was his principal employment and delight, and by the prevailing power of it he obtained a refreſhing ſhower of rain in a general drought. The more circumſpect and indefatigable he was in the adminiſtration of his apoſtolical function, and the more ſucceſs he met with in the propagation of the goſpel, the more inveterate were his enemies againſt him, and the more reſolute to deſtroy him. A council was accordingly called by Ananus the younger, then high prieſt, who was of the cruel ſect of the Sadducees, before whom our apoſtle, amongſt others, was charged with being a blaſphemer and a tranſgreſſor of the law. However, the Scribes and Phariſees, who were perfect maſters of the art of diſſimulation, not thinking it adviſeable at that time to proceed with open violence againſt him, for fear of the people, amongſt whom there were many converts, endeavoured by diſſembling ſpeeches, and acts of courteſy and complaiſance, to engage him to draw off the people from the falſe notions they had received concerning Jeſus, whom they looked upon as the Meſſiah; and, in order that he might be the better ſeen and heard, they prevailed on him to go with them to the top of the temple, imagining that he would there make a public recantation of the doctrines he had advanced. He went with them accordingly,

accordingly, and there ſtanding upon the pinnacle, in the full view of a vaſt concourſe of people, he was addreſſed by his paraſites in the following ſoft and ſoothing terms. Tell us, O juſt man, what we are to believe concerning Jeſus, who was crucified. He anſwered with a loud voice, Why do ye inquire of Jeſus, the Son of Man? He ſits in Heaven on the Right Hand of the Majeſty on High, and will come again in the Clouds of Heaven. Whereupon the people glorified the bleſſed Jeſus, and proclaimed Hoſanna to the Son of David. The Scribes and Phariſees, enraged at their diſappointment, threw him headlong from the top of the temple to the bottom. Notwithſtanding his fall, he was not abſolutely killed, but recovered ſtrength ſo far as to get upon his knees, and pray for his malicious enemies. Whilſt he was thus at his devotions, they loaded him with a ſhower of ſtones, till one of them with a fuller's club beat out his brains. At the time of his death he was about 96 years of age. As to his writings, there is but one epiſtle of his remaining, which is inſcribed to the Jewiſh converts who were diſperſed and ſcattered abroad: there is a Goſpel indeed that is aſcribed to him, but it is rejected by the learned as ſpurious and apocryphal.

Saint Jude, otherwiſe called Thaddeus, and Lebbeus, was the brother of St. James, and brother alſo, as he ſtiles himſelf, of Jeſus Chriſt, though he was only the ſon of Joſeph by his former wife Eſcha. Scripture is ſilent with reſpect both to his profeſſion and the particular time when our Saviour honoured him with the dignity and office of an apoſtle: however, from the time of ſuch call, whenever it was, he proved a moſt zealous advocate for the chriſtian faith. The province allotted him for the exerciſe of his miniſterial charge was Judea and the parts adjacent, where he preached the goſpel with great ſucceſs. From thence he travelled through Samaria to Idumea; as alſo to the cities of Arabia, and the adjacent countries; and proceeded even to Syria and Meſopotamia. Towards the latter end of his life he travelled into Perſia, where his labours in the miniſtry were crowned with great ſucceſs: but being too free and open in inveighing againſt the ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies of the Magi, he was, by their ſuggeſtion and contrivance, put to ſome cruel and inhuman death, though the manner of it is uncertain. As to his writings, he left only one epiſtle behind him, inſcribed to all chriſtians in general; but it is imagined that he intended it more particularly for the ſervice of ſuch Jews as were converts in their ſeveral diſperſions. It was at firſt ſuſpected to be ſpurious, but afterwards, on more mature deliberation, was received as part of the ſacred canon. The main ſcope and deſign of it is, to exhort them to adhere with conſtancy and reſolution to the faith once delivered to the ſaints, and zealouſly to oppoſe the Gnoſtics, and other falſe teachers, who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to corrupt it.

Saint Simon was ſirnamed the Canaanite, or Zelotes, both which terms ſignify Zealous, on account of the warmth of his diſpoſition, and his unfeigned zeal after his converſion for the chriſtian faith. As to his country, or kindred, ſome imagine, that he was the ſon of Joſeph by his firſt wife Eſcha, and that he was born in Cana of Galilee; but there is no ſubſtantial authority for the juſtification of thoſe conjectures. After our Lord's paſſion, Saint Simon continued to join in worſhip and communion with the other apoſtles and diſciples of Chriſt at Jeruſalem; where he reſided till after the feaſt of Pentecoſt, when they were all plentifully furniſhed with the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, in order to qualify them for the due adminiſtration of their apoſtolical office in diſtant countries. From thence it is thought he went into Egypt, Cyrene, and Africa, where he preached the goſpel with great ſucceſs: ſome time afterwards, he travelled into Lybia and Mauritania. Towards the latter end of his life, he paſſed, according to ſome hiſtorians, into Britain, where, after he had made a great number of proſelytes to the chriſtian faith, and gone through a long ſeries of trials and afflictions, he was crucified and buried there by the infidels.

Saint Matthias; as to the parentage or place of this apoſtle's nativity, we have no account either in the ſacred ſcriptures, or in any other writings whatſoever. He was choſen, however, into the apoſtolical office, after our Lord's aſcenſion, by lot, in the room of Judas Iſcariot, who betrayed his maſter. Saint Matthias was doubtleſs duly qualified for the dignity conferred on him, ſince he had been a conſtant attendant on our Saviour all the time of his miniſtry till his crucifixion, of which, and ſome of the moſt material tranſactions of his life, he had been an eye-witneſs. He continued at Jeruſalem till the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the apoſtles, and after that preached the goſpel of Chriſt in Judea with great ſucceſs. Towards the latter end of his life he travelled to Cappadocia, and fixed his place of reſidence near the irruption of the river Apſarus and the haven hyſſus. He was there treated with the utmoſt rudeneſs and inhumanity by the ſavage natives; and after having been indefatigable in the propagation of the goſpel in thoſe parts, and run through many difficulties and dangers in making proſelytes to the chriſtian faith, he died a martyr; but the manner of his death is very uncertain. Some are of opinion, that he was taken into cuſtody by the Jews, and by them firſt ſtoned, and then beheaded: others again imagine, that as Judas hung upon a tree, ſo his ſucceſſor ſuffered upon a croſs. There are no writings of this apoſtle extant; for tho' there was a Goſpel publiſhed under his name, yet it is rejected by the learned as ſpurious and apocryphal.

As Mr. Fox has not been ſo particular as we could have wiſhed concerning the life and death of our Saviour and his apoſtles, the reader it is hoped will excuſe this little digreſſion, though it may have the appearance of tautology; what follows, is in Mr. Fox's own words.

The Firſt Book of Mr. Fox's Lives of the Primitive Martyrs.

BY the grace of God I intend, in the tractation of this hiſtory, two ſpecial points, as moſt requiſite and neceſſary for every chriſtian man to obſerve and to note for his own experience and profit; as firſt the diſpoſition and nature of this world: ſecondly, the nature and condition of the kingdom of Chriſt; the vanity of the one, and the ſtabliſhment of the other: the unproſperous and unquiet ſtate of the one, ruled by man's violence and wiſdom, and the happy ſucceſs of the other, ever ruled by God's bleſſing and providence; the wrath and revenging hand of God in the one, and his mercy upon the other. The world I call all ſuch as be without or againſt Chriſt, either by ignorance not knowing him, or by heatheniſh life not following him, or by violence reſiſting him. On the other ſide, the kingdom of Chriſt in this world, I take to be all them which belong to the faith of Chriſt, and here take his part in this world againſt the world: the number of whom, although it be much ſmaller than the other, and always lightly, is hated and moleſted of the world, yet it is the number, which the Lord doth peculiarly bleſs and proſper, and ever will. And this number of Chriſt's ſubjects is it which we call the viſible church here on earth. Which viſible church, having in itſelf a difference of two ſorts of people, ſo is it to be divided in two parts, of which the one ſtandeth of ſuch as be of outward profeſſion only, the other which by election inwardly are joined to Chriſt: the firſt in words and lips ſeem to honour Chriſt, and are in the viſible church only, but not in

the church inviſible, and partake the outward ſacraments of Chriſt, but not the inward bleſſing of Chriſt. The other are but in the viſible and alſo in the inviſible church of Chriſt, which not in words only and outward profeſſion, but alſo in heart do truly ſerve and honour Chriſt, partaking not only the ſacraments, but alſo the heavenly bleſſings and grace of Chriſt.

And many times it happeneth, that as between the world and the kingdom of Chriſt there is a continual repugnance: ſo between theſe two parts of this viſible church aforeſaid oft-times groweth great variance and mortal perſecution, inſomuch that ſometime the true church of Chriſt hath no greater enemies, than of their own profeſſion and company, as happened not only in the time of Chriſt and his apoſtles, but alſo from time to time almoſt continually. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1. but eſpecially in theſe later days of the church, under the perſecution of Antichriſt and his retinue, as by the reading of this volume more manifeſtly hereafter may appear.

At the firſt preaching of Chriſt, and coming of the goſpel, who ſhould rather have known and received him, than the Phariſees and Scribes of that people, which had his law? And yet who perſecuted and rejected him more than they themſelves? What followed? They in refuſing Chriſt to be their king, and chooſing rather to be ſubject unto Cæſar, were by the ſaid their own Cæſar at length deſtroyed; when as Chriſt's ſubjects the ſame time eſcaped the danger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a dangerous thing it is to refuſe the goſpel of God, when it is ſo gently offered.

The like example of God's wrathful puniſhment is to be noted no leſs in the Romans alſo themſelves. For when Tiberius Cæſar, having received by letters, from Pontius Pilate of the doings of Chriſt, of his miracles, reſurrection and aſcenſion into heaven, and how he was received as God of many, was himſelf alſo moved with belief of the ſame, and did confer thereof with the whole ſenate of Rome, to have Chriſt adored as God: they not agreeing thereunto refuſed him, becauſe that contrary to the law of the Romans he was conſecrated (ſaid they) for God before the ſenate of Rome had ſo decreed and approved him, &c. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Thus the vain ſenate following rather the law of man, than of God, and which were contented with the emperor to reign over them, and were not contented with the meek King of glory, the Son of God, to be their king; were after much like ſort to the Jews ſcourged and entraped for their unjuſt refuſing, by the ſame way which they themſelves did prefer. For as they preferred the emperor, and rejected Chriſt, ſo the juſt permiſſion of God did ſtir up their own emperors againſt them in ſuch ſort, that both the ſenators themſelves were almoſt all devoured, and the whole city moſt horribly afflicted for the ſpace almoſt of three hundred years together. For firſt the ſame Tiberius, which for a great part of his reign was a moderate and a tolerable prince, afterward was to them a ſharp and heavy tyrant, who neither favoured his own mother, nor ſpared his own nephews, nor the princes of the city, ſuch as were his own counſellors, of whom to the number of twenty, he left not paſt two or three alive. Suetonius reporteth him to be ſo ſtern of nature, and tyrannical, that in the time of his reign, very many were accuſed, and condemned with their wives and children, maids alſo firſt defloured, then put to death. In one day he recordeth twenty perſons to be drawn to the place of execution. By whom alſo, thro' the juſt puniſhment of God, Pilate, under whom Chriſt was crucified, was apprehended and accuſed at Rome, depoſed, then baniſhed to the town of Lions, and at length did ſlay himſelf. Neither did Herod and Caiaphas long eſcape, of whom more followeth hereafter. Agrippa alſo by him was caſt into priſon, albeit afterward he was reſtored. In the reign of Tiberius, the Lord Jeſus, the Son of God, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, which was the ſeventeenth of this emperor, by the malice of the Jews ſuffered his bleſſed paſſion for the conquering of ſin, death and ſatan, the prince of this world, and roſe again the third day. After whoſe bleſſed paſſion and reſurrection, this aforeſaid Tiberius Nero (otherwiſe called Biberius Mero) lived ſix years, during which time no perſecution was yet ſtirring in Rome againſt the chriſtians, through the commandment of the emperor. An. 34.

In the reign alſo of this emperor, and the year which was the next after the paſſion of our Saviour, or ſomewhat more, St. Paul was converted to the faith. An. 35.

After the death of Tiberius, when he had reigned three and twenty years, ſucceeded C. Cæſar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero: An. 59.

which three were likewiſe ſuch ſcourges to the ſenate and people of Rome, that the firſt not only took other men's wives violently from them, but alſo defloured three of his own ſiſters, and afterward baniſhed them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himſelf to be worſhipped as God, and temples to be erected in his name, and uſed to ſit in the temple among the gods, requiring his images to be ſet up in all temples, and alſo in the temple at Jeruſalem: which cauſed great diſturbance among the Jews, and then began "the abomination of deſolation" to be ſet up in the holy place, ſpoken of in the goſpel. His cruel condition, or elſe diſpleaſure was ſuch towards the Romans, that he wiſhed that all the people of Rome had but one neck, that he at his pleaſure might deſtroy ſuch a multitude. By this ſaid Caligula, Herod the murderer of John Baptiſt, and condemner of Chriſt, was condemned to perpetual baniſhment, where he died miſerably. Caiaphas alſo, which wickedly ſat upon Chriſt, was the ſame time removed from the high-prieſt's room, and Jonathan ſet in his place. The raging fierceneſs of this Caligula incenſed againſt the Romans had not thus ceaſed, had not he been cut off by the hands of a Tribune, and other gentlemen, which ſlew him in the fourth year of his reign. After whoſe death were found in his cloſet two little An. 43.

libels, one called a Sword, the other the Dagger: in the which libels were contained the names of thoſe ſenators and noblemen of Rome, whom he had purpoſed to put to death. Beſides the Sword and Dagger, there was found alſo a coffer, wherein divers kinds of poiſon were kept in glaſſes and veſſels for the purpoſe, to deſtroy a wonderful number of people, which poiſons, afterward being thrown into the ſea, deſtroyed a great number of fiſh. Gotfri. Viterb.

But that which this Caligula had only conceived, the ſame did the other two which came after bring to paſs; Claudius Nero, who reigned thirteen years with no little cruelty; but eſpecially the third of theſe Neroes, called Domitius Nero, which ſucceeding An. 56.

after Claudius, reigned fourteen years, with ſuch fury and tyranny, that he ſlew the moſt part of the ſenators, and deſtroyed the whole order of knighthood in Rome. So prodigious a monſter of nature was he, more like a beaſt, yea rather a devil than a man, that he ſeemed to be born to the deſtruction of men. Such was his monſtrous uncleanneſs, that he abſtained not from his own mother, his natural ſiſter, nor from any degree of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he cauſed to be put to death his mother, his brother-in-law, his ſiſter, his wife great with child, all his inſtructors, Seneca and Lucan, with divers more of his own kindred and conſanguinity. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be ſet on fire in twelve places, and ſo continued it ſix days and ſeven nights in burning, while that he to ſee the example how Troy burned, ſung the verſes of Homer. And to avoid the infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the chriſtian-men, and cauſed them to be perſecuted. And ſo continued this miſerable emperor in his reign

fourteen

fourteen years, till at laſt the ſenate proclaiming him a public enemy unto mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the city, and to be whipped to death. For the fear whereof, he flying the hands of his enemies, in the night fled to a manor of his ſervants in the country, where was forced to ſlay himſelf, complaining that he had then neither friend nor enemy left that would do ſo much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter and Paul were put to death for the teſtimony and faith of Chriſt. Anno 69.

Thus ye ſee, which is worthy to be marked, how the juſt ſcourge and heavy indignation of God from time to time ever followeth there, and how all things there go to ruin, neither doth any thing well proſper, where Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God is contemned, and not received; as by theſe examples may appear, both of Romans which not only were thus conſumed and plagued by their own emperors, but alſo by civil wars, whereof three happened in two years at Rome, after the death of Nero, and other caſualties (as in Sueton is teſtified) ſo that in the days of Tiberius aforeſaid, five thouſand Romans were hurt and ſlain at one time by the fall of a theatre. And alſo moſt eſpecially by the deſtruction of the Jews, which about this ſame time in the year threeſcore and thirteen, and forty years after the paſſion of Chriſt, and the third year after the ſuffering of Saint Peter and Paul, were deſtroyed by Titus and Veſpaſian his father (who ſucceeded after Nero in the empire) to the number of eleven hundred thouſand, beſides them which Veſpaſian ſlew in ſubduing the country of Galilee, over and beſide them alſo which were ſold and ſent into Egypt and other provinces to vile ſlavery, to the number of ſeventeen thouſand. Two thouſand were brought with Titus in his triumph; of which, part he gave to be devoured of the wild beaſts, part otherwiſe moſt cruelly were ſlain. By whoſe caſe all nations and realms may take example, what it is to reject the viſitation of God's verity being ſent, and much more to perſecute them which be ſent of God for their ſalvation.

And as this wrathful vengeance of God thus hath been ſhewed upon this rebellious people, both of the Jews and of the Romans, for their contempt of Chriſt, whom God ſo puniſhed by their own emperors: ſo neither the emperors themſelves, for perſecuting Chriſt in his members, eſcaped without their juſt reward. For among ſo many emperors which put ſo many chriſtian martyrs to death, during the ſpace of theſe firſt three hundred years, few or none of them eſcaped either not ſlain themſelves, or by ſome miſerable end or other worthily revenged. Firſt, of the poiſoning of Tiberius, and of the ſlaughter of the other three Neroes after him, ſufficiently is declared before. After Nero, Domitius Galba within ſeven months was ſlain by Otho. And ſo did Otho afterward ſlay himſelf, being overcome by Vitellius. And was not Vitellius ſhortly after drawn through the city of Rome, and after he was tormented was thrown into Tiber? Titus a good emperor is thought to be poiſoned of Domitian his brother. The ſaid Domitian, after he had been a perſecutor of the chriſtians, was ſlain in his chamber, not without the conſent of his wife. Likewiſe Commodus was murdered of Narciſſus. The like end was of Pertinax and Julianus. Moreover, after that Severus was ſlain here in England (and lieth at York) did not his ſon Baſſinus ſlay his brother Geta, and he after ſlain of Martialis? Macrinus with his ſon Diadumenus were both ſlain of their own ſoldiers. After whom Heliogabalus, that monſtrous belly-paunch, was of his own people ſlain, and drawn through the city and caſt into Tiber. Alexander Severus, that worthy and learned emperor, which ſaid he would not feed his ſervants, doing nothing with the bowels of the commonwealth, although in life and virtues he was much unlike other emperors, yet proved the like end, being ſlain at Mentz with his godly mother Mammea, by Maximinus, whom the emperor before of a muleter had advanced to great dignities. The which Maximinus alſo after three years was ſlain himſelf of his ſoldiers. What ſhould I ſpeak of Maximus and Balbinus in like ſort both ſlain in Rome? Of Gordian ſlain by Philip: of Philip the firſt chriſtened emperor, ſlain, or rather martyred for the ſame cauſe: of wicked Decius drowned, and his ſon ſlain the ſame time in battle: of Gallus and Voluſianus his ſon, emperors after Decius, both ſlain by conſpiracy of Aemilianus, who roſe againſt them both in war, and within three months after was ſlain himſelf? next to Aemilianus ſucceeded Valerianus and Galienus his ſon, of whom Valerianus (who was a perſecutor of the Chriſtians) was taken priſoner of the Perſians, and there made a riding fool of Sapores their king, who uſed him for a ſtool to leap upon his horſe, while his ſon Galienus ſleeping at Rome, either would not, or could not once proffer to revenge his father's ignominy. For after the taking of Valerian, ſo many emperors roſe up as were provinces in the Roman monarchy. At length Galienus alſo was killed by Aureolus which warred againſt him. It were too long here to ſpeak of Aurelianus another perſecutor, ſlain of his ſecretary; of Tacitus and Florinus his brother, of whom the firſt reigned ſix months, and was ſlain at Pontus; the other reigned two months, and was murdered at Tarſis; of Probus, who although a good civil emperor, yet was he deſtroyed by his ſoldiers. After whom Carus the next emperor was ſlain by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked perſecutor Diocleſian, with his fellows, Maximian, Valerius, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius, under whom all at one time (during the time of Diocleſian) the greateſt and moſt grievous perſecution was moved againſt the Chriſtians ten years together. Of which, Diocleſian and Maximian depoſed themſelves from the empire. Galerius the chiefeſt miniſter of the perſecution, after his terrible perſecutions, fell into a wonderful ſickneſs, having ſuch a ſore riſen in the nether part of his belly, which conſumed his privy members, and ſo did ſwarm with worms, that being curable neither by ſurgery nor phyſic, he confeſſed that it happened for his cruelty towards the Chriſtians, and ſo called in his proclamations againſt them. Notwithſtanding he not able to ſuſtain (as ſome ſay) the ſtink of his ſore, ſlew himſelf. Maximinus in his war, being tormented with pain in his guts there died. Maxentius was vanquiſhed by Conſtantine, and drowned in Tiber. Lucinius likewiſe, being overcome by the ſaid Conſtantine the Great, was depoſed from his empire, and afterwards ſlain of his ſoldiers. But on the other ſide, after the time of Conſtantine, when as the faith of Chriſt was received into the imperial ſeat, we read of no emperor after the like ſort deſtroyed or moleſted, except it were Julianus or Baſilius (which expelled one Zeno, and was afterward expelled himſelf) or Valens. Beſide theſe we read of no emperor to come to ruin and decay, as the others before-mentioned. Ex lib. hiſt. tripat.

And thus have we in brief ſum collected out of the Chronicles the unquiet and miſerable ſtate of the emperors of Rome, until the time of Chriſtian Conſtantine, with the examples, no leſs terrible than manifeſt, of God's ſevere juſtice upon them, for their contemptuous refuſing and perſecuting the faith and name of Chriſt their Lord.

Moreover, in much like ſort and condition, if leiſure of time or haſte of matter would ſuffer me a little to digreſs unto more lower times, and to come more near home, the like examples I could alſo infer of this our country of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God againſt the churliſh and unthankful refuſing or abuſing the benefit of his truth. Firſt, we read how that God ſtirred up Gildas to preach to the old Britons, and to exhort them unto repentance, and amendment of life, and afore to warn them of plagues to come if they repented not. What availeth it! Gildas was laughed to ſcorn, and taken for a falſe prophet, and a malicious preacher. The

Britains

Britains with luſty courages, whoriſh faces, and unrepentant hearts, went forth to ſin, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God ſent in their enemies on every ſide, and deſtroyed them, and gave the land to other nations. Not many years paſt, God ſeeing idolatry, ſuperſtition, hypocriſy, and wicked living, uſed in this realm, raiſed up that godly learned man John Wickliffe, to preach unto our fathers repentance, and to exhort them to amend their lives, to forſake their papiſtry and idolatry, their hypocriſy and ſuperſtition, and to walk in the fear of God. His exhortations were not regarded, he with his ſermons were deſpiſed, he himſelf and his books after his death were burnt. What followed? They ſlew their right king, and ſet up three wrong kings on a row, under whom all the noble blood was ſlain up, and half the commons thereto, what in France, and with their own ſword in fighting among themſelves for the crown; and the cities and towns were decayed, and the land brought half to a wilderneſs, in reſpect of that it was before. O extreme plagues of God's vengeance! Since that time, even of late years, God, once again having pity of this realm of England, raiſed up his prophets; namely, William Tindall, Thomas Bilney, John Frith, doctor Barnes, Jerome Garret, Anthony Perſon, with divers others, which both with their writings and ſermons earneſtly laboured to call us unto repentance, that by this means the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from us. But how were they intreated? How were their painful labours regarded? They themſelves were condemned and burnt as heretics, and their books condemned and burnt as heretical. The time ſhall come, ſaith Chriſt, That whoſoever killeth you, will think that he doth God high good ſervice. Whether any thing ſince that time hath chanced to this realm worthy the name of a plagùe, let the godly wiſe judge. If God hath deferred his puniſhment, or forgiven us theſe wicked deeds, as I truſt he hath, let us not therefore be proud and high-minded, but moſt humbly thank him for his tender mercies, and beware of the like ungodly enterprizes hereafter. Neither is it here any need to ſpeak of theſe our lower and later times, which have been in king Henry's and king Edward's days, ſeeing the memory thereof is yet freſh, and cannot be forgotten. But let this paſs, of this, I am ſure, that God yet once again is come on viſitation to this church of England, yea and that more lovingly and beneficially than ever he did before. For in this viſitation he hath redreſſed many abuſes, and cleanſed his church of much ungodlineſs and ſuperſtition, and made it a glorious church, if it be compared to the old form and ſtate. And now how grateful receivers we be, with what heart, ſtudy, and reverence we embrace that which he hath given, that I refer either to them that ſee our fruits, or to the ſequel, which peradventure will declare it. But this by the way of digreſſion. Now to regreſs again to the ſtate of the firſt former times. It remaineth, that as I have ſet forth the juſtice of God upon theſe Roman perſecutors: ſo now we declare their perſecutions raiſed up againſt the people and ſervants of Chriſt, within the ſpace of three hundred years after Chriſt. Which perſecutions in number commonly are counted to be ten, beſides their perſecutions firſt moved by the Jews in Jeruſalem and other places againſt the apoſtles. In the which, firſt St. Stephen the deacon was put to death, with divers others more, in the ſame rage of time either ſlain or caſt into priſon. At the doing whereof, Saul the ſame time played the doughty Phariſee, being not yet converted to the faith of Chriſt, whereof the hiſtory is plain in the Acts of the Apoſtles, ſet forth at large by St. Luke.

After the martyrdom of this bleſſed Stephen, ſuffered next James, the holy apoſtle of Chriſt, and brother of John. Of which James mention is made in the Acts of the Apoſtles, the twelfth chapter, where is declared, how that not long after the ſtoning of Stephen, king Herod ſtretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certain of the congregation: among whom James was one, whom he ſlew with the ſword, &c. Of this James Euſebius alſo inferreth mention, alledging Clement thus writing a memorable ſtory of him. This James, ſaith Clement, when he was brought to the tribunal-ſeat, he that brought him, and was the cauſe of his trouble, ſeeing him to be condemned, and that he ſhould ſuffer death: as he went to the execution, he being moved therewith in heart and conſcience, confeſſed himſelf alſo of his own accord to be a chriſtian. And ſo were they led forth together, where in the way he deſired of James to forgive him that he had done. After that James had a little pauſed with himſelf upon the matter, turning to him; "Peace (ſaith he) be to thee, brother," and kiſſed him; and both were beheaded together, in the year of our Lord thirty-ſix.

Dorotheus in his book named Synopſis, teſtifieth, that Nicanor, one of the ſeven deacons, with two thouſand others which believed in Chriſt, ſuffered alſo the ſame day when as Stephen did ſuffer.

The ſaid Dorotheus witneſſeth alſo, that Simon, another of the deacons, biſhop afterward of Boſtrum, in Arabia, was there burned. Parmenas alſo, another of the deacons, ſuffered.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Perſians; alſo to the Germans, Hiraconies, Bactries, and Magies. He ſuffered in Calamina, a city of Juda, being ſlain with a dart.

Simon Zelotes preached at Mauritania, and in the country of Africk, and in Britannia; he was likewiſe crucified.

Judas, brother of James, called alſo Thaddeus, and Lebbeus, preached to the Edeſſens, and to all Meſopotamia: he was ſlain under Augarus, king of the Edeſſens in Berito.

Simon, called Cananeus, which was brother to Jude above-mentioned, and to James the younger, which all were the ſons of Mary Cleophas, and of Alpheus, was biſhop of Jeruſalem after James, and was crucified in a city of Egypt, in the time of Trajanus the emperor, as Dorotheus recordeth. But Abdias writeth, that he with his brother Jude were both ſlain by a tumult of the people in Suanir, a city of Parſidis.

Mark the evangeliſt, and firſt biſhop of Alexandria, preached the goſpel in Egypt, and there drawn with ropes unto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there Bucolus, under the reign of Trajanus the emperor.

Bartholomeus is ſaid alſo to preach to the Indians, and to have converted the goſpel of St. Matthew into their tongue, where he continued a great ſpace, doing many miracles. At laſt in Albania, a city of Greater Armenia, after divers perſecutions, he was beaten down with ſtaves, then crucified, and after being excoriate, he was at length beheaded. John de Monte Regali.

Of Andrew the apoſtle, and brother to Peter, thus writeth Hierome, in his book De Catalogo Scriptorum Eccleſ. Andrew the brother of Peter (in the time and reign of Veſpaſianus, as our anceſtors have reported) did preach in the fourſcore year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to the Scythians, Sogdians, to the Saxons, and in a city which is called Auguſtia, where the Ethiopians do now inhabit. He was buried in Patris, a city of Achaia, being crucified of Egeas, the governor of the Edeſſians. Hitherto writeth Hierome, although in the number of years he ſeemeth a little to miſs: for Veſpaſianus reached not to the fourſcore year after Chriſt. But Bernard in his ſecond ſermon, and St. Cyprian in his book De duplici Martyrio, do make mention of the confeſſion and martyrdom of this bleſſed apoſtle; whereof partly out of theſe, partly out of other credible writers, we have collected after this manner: that, when as Andrew being converſant in a city of Achaia, called Patris, thro' his diligent preaching had brought many to the faith of Chriſt:

Chriſt: Egeas the governor knowing this, reſorted thither, to the intent he might conſtrain as many as did believe Chriſt to be God, by the whole conſent of the ſenate, to do ſacrifice unto the idols, and ſo give divine honour unto them. Andrew thinking good at the beginning to reſiſt the wicked counſel, and the doings of Egeas, went unto him, ſaying to this effect unto him; that, It behoved him which was judge of men, firſt to know his judge which dwelleth in heaven, and then to worſhip him being known, and ſo in worſhipping the true God, to revoke his mind from falſe gods and blind idols. Theſe words ſpake Andrew to the conſul.

But he greatly therewith diſcontented, demanded of him, whether he was the ſame Andrew that did overthrow the temple of the gods, and perſuaded men of that ſuperſtitious ſect, which the Romans of late had commanded to be aboliſhed and rejected. Andrew did plainly affirm, that the princes of the Romans did not underſtand the truth, and that the Son of God, coming from heaven into the world for man's ſake, had taught and declared how thoſe idols, whom they ſo honoured as gods, were not only not gods, but alſo moſt cruel devils, enemies to mankind, teaching the people nothing elſe but that wherewith God is offended, and being offended, turneth away, and regardeth them not; and ſo by the wicked ſervice of the devil, they do fall headlong into all wickedneſs, and after their departing, nothing remaineth unto them but their evil deeds.

But the proconſul eſteeming theſe things to be as vain, eſpecially ſeeing the Jews (as he ſaid) had crucified Chriſt before, therefore charged and commanded Andrew not to teach and preach ſuch things any more; or if he did, that he ſhould be faſtened to the croſs with all ſpeed.

Andrew abiding in his former mind very conſtant, anſwered thus concerning the puniſhment which he threatened. He would not have preached the honour and glory of the croſs, if he had feared the death of the croſs. Whereupon ſentence of condemnation was pronounced, that Andrew teaching and enterprizing a new ſect, and taking away the religion of their gods, ought to be crucified. Andrew coming to the place, and ſeeing afar off the croſs prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecility of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his blood ſhrink, neither did he fail in his ſpeech, his body fainted not, neither was his mind moleſted, his underſtanding did not fail him, as it is the manner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did ſpeak, and fervent charity did appear in his words as kindled ſparks. He ſaid, "O croſs, moſt welcome, and long looked for; with a willing mind joyfully and deſirouſly I come to thee, being the ſcholar of him which did hang on thee: becauſe I have been always thy lover, and have coveted to embrace thee." So being crucified, he yielded up the ghoſt, and fell on ſleep, the day before the Kalends of December.

Matthew, otherwiſe named Levi, firſt of a publican made an apoſtle, wrote his goſpel to the Jews in the Hebrew tongue, as recordeth Euſebius, lib. 3. cap. 24. 39. lib. 5. cap. 8. cap. 10. Alſo Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in Catalogo Scrip. Eccleſiaſt. Concerning the doings and decreements of this bleſſed apoſtle and evangeliſt, divers things be recorded by Julius Africanus, under the pretended name of Abdias; alſo of Vincentius, Perionius, and others, but in ſuch ſort, as by the contents may greatly be ſuſpected the matter not to lack ſome crafty forgery, for the more eſtabliſhment of later decretals, and Romiſh doctrine, as touching merits, conſecration of nuns, the ſuperſtitious preſcription of Lent-faſt, not only in abſtaining from all fleſh meats, but alſo from all matrimonial copulation between man and wife, during the ſaid time of Holy Lent. Item, the ſtrict prohibition not to taſte any bodily ſuſtenance, before receiving of the Lord's Supper. In ordaining of maſs; and that no nun muſt marry after the vow of her profeſſion, with ſuch other like.

Joan. de Monte Regali teſtifieth of Matthias, after he had preached to the Jews, at length he was ſtoned, and beheaded. Some others record, that he died in Ethiopia.

Philippus the holy apoſtle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preaching the word of Salvation to them, at length he ſuffered as the other apoſtles did in Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia, being there crucified and ſtoned to death, where he alſo was buried, and his daughters alſo with him.

Of James, the Brother of the Lord, thus we read in the Story of Clement and Egeſippus.

AFTER that Feſtus had ſent the apoſtle Paul to Rome, after his appellation made at Ceſarea, and that the Jews by the means thereof had loſt their hope of performing their malicious vow againſt him conceived, they fell upon James, the brother of our Lord, who was biſhop at Jeruſalem, againſt whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to deny before all the people the faith of Chriſt. But he, otherwiſe than they all looked for, freely and with a greater conſtancy before all the multitude confeſſed Jeſus to be the Son of God, our Saviour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the teſtimony of this man any longer, becauſe he was thought to be the juſteſt among them all, for the highneſs of divine wiſdom and godlineſs, which in living he declared; they killed him, finding the more opportunity to accompliſh their miſchief, becauſe the kingdom the ſame time was vacant. For Feſtus being dead in Jewry, the adminiſtration of that province was deſtitute of a ruler and a deputy. But after what manner James was killed, the words of Clement do declare, which writeth, that he was caſt down the pinnacle of the temple, and being ſmitten with the inſtrument of a fuller, was ſlain: but Egeſippus, which lived in the time next after the apoſtles, deſcribeth the cauſe diligently in his fifth commentary, after this manner as followeth:

"James the brother of our Lord took in hand to govern the church after the apoſtles, being counted of all men from the time of our Lord to be a juſt and perfect man. Many and divers other James's there were beſide him, but this was born holy of his mother's womb; he drunk no wine, nor any ſtrong drink, neither did he eat any living creature; the razor never came upon his head, he was not anointed with oil, neither did he uſe bath, to him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place, neither was he clothed with woollen cloth, but with ſilk, and he only entered into the temple, falling upon his knees, aſking remiſſion for the people, ſo that his knees by oft kneeling loſt the ſenſe of feeling, being benumbed and hardened like the knees of a camel. He was (for worſhipping God, and craving forgiveneſs for the people,) called Juſt, and for the excellency of his juſt life, named Oblias, which (if you do interpret it) is the Safeguard and Juſtice of the people, as the prophets declare of him: therefore when as many of the heretics which were among the people aſked him what manner of door Jeſus ſhould be, he anſwered, That he was the Saviour. Whereof ſome do believe him to be Jeſus Chriſt; but the aforeſaid heretics neither believe the reſurrection, neither that any ſhall come, which ſhall render unto every man according to his works, but as many as believe, they believed for James his cauſe. When as many therefore of the princes did believe, there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Jews, and Phariſees, ſaying, It is dangerous leſt that all the people do look for this Jeſus, as for Chriſt. Therefore they gathered themſelves together, and ſaid to James, "We beſeech thee reſtrain the people, for they believe in Jeſus, as though he were Chriſt;

we pray thee perſuade them all which come unto the feaſt of the paſſover of Jeſus; for we are all obedient unto thee, and all the people do teſtify of thee that thou art juſt, neither that thou doſt accept the perſon of any man; therefore perſuade the people that they be not deceived in Jeſus, and all the people and we will obey thee: therefore ſtand upon the pillar of the temple, that thou mayſt be ſeen from above, and that thy words may be perceived of all the people, for to this paſſover all the tribes do come with all the country." And thus the foreſaid Scribes and Phariſees did ſet James upon the battlements of the church, and they cried unto him, and ſaid, "Thou juſt man, whom all we ought to obey, becauſe this people is led after Jeſus, which is crucified, tell what is the door of Jeſus crucified?" And he anſwered with a great voice, "What do you aſk me of Jeſus the Son of man, ſeeing that he ſitteth on the right hand of God in heaven, and ſhall come in the clouds of the ſky?" But when many were perſuaded of this, they glorified God upon the witneſs of James, and ſaid, "Hoſanna in the higheſt to the Son of David." Then the Scribes and the Phariſees ſaid among themſelves, "We have done evil, that we have cauſed ſuch a teſtimony of Jeſus, but let us go up, and let us take him, that they, being compelled with fear, may deny that faith." And they cried out, ſaying, "Oh, oh, this juſt man alſo is ſeduced;" and they fulfilled that ſcripture which is ſpoken of in Eſay, "Let us take away the juſt man, becauſe he is not profitable for us, wherefore let them eat the fruits of their works." Therefore they went up to throw down the juſt man, and ſaid among themſelves, "Let us ſtone this juſt man James;" and they took him to ſmite him with ſtones, for he was not yet dead when he was caſt down. But he turning, fell down upon his knees, ſaying, "O Lord God, Father, I beſeech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they do."

But when they had ſmitten him with ſtones, one of the prieſts of the children of Rechas, the ſon of Charobim, ſpake to them the teſtimony which is in Jeremy the prophet, "Leave off, what do ye? The juſt man prayeth for you." And one of thoſe which were preſent took a fuller's inſtrument, wherewith they did uſe to beat and purge cloth, and ſmote the juſt man on his head, and ſo he finiſhed his martyrdom, and they buried him in the ſame place, and his pillar abideth ſtill by the temple. He was a true teſtimony to the Jews and the Gentiles. And ſhortly after, Veſpaſianus the emperor deſtroying the land of Jewry, brought them into captivity. Theſe things being thus written at large by Egeſippus, do well agree to thoſe which Clement did write of him. This James was ſo notable a man, that for his juſtice he was had in honour of all men, inſomuch that the wiſe men of the Jews, ſhortly after his martyrdom, did impute the cauſe of the beſieging of Jeruſalem, and other calamities which happened unto them, to no other cauſe, but unto the violence and injury done to this man. Alſo Joſephus has not left this out of his hiſtory, where he ſpeaketh of him after this manner: "Theſe things ſo chanced unto the Jews for a vengeance, becauſe of that juſt man James, which was the brother of Jeſus, whom they called Chriſt, for the Jews killed him, although he was a righteous man."

The ſame Joſephus declareth his death in the ſame book and chapter, ſaying, "Cæſar hearing of the death of Feſtus, ſent Albinus the lieutenant into Jewry: but Ananus the younger being biſhop, and of the ſect of the Sadducees, truſting that he had obtained a convenient time, ſeeing that Feſtus was dead, and Albinus entered on his journey, he called a council, and calling many unto him, among whom was James by name, the brother of Jeſus, which is called Chriſt, he ſtoned them, accuſing them as breakers of the law."

Whereby it appeareth, that many other beſides James alſo at the ſame were martyred and put to death among the Jews, for the faith of Chriſt.

A Deſcription of the ten firſt Perſecutions in the Primitive Church, with a lively Portraiture of the variety of their Torments.

THESE things being thus declared for the martyrdom of the apoſtles, and the perſecution of the Jews: now let us (by the grace of Chriſt our Lord) comprehend with like brevity, the perſecutions raiſed by the Romans againſt the Chriſtians in the primitive age of the church during the ſpace of three hundred years, till the coming of godly Conſtantine; which perſecutions are reckoned of Euſebius, and by the moſt part of writers, to the number of ten moſt ſpecial.

Wherein marvellous it is to ſee and read the numbers incredible of Chriſtian innocents that were ſlain and tormented, ſome one way, ſome another, as Rabanus ſaith, and ſaith truly; "Some ſlain with ſword; ſome burnt with fire; ſome with whips ſcourged; ſome ſtabbed with forks of iron; ſome faſtened to the croſs or gibbet; ſome drowned in the ſea; ſome their ſkins pluckt off; ſome their tongues cut off; ſome ſtoned to death; ſome killed with cold; ſome ſtarved with hunger; ſome their hands cut off, or otherwiſe diſmembered, have been ſo left naked to the open ſhame of the world, &c." Whoſe kinds of puniſhments, although they were divers, yet the manner of conſtancy in all theſe martyrs was one. And yet notwithſtanding the ſharpneſs of theſe ſo many and ſundry torments, and like cruelneſs of the tormentors, yet ſuch was the number of theſe conſtant ſaints that ſuffered, or rather ſuch was the power of the Lord in his ſaints, that as Hierome in his epiſtle to Cromatius and Heliodorus, ſaith, "There is no day in the whole year, unto which the number of five thouſand martyrs cannot be aſcribed, except only the firſt day of January."

The firſt Perſecution.

THE firſt of theſe ten perſecutions was ſtirred up by Nero Domitius, the ſixth emperor before mentioned, about the year of our Lord threeſcore and ſeven. The tyrannous rage of which emperor was ſo fierce againſt the Chriſtians, as Euſebius recordeth, "Inſomuch that a man might then ſee cities lie full of men's bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women caſt out naked, without all reverence of that ſex in the open ſtreets, &c." Likewiſe Oroſius writing of the ſaid Nero, ſaith, That he was the firſt which in Rome did raiſe up perſecution againſt the Chriſtians; and not only in Rome, but alſo through all the provinces thereof, thinking to aboliſh and to deſtroy the whole name of Chriſtians in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreover the teſtimony of Hierome upon Daniel, ſaying, "That many there were of the Chriſtians in thoſe days, which ſeeing the filthy abominations and intolerable cruelty of Nero, thought that he ſhould be Antichriſt."

In this perſecution, among many other ſaints, the bleſſed apoſtle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified, as ſome do write, at Rome; albeit other ſome, and not without cauſe, do doubt thereof: concerning whoſe life and hiſtory, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed in the text of the goſpel, and in the Acts of St. Luke, 4, 5, 12. I need not here to make any great repetition thereof. As touching the cauſe and manner of his death, divers there be which make relation, as Hierome, Egeſippus, Euſebius, Abdias, and others, although they do not all preciſely agree in the time. The words of Hierome be theſe, "Simon Peter the ſon of Jona, of the province of Galilee, and of the town of Bethſaida, the brother of Andrew, &c. After he had been biſhop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to the diſperſion of them that believed, of the circumciſion, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Aſia, and Bithynia, in the ſecond year of Claudius

Claudius the emperor (which was about the year of our Lord forty and four) came to Rome to withſtand Simon Magus, and there kept the prieſtly chair the ſpace of five and twenty years, until the laſt year of the aforeſaid Nero, which was the fourteenth year of his reign, of whom he was crucified, his head being down, and his feet upward, himſelf ſo requiring, becauſe he was, he ſaid, unworthy to be crucified after the ſame form and manner as the Lord was, &c." Egeſippus proſecuting this matter ſomething more at large, and Abdias alſo (if any authority is to be given to his book, who following not only the ſenſe, but alſo the very form of words of Egeſippus in this hiſtory, ſeemed to be extracted out of him, and of other authors) ſaith, "That Simon Magus being then a great man with Nero, and his preſident and keeper of his life, was required upon a time to be preſent at the raiſing up of a certain noble young man in Rome of Nero's kindred lately departed: whereas Peter alſo was deſired to come to the reviving of the ſaid perſonage. But when Magus in the preſence of Peter could not do it, then Peter calling upon the name of the Lord Jeſus, did raiſe him up, and reſtored him to his mother, whereby the eſtimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decay and to be deteſted in Rome. Not long after the ſaid Magus threatened the Romans that he would leave the city, and in their ſight fly away from them into heaven. So the day being appointed, Magus taking his wings in the mount Capitolinus, began to fly in the air: but Peter by the power of the Lord Jeſus brought him down with his wings headlong to the ground, by the which fall, his legs and joints were broken, and he thereupon died. Then Nero, ſorrowing for the death of him, ſought matter againſt Peter to put him to death. Which, when the people perceived, they intreated Peter with much ado that he would fly the city. Peter, thro' their importunity at length perſuaded, prepared himſelf to avoid. But coming to the gate, he ſaw the Lord Chriſt come to meet him, to whom he worſhipping, ſaid, "Lord, whither doſt thou go?" To whom he anſwered and ſaid, "I am come again to be crucified." By this Peter perceiving his ſuffering to be underſtood, returned back into the city again, and ſo was he crucified in manner as is before declared." And this out of Egeſippus.

Euſebius moreover writing of the death not only of Peter, but alſo of his wife, affirmeth, that Peter ſeeing his wife going to her martyrdom (belike as he was yet hanging upon the croſs) was greatly joyous and glad thereof, who crying unto her with a loud voice, and calling her by her name, "Bade her remember the Lord Jeſus." Such was then, ſaith Euſebius, the bleſſed bond of marriage among the ſaints of God. And thus much of Peter.

Paul the apoſtle, which before was called Saul, after his great travel and unſpeakable labours in promoting the goſpel of Chriſt, ſuffered alſo in this firſt perſecution under Nero, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Hierome in his book, De viris illuſtribus. "Paul, otherwiſe called Saul, one of the apoſtles, yet out of the number of the twelve, was of the tribe of Benjamin, and of a town of Jewry called Giſcalis, which town being taken of the Romans, he with his parents fled to Tarſus, a town of Cilicia; afterward was ſent up by his parents to Jeruſalem, and there brought up in the knowledge of the law, at the feet of Gamaliel, and was a doer of the death of Stephen. And when he had received letters from the high prieſt to perſecute the Chriſtians, by the way going to Damaſcus, he was ſtrucken down of the Lord's glory, and of a perſecutor was made a profeſſor, an apoſtle, a martyr, a witneſs of the goſpel, and a veſſel of election."

Among his other manifold labours and travels in ſpreading the doctrine of Chriſt, he won Sergius Paulus the proconſul of Cyprus, to the faith of Chriſt, whereupon he took his name, as ſome ſuppoſe, turned from Saulus to Paulus. After he had paſſed through divers places and countries in his laborious peregrinations, he took to him Barnabas, and went up to Jeruſalem to Peter, James and John, where he was ordained and ſent out with Barnabas to preach unto the Gentiles.

And becauſe it is in the Acts of the Apoſtles ſufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable converſion, and converſation of this moſt worthy apoſtle, that which remaineth of the reſt of his hiſtory, I will here add, how the ſaid apoſtle Paul, the five and twentieth year after the paſſion of the Lord, in the ſecond year of Nero, at what time Feſtus ruled in Jewry, was ſent up in bonds to Rome, where he remaining in his free hoſtery two years together, diſputed daily againſt the Jews, proving Chriſt to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his firſt anſwer, or purgation there made at Rome, the emperor Nero, not yet fully confirmed in his empire, and yet not burſting out into thoſe miſchiefs which hiſtories report of him, he was at that time by Nero diſcharged, and diſmiſſed to preach the goſpel in the weſt parts, and about the coaſts of Italy, as he himſelf writing unto Timothy, afterward in his ſecond apprehenſion, in his ſecond epiſtle witneſſeth, ſaying, "In my firſt purgation no man ſtood with me, but did all forſake me, the Lord lay it not to their charge: but the Lord ſtood with me, and did comfort me, that the preaching of his Word might proceed by me, and that all the Gentiles might hear and be taught; and I was delivered out of the lion's mouth, &c." In which place by the lion, he plainly meaneth Nero. And afterwards likewiſe he ſaith, "I was delivered from the mouth of the lion, &c." And again, "The Lord hath delivered me out from all evil works, and hath ſaved me unto his heavenly kingdom, &c." ſpeaking this, becauſe he perceived then the time of his martyrdom to be near at hand. For in the ſame epiſtle before, he ſaith, "I am now offered up, and the time of my diſſolution draweth on."

Thus then, this worthy preacher and meſſenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth year of Nero, and the ſame day in which Peter was crucified (although not in the ſame year, as ſome write, but in the next year following) was beheaded at Rome for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and was buried in the way of Oſtia, the ſeven and thirtieth year after the paſſion of the Lord. He wrote nine epiſtles to ſeven churches, to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Epheſians one, to the Philippians one, to the Coloſſians one, to the Theſſalonians two. Moreover he wrote to his diſciples, to Timothy two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.

The epiſtle which beareth the title to the Hebrews, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the ſtile and phraſe, but either judged to be written of Timothy, as Tertullian ſuppoſed, or of St. Luke, as others think; or elſe of Clement afterward biſhop of Rome, who, as they ſay, was adjoined with Paul, and compiling together his ſayings and ſentences, did phraſe them in his ſtile and manner. Or elſe, as ſome do judge, becauſe St. Paul wrote unto the Hebrews, for the odiouſneſs of his name among that people, therefore he diſſembled, and confeſſed not his name in the firſt entry of his ſalutation, contrary to his accuſtomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrews, he being an Hebrew, ſo he wrote in Hebrew, that is, his own tongue, more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cauſe why it differeth from his other epiſtles, and is after a more eloquent manner tranſlated into the Greek, than his other epiſtles be. Some alſo read the epiſtle written to Laodicea, but that is expoſed of all men." Thus much Hierome.

As touching the time and order of the death and martyrdom of St. Paul, as Euſebius, Hierome, Maximus, and other authors do but briefly paſs over it; ſo Abdias (if his book be of any ſubſtantial authority) ſpeaking more largely of the ſame, doth ſay, That after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruin of Simon Magus, Paul yet remaining in free cuſtody, was diſmiſſed and delivered at that time from martyrdom by God's permiſ-

ſion,

ſion, that all the Gentiles might be repleniſhed with preaching of the goſpel by him.

And the ſame Abdias proceeding in his ſtory, declareth moreover, that as Paul was thus occupied at Rome, he was accuſed to the emperor, not only for teaching new doctrine, but alſo for ſtirring up ſedition againſt the empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demanded to ſhew the order and manner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was, To teach all men peace and charity, how to love one another, how to prevent one another in honour; rich men not to be puffed up in pride, nor to put their truſt in their treaſures, but in the living God; mean men to be contented with food and raiment, and with their preſent ſtate; poor men to rejoice in their poverty with hope; fathers to bring up their children in the fear of God; children to obey their parents; huſbands to love their wives; wives to be ſubject to their huſbands; citizens and ſubjects to give their tribute unto Cæſar, and to be ſubject to their magiſtrates; maſters to be courteous, not churliſh to their ſervants; ſervants to deal faithfully with their maſters: and this to be the ſum of his teaching. Which his doctrine "he received not of men, nor by men, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and the Father of glory," which ſpake to him from heaven, the Lord Jeſus ſaying to him, "That he ſhould go and preach his name, and that he would be with him, and would be the ſpirit of life to all that believed in him, and that whatſoever he did or ſaid, he would juſtify it, &c." After that Paul had thus declared unto the emperor, ſhortly after, ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him, that he ſhould be beheaded. Unto whoſe execution then Nero ſent two of his eſquires, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They coming to Paul, inſtructing then the people, deſired him to pray for them, that they might believe. Who told them, that ſhortly after they ſhould believe, and be baptized at his ſepulchre (as Abdias writeth.) This done, the ſoldiers came and led him out of the city to the place of execution, where he, after his prayers made, gave his neck to the ſword. Abdias reporteth, that as his head was ſtricken off, inſtead of blood iſſued out white milk, and that at laying down his head, he ſigned himſelf with the ſign of a croſs in his forehead: but this being found in no other hiſtory, Abdias ſeemeth either to add of his own, or elſe to borrow out of the Legend, as he doth many other things beſide, whereof more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Although the ſame miracle of milk flowing out of his neck, is referred alſo unto Ambroſe, who in his ſermon threeſcore and eight (if it be not counterfeited) ſeemeth to affirm the ſame. Of the time and year when the bleſſed apoſtles did ſuffer, hiſtories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the pope's decrees, ſay, That both Peter and Paul ſuffered both in one day, and in one year: which opinion ſeemeth to be taken out of Dionyſius biſhop of Corinth. Hierome in his book, De viris illuſtr. affirmeth, that they both ſuffered in one day, but he expreſſeth not the year. So doth Iſidorus and Euſebius. Simon Metraphraſtes bringeth in the opinion of ſome, which think that Paul ſuffered not with Peter, but after Peter. Prudentius, in his Periſtephano, noteth, that they both were put to death upon the ſame day, but not in the ſame year, and ſaith, that Paul followed Peter a year after.

Abdias, above mentioned, recordeth, that Paul ſuffered two years after Peter. Moreover, if it be true which Abdias ſaith, that after the crucifying of Peter, Paul remained in his fair cuſtody at Rome, mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles, which was as Hierome witneſſeth, the third or fourth year of Nero, then muſt it be ten years betwixt the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, foraſmuch as it is by all writers confeſſed, that Paul ſuffered the fourteenth year, which was the laſt year of Nero. And ſo Abdias ſeemeth neither to agree with other authors, nor with himſelf. And thus much of the firſt perſecution.

The ſecond Perſecution.

Anno 69.

THE firſt Roman perſecution beginning under Nero, as is aforeſaid, ceaſed under Veſpaſianus, who gave ſome reſt to the poor Chriſtians. After whoſe reign was moved, not long after, the ſecond perſecution, by the emperor Domitian, brother of Titus. Of whom Euſebius and Oroſius ſo write, that he firſt beginning mildly, afterward did ſo far outrage in pride intolerable, that he commanded himſelf to be worſhipped as God, and that images of gold and ſilver in his honour ſhould be ſet up In Capitolio. The chiefeſt nobles of the ſenators, either upon envy, or for their goods, he cauſed to be put to death, ſome openly, and ſome he ſent into baniſhment, there cauſing them to be ſlain privily.

And as his tyranny was immeaſurable, ſo the intemperancy of his life was no leſs. He put to death all the nephews of Juda, called the Lord's brother, and cauſed to be ſought out and to be ſlain all that could be found of the ſtock of David (as Veſpaſian alſo did before him) for fear, leſt he were yet to come of the houſe of David, which ſhould enjoy the kingdom. In the time of this perſecutor, Simeon, biſhop of Jeruſalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Juſtus afterward ſucceeded in that biſhopric.

In this perſecution, John the apoſtle and evangeliſt, was exiled by the ſaid Domitianus into Pathmos. Of whom divers and ſundry memorable acts be reported in ſundry chronicles. As firſt, how he was put in a veſſel of boiling oil, by the proconſul of Epheſus. The Legend and Perionius ſay, it was done at Rome. Iſidorus alſo writing of him, and comprehending many things in few words, declareth, that he turned certain pieces of wood into gold, and ſtones by the ſea ſide into margarites, to ſatisfy the deſire of two, whom he had before perſuaded to renounce their riches: and afterward they repented that for worldly treaſure they had loſt heaven; for their ſakes again he changed the ſame into their former ſubſtance. Alſo he raiſed up a widow and a certain young man from death to life. How he drank poyſon, and it hurt him not; raiſing alſo to life two which had drank the ſame before. Theſe and ſuch other miracles, although they may be true, and are found in Iſidorus, and other writers more, yet becauſe they are no articles of our chriſtian belief, I let them paſs, and only content myſelf with that which I read in Euſebius, declaring of him in this wiſe, That in the fourteenth year after Nero, in the ſecond perſecution, in the An. 97. days of Domitian, John was baniſhed into Pathmos for the teſtimony of the Word, in the year fourſcore and ſeventeen. And after the death of the aforeſaid Domitian, he being ſlain, and his acts repealed by the ſenate, John was again releaſed under Pertinax the emperor, and came to Epheſus in the year one hundred. Where he continued until the time of Trajanus, and there governed the churches in Aſia, where alſo he wrote his goſpel, and ſo lived till the year after the paſſion of our Lord, threeſcore and eight, which was the year of his age, one hundred and twenty.

Moreover, in the aforeſaid eccleſiaſtical ſtory of Euſebius, we read, that John the apoſtle and evangeliſt, whom the Lord did love, was in Aſia, where he being returned out of Pathmos, after the death of Domitian, governed the churches and congregations. Irenæus in his ſecond book thus writeth: And of him all the elders do witneſs, which were with John the diſciple of the Lord in Aſia, that he ſpake and wrote theſe things, &c. for there he continued with them unto the time of Trajanus, &c. Alſo the ſaid Irenæus, lib. 3. Hypotheſ.

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in like words declareth, saying, The church of the Ephesians being first founded by Paul, afterward being confirmed of John (who continued in the same city unto the time of Trajanus the emperor) is a true witness of this apostolical tradition, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus moreover noteth both the time of this holy apostle, and also addeth to the same a certain history of him, not unworthy to be remembered of such who delight in things honest and profitable. Of the which history Sozomenus also in his Commentaries maketh mention. The words of the author setting forth this history be these, Hear a fable, and not a fable, but a true report, which is told us of John the apostle, delivered and commended to our remembrance. After the death of the tyrant, when John was returned to Ephesus, from the isle of Pathmos, he was desired to resort to the places bordering near unto him, partly to constitute bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the church, partly to ordain and set such of the clergy in office whom the Holy Ghost should elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certain city not far off, the name of which also many do yet remember, and had among other things comforted the brethren, he looking more earnestly upon him, which was the chief bishop among them, beheld a young man mighty in body, and of beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind: I commend this man, saith he, to thee with great diligence, in witness here of Christ and of the church.

When the bishop had received of him this charge, and had promised his faithful diligence therein: again, the second time John spake unto him, and desired him in like manner and contestation as before. This done, John returned again to Ephesus. The bishop receiving the young man, commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nourished him, and at length also did illuminate, that is, he baptized him, and in short time through his diligence brought him into such order and towardness, that he committed unto him the oversight of a certain cure in the Lord's behalf. The young man thus having more his liberty, it chanced that certain of his companions and old familiars being idle, dissolute, and accustomed of old time to wickedness, did join in company with him, who first brought him to sumptuous and riotous banquets; then incited him forth with them in the night to rob and steal, after that he was allured by them unto greater mischief and wickedness. Wherein by custom of time, by little and little, he being more practised, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like unto a wild or unbroken horse, leaving the right way, and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong to the profundity of all misorder and outrage. And thus, being past all hope of grace, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholesome doctrine of salvation, which he had learned before, began to set his mind upon no small matters. And forasmuch as he was entered so far in the way of perdition, he cared not how further he proceeded in the same. And so associating unto him the company of his companions, and fellow thieves, took upon him to be as head and captain among them, in committing all kind of murder and felony.

In the mean time it chanced that of necessity John was sent for to those quarters again, and came. The causes being decided, and his business ended for the which he came, by the way meeting with the bishop afore specified, he requireth of him the pledge, which in the witness of Christ and of the congregation then present he left in his hands to keep. The bishop something amazed at the words of John, supposing he had meant of some money committed to his custody, which he had not received, (and yet durst not mistrust John, nor contrary his words) could not tell what to answer. Then John perceiving his doubting, and uttering his mind more plainly: The young man, saith he, and the soul of our brother committed to your custody, I do require. Then the bishop with a loud voice sorrowing and weeping, said, "He is dead." To whom John said, "How, and by what death?" The other said, "He is dead to God, for he is become an evil man, and pernicious; to be brief, a thief: and now he doth frequent this mountain with a company of villains and thieves like unto himself against the church." But the apostle rent his garments, and with a great lamentation said, "I have left a good keeper of my brother's soul; get me a horse, and let me have a guide with me: which being done, his horse and man procured, he hasted from the church as much as he could, and coming to the same place, was taken of thieves that watched. But he, neither flying nor refusing, said, "I came for this same cause hither; lead me, said he, to your captain." So he being brought, the captain all armed, fiercely began to look upon him; and eft-soons coming to the knowledge of him, was strucken with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, "My son, why dost thou fly from thy father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? have pity on me, my son, and fear not, for there is yet hope of salvation; I will make answer for thee to Christ, I will die for thee, if need be; as Christ hath died for us, I will give my life for thee; believe me, Christ hath sent for me." He hearing these things, first, as in a maze, stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast down his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly: and coming to the old man, embraced him, and spake unto him with weeping, being even then baptized afresh with tears, only his right hand being hid and covered. Then the apostle after that he had promised and firmly ascertained him that he should obtain remission of our Saviour, and also prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kissed his murdering right hand, which for shame he durst not shew before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the congregation. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, went not from him before he had restored him to the congregation again, and made him a great example and trial of regeneration, and a token of the visible resurrection.

Moreover, the aforesaid Irenæus in lib. 3. cap. 3. and Eusebius, lib. 3. cap. 28. and lib. 4. cap. 14 prosecuting the history of John, declare in these words, saying, That there were certain which heard Polycarpus say, that John, the disciple of our Lord, going into Ephesus to be washed, seeing Cerinthus within, he leaped out of the bath unbathed, because he feared the bath should have fallen, seeing that Cerinthus an enemy to the truth was within. Such fear had the apostles (saith Irenæus) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

And forasmuch as we are here in hand with the story of John the blessed evangelist, here cometh in matter and occasion not given by him, but taken of others, of a great doubt and difficulty, such as hath occupied all the catholic, subtil, illuminate, and seraphical doctors of the pope's catholic church, these five hundred years. The difficulty is this, That forsomuch as auricular confession hath been, and is yet received in the pope's catholic church for an holy and necessary sacrament, extending universally to all and singular christian creatures: here then ariseth a question, Who was our lady's confessor, or ghostly father? But that is decreed and confessed with full consent of all the catholics to be Saint John. Whosoever denieth, or doubteth of this, is straitways ipso facto an heretic. This then so determined, ariseth another question or doubt, that seeing our lady was without all original sin, and also actual or moral: what need then had she of any confessor? or what should she confess unto him? for if she had confessed any sin, when she had none; then had she made herself a lyar, and so had sinned indeed. Here therefore, gentle reader, in this perplexity these our illuminate doctors stand in need of

thine aid to help at a pinch. Magnus Albertus the great divine, denieth not, but that ſhe indeed, although moſt pure, yet was confeſſed to her ghoſtly father to keep the obſervance of the law, appointed for ſuch as had that need, which ſhe had not. And therefore, ſaith he, neceſſary it was that ſhe ſhould confeſs with mouth. But then here is to be aſked, What did ſhe ſay in her confeſſion, when ſhe had nothing to confeſs? To this Albertus anſwereth again, and telleth us plainly what ſhe ſaid in her confeſſion, which was this, That ſhe had received that great geace, not Ex condigno, that is, Not of any dignity of her own, but yet notwithſtanding of congruity. And this was it, ſaith Albert, that ſhe ſaid in her confeſſion. Albert. cap. 74. ſuper evang. Miſſus eſt, &c.

Moreover, to help this caſe out of all doubt, cometh in famous Thomas of Watring, and thus looſeth the knot, much after like effect, ſaying, That as Chriſt, although he did owe nothing to the law, yet notwithſtanding received circumciſion, to give to others example of humility and obedience: in like manner would our lady ſhew herſelf obedient to the obſervance of the law, albeit there was no cauſe why ſhe had need thereof. And thus haſt thou, gentle reader, this doubtful queſtion moved and ſoluted, to the intent I would reveal to thee ſome part of the deep divinity of our catholic maſters, that have ruled and governed the church in theſe their late popiſh days.

But breaking off this matter, I return again where we left; that is, to this foreſaid ſecond perſecution, under Domitianus. In which perſecution, beſides theſe aforementioned, and many other innumerable godly martyrs, ſuffering for the like teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus, was Flavia, the daughter of Flavius Clemens, one of the Roman conſuls, which Flavia, with many others, was baniſhed out of Rome, into the iſle of Pontia, for the teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus, by the emperor Domitianus. Euſeb. lib. 3.

This Domitianus feared the comed of Chriſt as Herod did, and therefore commanded them to be killed which were of the ſtock of David in Jewry. There were remaining alive at that time certain of the Lord's kindred, which were the nephews of Jude, that was called the Lord's brother after the fleſh. Theſe, when the lieutenant of Jewry had brought up to Domitian to be ſlain, the emperor demanded of them, Whether they were of the ſtock of David? Which when they had granted, he aſked again, What poſſeſſions and what ſubſtance they had? They anſwered, That they both had no more between them in all but nine and thirty acres of ground, and how they got their living, and ſuſtained their families with the hard labours of their hands, ſhewing forth their hands unto the emperor, being hard and rough, worn with labours, to witneſs that to be true which they had ſpoken. Then the emperor enquiring of them concerning the kingdom of Chriſt, what manner of kingdom it was, how, and when it ſhould appear? they anſwered, That his kingdom was no worldly nor terrene thing, but an heavenly and angelical kingdom, and that it ſhould appear in the conſummation and end of the world, what time he coming in glory, ſhould judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to his deſervings. Domitian the emperor hearing this, did not condemn them; but deſpiſing them as vile perſons, let them go, and alſo ſtayed the perſecution then moved againſt the Chriſtians. They being thus diſcharged and diſmiſſed, afterward had the government of churches, being taken for martyrs, and as of the Lord's ſtock, and ſo continued in good peace till the time of Trajanus. Hæc Egeſip. & Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 20.

By this ſtory here cited may appear, what were the cauſes why the emperors of the Roman monarchy did ſo perſecute the Chriſtians: which cauſes were chiefly theſe, Fear and Hatred. Firſt, Fear, for that the emperors and ſenate of blind ignorance, not knowing the manner of Chriſt's kingdom, feared and miſdoubted leſt the ſame would ſubvert their empery (like as the pope thinketh now that this goſpel will overthrow his kingdom of majeſty) and therefore ſought they all means poſſible, how, by death, and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguiſh the name and memory of the Chriſtians. And thereupon ſeemeth to ſpring the old law of the Roman ſenate, That the Chriſtians ſhould not be let go which were once brought to the judgment-ſeat, except they changed their purpoſe, &c. Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 21. Secondly, Hatred, partly for that this world, of his own natural condition, hath ever hated and maliced the people of God, from the firſt beginning of the world. Partly again, for that the Chriſtians, being of a contrary nature and religion, ſerving only the true living God, deſpiſed their falſe gods, ſpake againſt their idolatrous worſhippings, and many times ſtopped the power of ſatan working in their idols: and therefore ſatan, the prince of this world, ſtirreth up the Roman princes and blind idolaters to bear the more hatred and ſpite againſt them.

Upon theſe cauſes, and ſuch like, roſe up theſe malicious ſlanders, falſe ſurmiſes, infamous lyes, and ſlanderous accuſations of the heathen idolaters againſt the Chriſtian ſervants of God, which incited the princes of this world the more to perſecute them: for what crimes ſoever malice could invent, or raſh ſuſpicion could miniſter, that was imputed to the Chriſtians; as that they were a people inceſtuous, that in the night in their concourſes, putting out their candles, they ran together in all filthy manner, that they killed their own children, that they uſed to eat man's fleſh, that they were ſeditious and rebellious, that they would not ſwear by the fortune and proſperity of Cæſar, that they would not adore the image of Cæſar in the market-place, that they were pernicious to the empery of Rome. Briefly, whatſoever miſhappened to the city or provinces of Rome, either famine, peſtilence, earthquake, wars, wonders, unſeaſonableneſs of weather, or what other evils ſoever happened, it was imputed to the chriſtians, as Juſtinus recordeth. Over and beſide all theſe, a great occaſion that ſtirred up the emperors againſt the Chriſtians, came by one Publius Tarquinius, the chief prelate of the idolatrous ſacrifices, and Mamertinus, the chief governor of the city in the time of Trajanus; who partly with money, partly with ſiniſter and peſtilent counſel, partly with infamous accuſations (as witneſſeth Nauclerus) incenſed the mind of the emperor ſo much againſt God's people.

Alſo among theſe other cauſes aboveſaid, crept in ſome piece of covetouſneſs withal (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked promoters and accuſers, for lucre's ſake to have the poſſeſſions of the Chriſtians, were the more ready to accuſe them to have the ſpoil of their goods.

Thus haſt thou, Chriſtian reader, firſt, the cauſes declared of theſe perſecutions; 2dly, the cruel law of their condemnation; 3dly, now hear more what was the form of inquiſition, which was, as is witneſſed in the ſecond apology of Juſtinus, to this effect; That they ſhould ſwear to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed Chriſtians or not: and if they confeſſed, then by the law the ſentence of death proceeded. Juſt. Apol. 2.

Neither yet were theſe tyrants and organs of ſatan thus contented with death only, to bereave the life from the body. The kinds of death were divers, and no leſs horrible than divers. Whatſoever the cruelneſs of man's invention could deviſe for the puniſhment of man's body, was practiſed againſt the Chriſtians, as partly I have mentioned before, and more appeareth by the epiſtle ſent from the brethren of France, hereafter following. Crafty trains, outcries of enemies, impriſonment, ſtripes and ſcourgings, drawings, tearings, ſtonings, plates of iron laid unto them burning hot, deep dungeons, racks, ſtrangling in priſons, the teeth of wild beaſts, gridirons, gibbets and gallows, toſſing upon the horns of bulls. Moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were

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lain in heaps, and dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtain them to be interred and buried. Ex epiſtola fratrum Viennenſium ac Lugdunenſium, &c.

And yet notwithſtanding for all theſe continual perſecutions and horrible puniſhments, the church of the Chriſtians daily increaſed, deeply rooted in the doctrine of the apoſtles, and of men apoſtolical, and watered plenteouſly with the blood of ſaints, as ſaith Niceph. lib. 3. Whereof let us hear the worthy teſtimony of Juſtinus Martyr in his dialogue with Tripheus. And that none, ſaith he, can terrify or remove us which believe in Jeſus, by this it daily appeareth, for when we are ſlain, crucified, caſt to wild beaſts, into the fire, or given to other torments, yet we go not from our confeſſion: but contrary, the more cruelty and ſlaughter is wrought againſt us, the more they be that come to piety and faith by the name of Jeſus: no otherwiſe than if a man cut the vine-tree, the better the branches grow. For the vine-tree, planted by God and Chriſt our Saviour, is his people. Hæc Juſt.

To comprehend the names and number of all the martyrs that ſuffered in all theſe ten perſecutions, which are innumerable, as it is impoſſible, ſo it is hard in ſuch a variety and diverſity of matter to keep ſuch a perfect order and courſe of years and times, that either ſome be not left out, or that every one be reduced into his right place, eſpecially ſeeing the authors themſelves, whom in this preſent work we follow, do diverſly diſagree both in the times, in the names, and alſo in the kind of martyrdom of them that ſuffered. As for example, where the common reading and opinion of the church and epiſtles decretal do take Anacletus to ſucceed after Clement, next before Euariſtus: contrary, Euſebius lib. 3. & lib. 5. cap. 6. making no mention of Cletus, but of Anacletus, ſaith, That Euariſtus ſucceeded next to Clement. Likewiſe Ruffinus and Epiphanius, ſpeaking nothing of Anacletus, make mention of Linus, and Cletus, next before Clement, but ſay nothing of Anacletus: whereby it may appear that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus Ænead. 7. lib. 2. ſpeaking of Linus and of Cletus, ſaith, That they were ordained helpers under Peter, while he laboured in his apoſtleſhip abroad; and ſo ſaith alſo Marianus Scotus: contrary, Irenæus, lib. 3. contra hæreſ. ſpeaketh of Anacletus, making no mention of Cletus. Whereby it may appear by the way, what credit is to be given to the decretal epiſtles, whom all the later hiſtories of the pope his church do follow in this behalf, &c. Moreover, where Antonius, Vincentius, Jacobus in ſupplemento, Simoneta, Aloiſius, with others, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus, Euariſtus, Alexander, biſhops of Rome, that they died martyrs: Euſebius, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory writing of them maketh thereof no mention.

And firſt as touching Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the firſt biſhop of Rome after Peter) they ſay, That he was ſent out into baniſhment of Trajanus, beyond Ponticus, with two thouſand Chriſtians, where he opened a well-ſpring to them which in the wilderneſs were condemned to the mines. Afterward being accuſed to the emperor, he was thrown into the ſea with a mill-ſtone faſtened about his neck, and not long after, his body was caſt up and buried (as Platina ſaith) at the place where the well was made. Some ſay it was found firſt in the days of pope Nicholas the firſt, Faſcicul. tempor. But foraſmuch as I find of his martyrdom no firm relation in the antient authors, but only in ſuch new writers of later times, which are wont to paint out the lives and hiſtories of good men, with feigned additions of forged miracles, therefore I count the ſame of leſs credit, as I do alſo certain decretal epiſtles, untruly (as may ſeem) aſcribed and intitled to his name. Euſebius in his third book, writing of Clement, giveth no more of him, but thus: And he had governed the church of Rome nine years, the ſaid Clement left the ſucceſſion thereof to Euariſtus.

Of which Euariſtus, next biſhop of Rome, thus we find in Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter and Paul committed the charge of that church to Linus: after whom came Anacletus, then ſucceeded Clemens, next to Clemens followed Euariſtus, after whom came Alexander, and then Sixtus the ſixth biſhop of Rome after the apoſtles: after Sixtus ſat Teleſphorus, then Higinus, then Pius, then Anicetus. And when Soter took the place after him, then the twelfth biſhop of Rome was Eleutherius. Thus after Clement followed (as is ſaid) Euariſtus in the ſecond or third year of Trajanus, as ſaith Euſebius; or as Nicephorus ſaith, the fourth year of the ſaid emperor. But howſoever the count of years ſtandeth, little or nothing remaineth of the acts and monuments either of this, or of other biſhops of Rome in thoſe days. Whereby it may appear that no great account was then made of Roman biſhops in thoſe days, whoſe acts and deeds were then either ſo lightly reputed, or ſo ſlenderly committed to hiſtory. Notwithſtanding, certain decretal epiſtles are remaining, or rather thruſt upon us in their names, containing in them little ſubſtance of any doctrine, but altogether ſtuffed with laws, injunctions, and ſtately decrees, little to the purpoſe, and leſs ſavouring of the nature of that time then preſent. Amongſt whom alſo are numbered the two epiſtles of this Euariſtus.

And when he had given theſe orders, and had made ſix prieſts, two deacons, and five biſhops for ſundry places, ſaith the ſtory, he ſuffered martyrdom. But what kind of death, for what cauſe he ſuffered, what conſtancy he ſhewed, what was the order or converſation of his life, is nothing touched, and ſeemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new hiſtories do ſay: becauſe the old ancient writers have no remembrance thereof, which otherwiſe would not have paſſed ſuch things over in ſilence, if they had been true. Again, neither do the authors fully agree in the time of his martyrdom, which Nauclerus witneſſeth to be in the laſt year of Trajanus: but Platina thinking rather that he ſuffered under Hadrianus, Faſcicul. temporum, referreth it to the third year of Hadrian; Volateranus to the beginning of the reign of Hadrian. Contrary, Euſebius coming near to the ſimple truth (as ſeemeth) doth affirm, That Euariſtus ſucceeded Clement in the third year of Trajanus, and ſo giving to him nine years, it ſhould follow thereby that Euariſtus deceaſed the twelfth year of Trajanus.

After whom ſucceeded next Alexander in the governance of that church, of whoſe time and death the like diſcrepance is among the writers. Marianus Scotus ſaith he was the fourth biſhop from Peter: but that could not be. Some ſay that he was the ſixth, and ſome the ſeventh: but they were likewiſe deceived; for the moſt part all do grant Sixtus to be the ſixth: Damaſus affirmeth, That he was in the reign of Trajan. And how can that be? when the ſaid Damaſus affirmed before that Euariſtus his predeceſſor ſuffered in the laſt year of Trajan, and then the biſhopric ſtood at leaſt a month void: except he mean that the ſaid Alexander ſucceeded Euariſtus in the laſt year of Trajanus. But then how can that ſtand with Bede and Marianus Scotus? which ſay, That he ſuffered under Trajanus, or with Otho Friſingenſis; which ſaith he ſuffered the fourth year of Hadrian, when he had been biſhop ten years by the general conſent of moſt writers?

They which write of the deeds and doings of this bleſſed biſhop, as Bergomenſis, Antonius, Equilinus, and ſuch as follow them, declare that he had converted a great part of the ſenators to the faith of Chriſt, amongſt whom was Hermes, a great man in Rome, whoſe ſon being dead Alexander raiſed again to life, and likewiſe reſtored ſight to his maid, being blind. Hadrian the emperor then abſent, hearing this, ſent word to Aurelianus, governor of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus, otherwiſe called Theodorus,

odorus, as Platina ſaith, his two deacons, and Hermes, and to commit them to ward with Quirinus the tribune: which being done, as their ſtory recordeth, Alexander, incloſed in a diverſe priſon from Hermes, notwithſtanding, by the guiding of an angel through three doors with three locks a-piece, was brought with a candle-light to the lodging of Hermes; and ſo returning to the priſon again cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina, by reaſon whereof the ſaid Quirinus, with his noble houſhold, were all baptized, and ſuffered alſo for the faith of Chriſt.

Thus then (ſaith the ſtory) about the ſecond year of Hadrian, Aurelianus the ruler took Alexander the biſhop, with Hermes, his wife, children, and his whole houſhold, to the number of one thouſand two hundred and fifty, and threw them in priſon. And not long after the ſaid Alexander, with Euentius his deacon, and Hermes, and the reſt, were burned in a furnace. Theodulus another deacon of Alexander, ſeeing and rebuking the cruelty of the tyrant, ſuffered alſo the ſame martyrdom.

Quirinus alſo the ſame time (as ſaith Antoninus) having firſt his tongue cut out, then his hands and feet, afterward was beheaded and caſt into Tiber in the reign of the emperor Claudius; but that cannot be: albeit Platina maketh relation but only of Alexander, with his two deacons aforeſaid, declaring, moreover, That in the time of this biſhop, Saphira of Antioch, and Sabina a Roman martyrdom.

Florilegus, the author of Flores hiſtoriarum, affirmeth, That Alexander biſhop of Rome was beheaded ſeven miles out of Rome (where he lieth buried) in the year 105; but that agreeth not with the chronicles above recited. Euſebius recordeth of him no more, but that in the third year of Hadrian, he ended his life and office, after he had been biſhop ten years.

Divers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the canon legends, and lives of ſaints; which as I deny not, but they may be true, ſo becauſe I cannot avouch them by any grave teſtimony of ancient writers, therefore I dare not affirm them, but do refer them to the authors and patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithſtanding, whatſoever is to be thought of his miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and virtuous biſhop.

And as I ſay of his miracles, the like judgment alſo I have of the ordinances both of him and of Euariſtus his predeceſſor, teſtified in the popes decrees by Gratianus, Diſt. 93. cap. Diaconi, where it is ſaid that Euariſtus divided divers titles in the city of Rome to the prieſts, alſo ordained in every city ſeven deacons to aſſociate and aſſiſt the biſhop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witneſs of truth. Notwithſtanding, if probable conjectures might ſtand againſt the authority of Gratianus and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this abſolute ordination of prieſts was firſt forbidden by Euariſtus, and whether the intitulation of prieſts was firſt by him brought in or not: wherein an inſtance may be given to the contrary, that this intitulation ſeemeth to take its firſt beginning at the council of Chalcedon, and of pope Urban in the council of Placentia. In the which council of Chalcedon the words of the canon (making no mention of Euariſtus at all) do expreſly forbid, that any eccleſiaſtical perſon either prieſt or deacon ſhould be ordained abſolutely; otherwiſe the impoſition of hands, without ſome proper title of the party ordained, to ſtand void and fruſtrate, &c. And likewiſe Urbanus in the council of Placentia doth decree the ſame, alledging no name of Euariſtus, but the ſtatutes of former councils.

Moreover, in the time of Euariſtus, the church then being under terrible perſecutions, was divided into no peculiar pariſhes or cures whereby any title might riſe, but was ſcattered rather in corners and deſerts, where they could beſt hide themſelves. And as the church of Rome in thoſe days was not divided into ſeveral pariſhes or cures (as I ſuppoſe) ſo neither was then any ſuch open or ſolemn preaching in churches, that the aſſiſtance or teſtimony of ſeven deacons either could avail amongſt the multitude of the heathen, or elſe needed amongſt the chriſtian ſecret congregations. Again, the conſtitution of ſeven deacons ſeemeth rather to ſpring out of the council of Neoceſarea long after Euariſtus, where it was appointed that in every city, were it never ſo ſmall, there ſhould be ſeven deacons after the rule. And this rule the ſaid council taketh out of the book of the Acts of the apoſtles, making no word or mention of Euariſtus at all, Diſt. 93. But theſe (as is ſaid) be but only conjectures, not denying that which is commonly received, but only ſhewing what may be doubted in their epiſtles decretal.

More unlike it ſeemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, whereof we read, De conſecr. Diſt. 2. that he ſhould be the firſt founder and finder of holy water mixt with ſalt, to purge and ſanctify them upon whom it is ſprinkled. The word of the Diſt. be theſe, We bleſs water mixt with ſalt among the people, that all men being ſprinkled therewith may be ſanctified and purified; and this we command all prieſts to do, &c.

The opinion is alſo, but how true I have not to affirm, that by him firſt was ordained water to be mixt with wine in the chalice.

Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the maſs canon, beginning, Qui pridie, &c. And thus much of theſe foreſaid biſhops of Rome, martyred in the days of Trajan and Hadrian.

The Third Perſecution.

BEtween the ſecond Roman perſecution and the third, was but one year, under the emperor Nerva, after whom ſucceeded Trajanus, and after him followed the third perſecution. So the ſecond and the third are noted of ſome to be both one, having no more difference but one year between them. This Trajanus, if we look well upon his politic and civil governance, might ſeem (in compariſon of others) a right worthy and commendable prince, much familiar with inferiors, and ſo behaving himſelf toward his ſubjects, as he himſelf would have the prince to be to him, if he himſelf were a ſubject. Alſo he was noted to be a great obſerver of juſtice, inſomuch that when he ordained any pretor, giving to him the ſword, he would bid him uſe the ſword againſt his enemies in juſt cauſes; and if he himſelf did otherwiſe than juſtice, to uſe then his power againſt him alſo. But for all theſe virtues, toward chriſtian religion he was impious and cruel, was impious and cruel, who cauſed the third perſecution of the church. In the which perſecution Pliny the ſecond, a man learned and famous, ſeeing the lamentable ſlaughter of chriſtians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to Trajanus of the pitiful perſecution: certifying him that there were many thouſands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Roman laws worthy perſecution: ſaving that they uſed to gather together in the morning before day, and ſing hymns to a certain God whom they worſhipped, called Chriſt. In all other their ordinances they were godly and honeſt. Whereby the perſecution by commandment of the emperor was greatly ſtayed and diminiſhed. The form and copy of which epiſtle of Pliny I thought here not inconvenient to ſet down, as followeth.

The Epiſtle of Pliny, an Heathen Philoſopher, to Trajean the Emperor.

"IT is my property, and manner (my ſovereign) to make relation of all thoſe things unto you wherein I doubt. For who can better either correct my ſlackneſs,

neſs, or inſtruct mine ignorance, than you? I was never yet preſent myſelf at the examination of theſe chriſtians; and therefore what puniſhment is to be adminiſtered, and how far, or how to proceed in ſuch inquiſitions, I am plain ignorant, not able to reſolve in the matter whether any difference is to be had in age and perſon, whether the young and render ought to be with the like cruelty intreated as the elder and ſtronger; whether repentance may have any pardon, or whether it may profit him, or not, to deny, which hath been a chriſtian, whether the name only of chriſtians, without other offences, or whether the offences joyned with the name of a chriſtian, ought to be puniſhed. In the mean ſeaſon, as touching ſuch chriſtians as have been preſented unto me, I have kept this order. I have enquired the ſecond and third time of them, whether they were chriſtians, menacing them with fear of puniſhment; and ſuch as did perſevere I commanded to execution. For thus I thought, that whatſoever their profeſſion was, yet their ſtubbornneſs and obſtinacy ought to be puniſhed. Whether they were alſo of the ſame madneſs; whom, becauſe they were citizens of Rome, I thought to ſend them back again to the city. Afterward, in further proceſs and handling of this matter, as the ſect did further ſpread, ſo the more caſes did thereof enſue.

There was a libel offered to me bearing no name, wherein were contained the names of many which denied themſelves to be chriſtians, contented to do ſacrifice with incenſe and wine to the gods, and to your image (which image I for that purpoſe cauſed to be brought) and to blaſpheme Chriſt: whereunto none ſuch as were true chriſtians indeed could be compelled, and thoſe I did diſcharge and let go. Other ſome confeſſed, that they had been chriſtians, but afterward denied the ſame, &c. affirming unto me the whole ſum of that ſect or error to conſiſt in this, that they were wont at certain times appointed to convent before day, and to ſing certain hymns to one Chriſt their God, and to confederate among themſelves, to abſtain from all theft, murder, and adultery, to keep their faith, and to defraud no man: which done, then to depart for that time, and afterward to reſort again to take meat in companies together, both men and women, one with another, and yet without any act of evil.

In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were ſo or not, I cauſed two maidens to be laid on the rack, and with torments to be examined of the ſame. But finding no other thing in them, but only lewd and immoderate ſuperſtition, I thought to ſurceaſe of further enquiry, till time that I might be further advertiſed in the matter from you; for ſo the matter ſeemed unto me worthy and needful of adviſement, eſpecially for the great number of thoſe that were in danger of your ſtatute. For very many there were of all ages and ſtates, both men and women, which then were, and more are like hereafter to incur the ſame peril of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not only in cities, but villages alſo and boroughs about, which ſeemeth that it may be ſtayed and reformed. For as much as we ſee in many places that the temples of our gods, which were wont to be deſolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring ſacrifices from every part to be ſold, which before very few were found willing to buy. Whereby it may eaſily be conjectured, what multitudes of men may be amended, if ſpace and time be given them, wherein they may be reclaimed.

The Epiſtle of Trajanus to Pliny.

THE act and ſtatute, my Secundus, concerning the cauſes of the chriſtians, which ye ought to follow, ye have rightly executed. For no ſuch general law can be enacted, wherein all ſpecial caſes particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be ſought for, but if they be brought and convicted, then let them ſuffer execution: ſo notwithſtanding, that whoſoever ſhall deny himſelf to be a chriſtian, and do it unfeignedly in open audience, and do ſacrifice to our gods, howſoever he hath been ſuſpected before, let him be releaſed, upon promiſe of amendment. Such libels as have no names, ſuffice not to any juſt crime or accuſation; for that ſhould give both an evil precedent, neither doth it agree with the example of our time.

Tertullian writing upon this letter of Trajanus above prefixed, thus ſaith, "O ſentence of a confuſed neceſſity; he would not have them to be ſought for as men innocent, and yet cauſes them to be puniſhed as perſons guilty. And thus the rage of that perſecution ceaſed for a time, although notwithſtanding many naughty diſpoſed men and cruel officers there were, which upon falſe pretences to accompliſh their wicked minds, ceaſed not to afflict the chriſtians in divers provinces: and eſpecially if any occaſion were given never ſo little for the enemies to take hold of, or if any commotion were raiſed in the provinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid upon the chriſtians. As in Hieruſalem, after that the emperor Trajanus had ſent down his commandment, that whoſoever could be found of the ſtock of David, he ſhould be enquired out, and put to death. Upon this Egeſippus writing, ſaith, that certain ſectaries there were of the Jewiſh nation, that accuſed Simeon the biſhop then of Jeruſalem, and ſon of Cleophas, to come of the ſtock of David, and that he was a chriſtian. Of the which his accuſers it happened alſo, (ſaith the ſaid Egeſippus) that certain of them likewiſe were apprehended and taken to be of the ſtock of David, and ſo right juſtly were put to execution themſelves which ſought the deſtruction of others. As concerning Simeon the bleſſed biſhop, the aforeſaid Egeſippus thus writeth, that Simeon, the Lord's nephew, when he was accuſed to Attalus, the proconſul, by the malicious ſect of the Jews, to be of the line of David, and to be a chriſtian, was ſcourged, during the ſpace of many days together, being of age an hundred and twenty yeas. In which his martyrdom he endured ſo conſtant, that both the conſul and all the multitude did marvel to ſee him of that age ſo conſtantly to ſuffer, and ſo at laſt being crucified, finiſhed his courſe in the Lord, for whom he ſuffered, as partly before alſo is recorded.

In this perſecution of Trajanus above ſpecified (which Trajanus next followed after Nerva) beſides the other afore-mentioned, alſo ſuffered Phocas, biſhop of Pontus, whom Trajanus, becauſe he would not do ſacrifice to Neptunus, cauſed to be caſt into a hot lime-kiln, and afterward to be put into a ſcalding-bath, where the conſtant godly martyr, in the teſtimony of Chriſt, ended his life, or rather entered into life. Anton. Equil. Faſcic. temporum.

In the ſame perſecution ſuffered alſo Sulpitius and Servilianus, two Romans; whoſe wives are ſaid to be Euphroſina and Theodora, whom Sabina did convert to the faith of Chriſt, and after were alſo martyred. Of which Sabina, Jacobus Philippus, author of the book called Supplementum, reporteth, that in the mount of Aventine in Rome, ſhe was beheaded of Clepidus, the governor, in the days of Hadrian. Under whom alſo ſuffered Seraphia, a virgin of Antioch, as Hermannus witneſſeth.

The forenamed authors, Antoninus and Equilius, make mention moreover of Nereus and Achilleus, who, in this perſecution of Trajan, had the crown of martyrdom, being put to death at Rome. Euſebius in his fourth book, cap. 26. maketh mention of one Sagaris, who about the ſame time ſuffered martyrdom in Aſia, Servilius Paulus being then proconſul in that province.

In this perſecution, beſide many others, ſuffered the bleſſed martyr of Chriſt Ignatius, who unto this day is had in famous reverence among An. 111.

very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the biſhopric of Antioch next after Peter in ſucceſſion. Some do ſay, that he being ſent from Syria to Rome, becauſe he profeſſed Chriſt, was given to the wild beaſts to be devoured. It is alſo ſaid of him, that when he paſſed through Aſia, being under the moſt ſtrict cuſtody of his guarders, he ſtrengthened and confirmed the pariſhes through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the word of God: and admoniſhed them eſpecially and before all other things, to beware and ſhun thoſe hereſies riſen and ſprung newly among them, and that they ſhould cleave and ſtick faſt to the tradition of the apoſtles; which he, for their better ſafeguard, being about to denounce or put in writing, thought it a thing very neceſſary to travel in. And thus when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarpus was, he wrote one epiſtle to the congregation of Epheſus, wherein he made mention of Oneſimus their paſtor; and another he wrote to the congregation of Magneſia, being at Meandre; wherein alſo he forgetteth not Dama their biſhop. Alſo another he wrote to the congregation of Trallis, the governor of which city at that time he noteth to be one Polybius. Unto which congregation he made an exhortation, leſt they refuſing martyrdom, ſhould loſe the hope that they deſired.

But it ſhall be very requiſite that I alledge ſomewhat thereof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therefore, as the words lie, in this ſort. "From Syria, (ſaith he) even till I came to Rome, had I a battle with beaſts, as well by ſea as land, both day and night, being bound in the midſt of ten cruel libards (that is, the company or band of the ſoldiers) which, the more benefits that they received at my hands, became ſo much the worſe unto me. But I, being exerciſed, and now well acquainted with their injuries, am taught every day more and more; but hereby I am not yet juſtified. And would to God I were once come to the beaſts, which are prepared for me, which alſo I wiſh with gaping mouths were ready to come upon me, whom alſo I will provoke that they without delay may devour me, and forbear me nothing at all, as thoſe whom before they had not touched or hurt for fear! And if they will not unleſs they be provoked, I will then inforce them againſt myſelf, Pardon me, I pray you. How much beneficial it is to me, I know. Now begin I to be a ſcholar; I force or eſteem no viſible things, nor yet inviſible things, ſo that I may get or obtain Chriſt Jeſus. Let the fire, the gallows, the devouring of wild beaſts, the breaking of bones, the pulling aſunder of my members, the bruiſing or preſſing of my whole body, and the torments of the devil or hell itſelf come upon me, ſo that I may win Chriſt Jeſus."

And theſe things wrote he from the foreſaid city unto the congregations which we have recited. And when he was even now judged to be thrown to the beaſts, he ſpake, for the burning deſire that he had to ſuffer, what time he heard the lions roaring: "I am the wheat or grain (ſaith he) of Chriſt, I ſhall be ground with the teeth of wild beaſts, that I may be found pure bread." He ſuffered in the eleventh year of Trajan the emperor. Hæc Euſebius & Hieronym.

Beſides this godly Ignatius, many thouſands alſo were put to death in the ſame perſecution, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius Secundus above recited, written unto the emperor. Hierome in his book, intituled, De viris illuſtribus, maketh mention of one Publius, biſhop of Athens, who for the faith of Chriſt, the ſame time during this perſecution, was put to death, and martyred.

Hadrian Emperor.

NEXT after this Trajanus ſucceeded Hadrian the emperor, under whom ſuffered Alexander the biſhop of Rome, with his two deacons Eventius and Theodorus: alſo Hermes and Quirinus with their families as late before declared.

It is ſignified moreover in the hiſtories, that in the time of this Hadrian, Zenon, a nobleman of Rome, with ten thouſand two hundred and three were ſlain for Chriſt. Henricus de Erfordia, and Bergomenſis, lib 8. make mention of ten thouſand in the days of this Hadrian to be crucified in the mount Hararat, crowned with crowns of thorns, and thruſt into the ſides with ſharp darts, after the example of the Lord's paſſion, whoſe captains (as Antoninus and Vincencius in ſpec. hiſtor. declare) where Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius, &c. Whether this ſtory be the ſame with the other above of Zenon or not, it is doubted. As touching the miracles done, and the ſpeaking of the angel, I refer the certainty thereof to Vincentius, and ſuch other like authors, where more things ſeem to be told than be true.

There was one Euſtachius a captain, whom Trajanus in time paſt had ſent out to war againſt the barbarians. After he had by God's grace valiantly ſubdued his enemies, and now was returning home with victory, Hadrian for joy meeting him in his journey to bring him home with triumph, by the way firſt would do ſacrifies to Apollo for the victory gotten, willing alſo Euſtachius to do the ſame with him. But when Euſtachius could by no means thereto be enforced, being brought to Rome, there with his wife and children he ſuffered martyrdom under the aforeſaid Hadrian. It were a long proceſs here to recite all the miracles contained, or rather ſuſpected, in this ſtory of this Euſtachius, concerning his converſion and death: How the crucifix appeared to him between the horns of an hart. Of the ſaving of his wife from the ſhipmen. Of one of his ſons ſaved from the lion, the other ſaved from the wolf. Of their miraculous preſervation from the wild beaſts, from the torments of fire mentioned in Bergomenſis, Vincentius, and others. All which, as I find them in no ancient records, ſo I leave them to their authors, and compilers of the legends.

We read alſo of Fauſtinus and Jobita, citizens of the city of Brixia, which ſuffered martyrdom with like grievous torments. At the ſight whereof one Calocerus, ſeeing their ſo great patience in ſo great torments, cried out, with theſe words; "Verily great is the God of Chriſtians:" Which words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their martyrdom. Ex. Ant. Equilin.

The hiſtory of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia, a godly woman, who committed her ſon Eleutherius to Anicetus, biſhop of Rome, to be brought up in the doctrine of chriſtian faith, who afterwards being biſhop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his foreſaid mother Anthia. Onomaſt.

Juſtus alſo and Paſtor, two brethren, with like martyrdom ended their lives in a city of Spain, called Complutum, under the ſaid Adrian the emperor.

Likewiſe Symphoriſſa the wife of Getulus the martyr, with her ſeven children, is ſaid about the ſame time to ſuffer; who firſt was much and often beaten and ſcourged, afterwards was hanged up by the hair of her head; at laſt having a huge ſtone faſtened unto her, was thrown headlong into the river, and after that her ſeven children in like manner, with ſundry and divers kinds of puniſhment diverſly martyred by the tyrant.

The ſtory of M. Hermannus and Antoninus, and others, report of Sophia, with her three children alſo; alſo of Seraphia and Sabina, to ſuffer under the ſaid emperor, about the year of our Lord, one hundred and thirty.

As concerning Alexander biſhop of Rome, with his two deacons, alſo with Hermes, Quirinus, Saphira and Sabina, ſome writers, as Bede, and Marianus Scotus, record that they ſuffered under Trajanus. Others again, as Otto, Friſingenſis with like more, report that they

ſuffered

ſuffered in the fourth year of this emperor Hadrian, but of theſe martyrs ſufficiently hath been ſaid before.

While Hadrian the emperor was at Athens, he purpoſed to viſit the country of Eluſina, and ſo did: where he, ſacrificing to the Gentile gods after the manner of the Grecians, had given free leave and liberty, whoſoever would, to perſecute the chriſtians. Whereupon, Quadratus, a man of no leſs excellent zeal than of famous learning, being then biſhop of Athens, and diſciple of the apoſtles, or at leaſt ſucceeding incontinent the age of the apoſtles, and following after Publius (who a little before was martyred for the teſtimony of Chriſt) did offer up and exhibit unto Hadrian the emperor a learned and excellent apology in the defence of the chriſtian religion. Wherein de declared the chriſtians, without all juſt cauſe or deſert to be ſo cruelly entreated and perſecuted, &c. The like alſo did Ariſtides, another no leſs excellent philoſopher in Athens, who for his ſingular learning and eloquence, being notified to the emperor, and coming to his preſence, there made before him an eloquent oration. Moreover, he did exhibit unto the ſaid emperor a memorable apology for the chriſtians, ſo full of learning and eloquence, that as Hierome ſaith, it was a ſpectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loved to ſee wit and learning. Over and beſides theſe, there was alſo another named Serenus Granius, a man of great nobility, who likewiſe did write very pithy and grave letters to Hadrian the emperor, ſhewing and declaring therein that it was conſonant with no right nor reaſon, for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and ſo to be condemned for no fault, only for the name and ſect that they followed.

Thus the goodneſs of God being moved with the prayers and conſtant labour of theſe ſo excellent men, ſo turned the heart of the emperor, that he being better informed concerning the order and profeſſion of chriſtians, became more favourable unto them. And immediately upon the ſame directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus, proconſul of Aſia, willing him from henceforth to exerciſe no more ſuch extremity againſt the chriſtians, as to condemn any of them, having no other crime objected againſt them, but only their name. The copy of which his letter, becauſe that Juſtin in his apology doth alledge it; I thought therefore to expreſs the ſame in his own words, as followeth.

The Letter of Hadrian the Emperor to Minutius Fundanus.

"I Have received an epiſtle, written unto me from Serenus Granius, our right worthy and well-beloved, whoſe office you do now execute. Therefore I think it not good to leave this matter without further adviſement and circumſpection to paſs, leſt our ſubjects be moleſted, and malicious ſycophants boldened and ſupported in their evil. Wherefore if the ſubjects of our provinces do bring forth any accuſation before the judge againſt the chriſtians, and can prove the thing they object againſt them, let them do the ſame and no more, and otherwiſe for the name only, not to impeach them, nor to cry out againſt them. For ſo, more convenient it is, that if any man will be an accuſer, you take the accuſation quietly, and judge upon the ſame. Therefore if any ſhall accuſe the chriſtians, and complain of them as malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then give you judgment according to the quality of the crime. But notwithſtanding whatſoever upon ſpite and malicioufneſs ſhall commence or cavil againſt them, ſee you correct and puniſh that man for his unmoderate and malicious dealing."

Thus by the merciful providence of God, ſome more quiet and reſt was given to the church, although Hermannus thinketh theſe halcyon days did not very long continue, but that the emperor changing his edict, began to renew again the perſecution of God's people, albeit this ſoundeth not to be ſo by the words of Melito in his apology to Antoninus hereafter enſuing. In the mean time this is certain, that in the days of this Hadrian, the Jews rebelled again and ſpoiled the country of Paleſtine. Againſt whom the emperor ſent Julius Severus, who overthrew in Jewry fifty caſtles, and burnt and deſtroyed nine hundred and fourſcore villages and towns, and ſlew of the Jews fifty thouſand; with famine, ſickneſs, ſword and fire, Juda was almoſt deſolate. But at length Hadrian the emperor, which otherwiſe was named Ælius, repaired and enlarged the city again of Jeruſalem, which was called after his name Æliopolis, or Ælia Captitolina, the inhabitance whereof he granted only to the gentiles, and to the chriſtians, forbidding the Jews utterly to enter into the city.

After the death of Hadrian, who died by bleeding at the noſe, ſucceeded Antoninus Pius, about the year of our Lord, one hundred and forty, and reigned twenty and three years, who for his clemency and modeſt behaviour, had the name of Pius, and is for the ſame in hiſtories commended. His ſaying was, "That he had rather ſave one citizen, than deſtroy a thouſand of his adverſaries." At the beginning of his reign, ſuch was the ſtate of the church, as Hadrian his predeceſſor had left it, as in which, although there was no edict ſet forth to perſecute the chriſtians, yet the tumultuous rage of the heathen multitude for the cauſes above ſpecified, did not ceaſe to diſquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, in putting and aſcribing to the chriſtians whatſoever misfortune happened contrary unto their deſires: moreover, inventing againſt them all falſe crimes and contumelies whereof to accuſe them. By reaſon whereof, divers there were in ſundry places much moleſted, and ſome put to death: albeit, as it is to be ſuppoſed, not by the conſent of the emperor, who of nature was ſo mild and gentle, that either he raiſed up no perſecution againſt the chriſtians, or elſe he ſoon ſtayed the ſame being moved. As well may appear by his letter ſent down to the countries of Aſia, the tenor whereof here inſueth.

The Epiſtle of Antoninus Pius, to the Commons of Aſia.

"EMPEROR and Cæſar, Aurelius Antoninus Auguſtus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, tribune eleven times, conſul thrice, unto the commons of Aſia greeting. I am very certain that the gods have a care of this, that they which be ſuch, ſhall be known, and not lie hid. For they do puniſh them that will not worſhip them more than you, which ſo ſore vex and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they had conceived, and do conceive of you, that is, to be wicked men, For this is their joy and deſire, that when they are accuſed, rather they covet to die for their God, than to live. Whereby they are victorers, and do overcome you, giving rather their lives, than to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it ſhall not be inconvenient to advertiſe you of the earthquakes, which have and do happen among us, that when at the ſight of them you tremble and are afraid, then you may confer your caſe with them. For they upon a ſure confidence of their God, are bold and fearleſs, much more than you: who in all the time of this your ignorance, both do worſhip other gods, and neglect the religion of immortality; and ſuch chriſtians as worſhip him, them you do drive out, and perſecute them unto death. Of theſe and ſuch like matters many preſidents of our provinces did write to our father of famous memory heretofore. To whom he directed his anſwer again, willing them in no caſe to moleſt the chriſtians, except they were found in ſome treſpaſs prejudicial againſt the empire of Rome. And to me alſo many there be, which write,

write, ſingnifying their mind in like manner. To whom I have anſwered again, to the ſame effect and manner as my father did. Wherefore if any hereafter ſhall offer any vexation or trouble to ſuch, having no other cauſe, but only for that they are ſuch, let him that is appeached, be releaſed and diſcharged free, yea although he be found to be ſuch (that is a chriſtian) and let the accuſer ſuſtain the puniſhment, &c."

This godly edict of the emperor was proclaimed at Epheſus, in the public aſſembly of all Aſia, whereof Melito alſo biſhop of Sardis, who flouriſhed in the ſame time, maketh mention in his apology written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appear. By this means then the tempeſt or perſecution in thoſe days began to be appeaſed, through the merciful providence of God, which would not have his church utterly to be overthrown, though hardly yet to grow.

The fourth Perſecution.

AFTER the deceaſe of the foreſaid quiet and mild prince, Aurelius Antoninus Pius, followed his ſon, M. Antoninus Verus, with Lucius his brother about the year 162, a man of nature more ſtern and ſevere. And although in ſtudy of philoſophy, and in civil government no leſs commendable, yet towards the chriſtians ſharp and fierce, by whom was moved the fourth perſecution after Nero. In whoſe time a great number of them which truly profeſſed Chriſt, ſuffered moſt cruel torments and puniſhments both in Aſia and France. In the number of whom was Polycarpus, the worthy biſhop of Smyrna, who in the great rage of this perſecution in Aſia, among many other moſt conſtant ſaints, was alſo martyred. Of whoſe end and martyrdom I thought it here not unexpedient to commit to hiſtory, ſo much as Euſebius declareth to be taken out of a certain letter or epiſtle, written by them of his own church to the brethren of Pontus: the tenor of which epiſtle here followeth.

"The congregation which is at Smyrna, to the congregation which is at Philomilium, and to all the congregations throughout Pontus, mercy to you, peace and the love of God our Father, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be multiplied, Amen. We have written unto you brethren, of thoſe men which have ſuffered martyrdom, and of bleſſed Polycarpus, which hath ended and appeaſed this perſecution, as it were, by the ſhedding of his own blood.

And in the ſame epiſtle, before they enter into further matter of Polycarpus, they diſcourſe of other martyrs, deſcribing what patience they abode and ſhewed in ſuffering their torments: which was ſo great and admirable, ſaith the epiſtle, that the lookers on were amazed, ſeeing and beholding how they were ſo ſcourged and whipped, that the inward veins and arteries appeared, yea, even ſo much that the very intrails of their bodies, their bowels and members were ſeen, and after that, were ſet upon ſharp ſhells taken out of the ſea, edged and ſharp, and certain nails and thorns for the martyrs to go upon, which were ſharpened and pointed, called Obeliſci. Thus ſuffered they all kind of puniſhment and torment that might be deviſed: and, laſtly, were thrown unto the wild beaſts to be devoured.

But eſpecially in the aforeſaid epiſtle, mention is made of one Germanicus, how he moſt worthily preſerved and overcame, by the grace of God, that fear of death which is ingrafted in the common nature of all men, whoſe patience and ſufferance was ſo notable, that the whole multitude wondering at this beloved martyr of God, for this his ſo bold conſtancy, and alſo for the ſingular ſtrength and virtue proceeding of the whole multitude of the chriſtians, began ſuddenly to cry with a loud voice, ſaying, Deſtroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be ſought for. And whilſt a great uproar and tumult began thus to be raiſed upon thoſe cries, a certain Phrygian, named Quintus, lately come out of Phrygia, ſeeing and abhorring the wild beaſts, and the fierce rage of them, of an overlight mind betrayed his own ſafety. For ſo the ſame letter of him doth report, that he, not reverently, but more malapertly than was requiſite, together with others ruſhed into the judgment-place, and ſo being taken, was made a manifeſt example to all the beholders, that no man ought raſhly and unreverently with ſuch boldneſs to thruſt in himſelf, to intermeddle with matters wherewith he had not to do.

But now we will ſurceaſe to ſpeak more of them, and return to Polycarpus, of whom the aforeſaid letter conſequently declareth, "How that in the beginning, when he heard of theſe things, was nothing at all afraid nor diſquieted in mind, but purpoſed to have tarried ſtill in the city, till being perſuaded by the intreaty of them that were about him (which deſired him inſtantly that he would convey himſelf away) hid himſelf in a grange or village not far off from the city, and there abiding with a few more in his company, did nothing elſe, night nor day, but abode in ſupplication, wherein he made his humble petition for the obtaining of peace unto all the congregations throughout the world, for that was his accuſtomed manner ſo to do. And as he was thus making his prayers three days before he was apprehended, in a viſion by night he ſaw the bed ſet on fire under his head, and ſuddenly to be conſumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by, and expounded unto them that were preſent, his viſion, and told them before what thing ſhould come to paſs, how that in the fire he ſhould loſe his life for Chriſt's cauſe. It is further mentioned, that when they were hard at hand, which ſo narrowly ſought for him, that he was inforced for the affection and love of his brethren to fly into another village, to which place notwithſtanding within a little while after the purſuers came, and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt thereabouts, they ſo beat one of them with whips, that by the bewraying or confeſſion of him they were brought unto the inn where Polycarpus was. And they ſay that the purſuers making no great haſte to enter, found him in the uppermoſt place of the houſe, from whence he might have eſcaped into other houſes, if he would; but this he would not do, ſaying, "The will of God be done."

Furthermore, when he knew that they were come, he came down, and ſpake unto them with a cheerful and pleaſant countenance, ſo that it was a wonder to ſee thoſe which a while agone knew not the man, now beholding and viewing his comely age, and his grave and conſtant countenance, lamented that they had ſo much employed their labour, that ſo aged a man ſhould be apprehended.

To conclude, he commanded that ſtraitway, without any delay, the table ſhould be laid for them, and perſuaded them that they would eat and dine well, and required of them boldly, that he might have an hour's reſpite to make his prayers. Which thing, after it was granted, he aroſe and went to pray; being ſo repleniſhed with the grace of God, that they which were preſent, and hearing the prayers that he made, were aſtoniſhed at it; and now many of them were ſorry that ſo honeſt and godly an aged man ſhould be put to death.

After this the aforeſaid epiſtle or letter, proſecuting the hiſtory, addeth more, as followeth: After he had made an end of his prayers, and had called to his remembrance all thoſe things which ever happened unto him, and to the univerſal catholic church throughout all the world (whether they were ſmall or great, glorious or elſe inglorious) and that the hour was now come, in which they ought to ſet forward, they ſet him upon an aſs, and brought him to the city upon a ſolemn feaſt day. And there met him Irenarchus Herodes, and his father Nicetes, which cauſing him to come up into the chariot

where they ſate, perſuaded him, and ſaid, "What hurt I pray thee, ſhall come thereof to thee, if thou ſay (by the way of ſalutation) My lord Cæſar, and do ſacrifice, and thus to ſave thyſelf? But he at the beginning made them no anſwer, till that when they inforced him to ſpeak, he ſaid, "I will not do as you counſel me I ſhould." When as they ſaw he could not be perſuaded, they gave him very rough language, and of purpoſe moleſted him, that in going down the chariot from them, he might hurt or break his legs. But he forcing very light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merrily and diligently forward, making haſte unto the place appointed. And when there was ſuch uproar in the place of execution, that he could not be heard but of very few, there came a voice from heaven to Polycarpus, as he was going into the ſtage or appointed place of judgment, ſaying: "Be of good cheer, Polycarpus, and play the man." No man there was which ſaw him that ſpake, but very many of us heard his voice. And when he was brought in, there was a great noiſe made by them which underſtood that Polycarpus was apprehended. The proconſul aſked him when he was come, whether his name was Polycarpus or not? And when he ſaid, yea it was, he gave him counſel to deny his name, and ſaid unto him, "Be good unto thyſelf, and favour thine old age;" and many other ſuch like words which they accuſtom to ſpeak; "Swear, ſaith he, by the emperor's good fortune; look upon this matter, ſay you with us: deſtroy theſe naughty men." Then Polycarpus beholding with conſtant countenance the whole multitude which was in the place appointed, and giving a great ſigh, looked up to heaven, ſaying: "Thou, thou it is that wilt deſtroy theſe wicked men." And the proconſul thus being earneſtly in hand with him, ſaid: Take thine oath, and I will diſcharge thee; defie Chriſt." Polycarpus anſwered, "Fourſcore and ſix years have I been his ſervant, yet in all this time hath he not ſo much as once hurt me: how then may I ſpeak evil of my King and ſovereign Lord, which hath thus preſerved me?" Then the proconſul again inforced him and ſaid: Swear thou, I adviſe thee, by Cæſar's proſperity." Polycarpus replied, "If thou require of me this fond word of vain boaſting, feigning not to know (as thou ſayeſt) who am I, I do thee to wit that I am a chriſtian: and if thou deſire to know the doctrine of chriſtianity, appoint a day, and thou ſhalt hear." Perſuade the people unto this, ſaid the proconſul. "Truly, ſaith Polycarpus, I have thought it my part thus to ſay unto you, for ſo much as we are commanded to give unto the governors and powers ordained of God, the honour meet and due to them, and not hurtful unto us; but as for thoſe, I do judge them unworthy to purge myſelf unto them." Hereupon the proconſul ſtood up. I have, ſaith he, wild beaſts to whom I will throw thee, unleſs thou take a better way. Whereunto Polycarpus anſwered, "Let them come, we have determined with ourſelves, that we will not by repentance turn us from the better way to the worſe, but rather convenient it is, that a man turn from things that be evil, unto that which is good and juſt." Again, ſaith the proconſul, I will tame thee with fire, if that thou ſet not by the wild beaſts, nor yet repent. Then ſaid Polycarpus, "You threaten me with fire, which ſhall burn for the ſpace of an hour, and ſhall be within a little while after put out and extinguiſhed; but thou knoweſt not the fire of the judgment that is to come, and of everlaſting puniſhment, which is reſerved for the wicked and ungodly. But why make you all theſe delays? Give me what death ſoever ye liſt."

Theſe and many other ſuch like things being by him ſpoken, he was repleniſhed with joy and boldneſs, and his countenance appeared ſo full of grace and favour, that not only he was not troubled with thoſe things which the proconſul ſpake unto him, but contrary, the proconſul himſelf began to be amazed, and ſent for the crier, which in the middle of the ſtage was commanded to cry three times, Polycarpus hath confeſſed himſelf to be a chriſtian: which words of the cryer were no ſooner ſpoken, but all the whole multitude, both of Gentiles and Jews inhabiting at Smyrna, with a vehement rage and loud voice, cried, This is the doctor or teacher of Aſia, the father of the chriſtians, and the deſtroyer of our gods, which hath inſtruced a great number that our gods are not to be worſhipped. And after this they cried unto Philip the governor of Aſia, and required him that he would let looſe the lion to Polycarpus. To whom he made anſwer, That he might not do ſo, becauſe he had already his prey. Then they cried again altogether with one voice, that he would burn Polycarpus alive. For it was requiſite that the viſion, which he ſaw as concerning his pillow or bolſter, ſhould be fulfilled; which when he had ſeen burnt, as he was in his prayer, he turned himſelf unto the faithful ſort which were with him, ſaying, by the way of prophecy, "It will ſo come that I ſhall be burnt alive." And the proconſul had no ſooner ſpoken, but it was out of hand performed. For why? the multitude by and by brought out of their ſhops, workhouſes and barns, wood and other dry matter for that purpoſe, and eſpecially the Jews were moſt ſerviceable for that matter, after their wonted manner.

And thus the pile being laid, when he had now put off his garments and undone his girdle, and was about to pull off his ſhoes, which he had not done before, for that all the faithful ſort among themſelves ſtrived, as it were, who ſhould firſt touch his body at their farewel, becauſe for the good converſation of his life, even from his younger age he was had in great eſtimation of all men: therefore ſtraitway thoſe inſtruments which are requiſite to ſuch a bonfire, were brought unto him, and when they would have nailed him to the ſtake with iron hoops, he ſaid, "Let me alone as I am; for He that hath given me ſtrength to ſuffer and abide the fire, ſhall alſo give power; that, without this, your proviſion of nails, I ſhall abide, and not ſtir in the midſt of this fire or pile of wood." Which thing when they heard, they did not nail him, but bound him. Therefore when his hands were bound behind him, even as the chiefeſt ram taken out of the flock, he was ſacrificed as an acceptable burnt-offering unto God, ſaying, "O Father of thy well-beloved and bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt, by whom we have attained the knowledge of thee, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and of all juſt men which live before thee, I give thee thanks that thou haſt vouchſafed to grant me this day that I may have my part among the number of the martyrs in the cup of Chriſt, unto the reſurrection of eternal life, both of body and ſoul, through the operation of thy holy Spirit, among whom I ſhall this day be received into thy ſight for an acceptable ſacrifice: and as thou haſt prepared and revealed the ſame, before this time, ſo thou haſt accompliſhed the ſame, O thou moſt true God, which canſt not lye. Wherefore I in like caſe for all things praiſe thee, and bleſs thee, and glorify thee by our everlaſting biſhop, Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be glory evermore, Amen.

And as ſoon as he had ended this word Amen, and finiſhed his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire, and as the flame flaſhed out vehemently, we, to whom it was given to diſcern the ſame, ſaw a marvellous matter, which were alſo to this purpoſe preſerved, that we might ſhew the ſame to others. For the fire being made like unto a roof or vault of a houſe, and after the manner of a ſhipman's ſale, filled with wind, compaſſed about the body of the martyr, as with a certain wall, and he, in the middle of the ſame, not as fleſh that burned, but as gold and ſilver when it is tried in the fire. And ſurely we ſmelt a ſavour ſo ſweet, as if myrrh or ſome other precious balm had given a ſcent. At the laſt, when thoſe wicked perſons ſaw that his body could not be conſumed by fire, they commanded one of the tormentors to come unto him, and thruſt him through

with his ſword. Which being done ſo great a quantity of blood ran out of his body, that the fire was quenched therewith, and the whole multitude marvelled that there was ſo much diverſity between the infidels and the elect, of whom this Polycarpus was one, being a diſciple of the apoſtles, and a prophetical inſtructor of our times, and biſhop of the catholic church of Smyrna: for what word ſoever he ſpake, both it was and ſhall be accompliſhed. But the ſubtil and envious adverſary when he ſaw the worthineſs of his martyrdom, and that his converſation, even from his younger years, could not be reproved; and that he was adorned with a crown of martyrdom, and had now obtained that incomparable benefit, gave in charge that we ſhould not take and divide his body, for fear leſt the remnants of the dead corps ſhould be taken away, and ſo worſhipped of the people. Whereupon divers whiſpered Niceta the father of Herod, and his brother Dalces, to admoniſh the proconſul, that in no caſe he ſhould deliver his body, "leſt (ſaith he) they leave Chriſt, and begin to worſhip him." And this ſpake they, becauſe the Jews had given them ſecret warning, and provoked them thereunto; who alſo watched us, that we ſhould not take him out of the fire: not being ignorant how that we meant at no time to forſake Chriſt, which gave his life for the ſalvation of the whole world (as many I mean as are elected to ſalvation by him) neither yet that he could worſhip any other. For why? him we worſhip as the Son of God, but the martyrs do we love as diſciples of the Lord (and that worthily) for their abundant love towards their King and Maſter, of whom we alſo deſire and wiſh to be companions, and to be made his diſciples. When therefore the Centurion ſaw and perceived the labour of the Jews, the corps being laid abroad they burnt the ſame, as was their manner to do.

Thus good Polycarpus with twelve others that came from Philadelphia ſuffered martyrdom at Smyrna; which Polycarpus ſpecially above the reſt is had in memory, ſo that he in all places among the Gentiles is moſt famous. And this was the end of this worthy diſciple of the apoſtle; whoſe hiſtory the brethren of the congregation of Smyrna have written in their epiſtle, as is above recited.

Irenus in his third book againſt hereſies, the third chap. and Euſebius in his fourth book and fourteenth chapter of his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, reporteth this worthy ſaying of Polycarpus: "This Polycarpus (ſaith he) meeting at a certain time Marcion the heretic, who ſaid to him, Doſt thou not know me? made anſwer, I know that thou art the firſt begotten of ſatan." So little fear what evil might enſue thereof had the diſciples of the apoſtles, that they would not ſpeak to them whom they knew to be the depravers of the verity, even as St. Paul ſaith, "The heretic, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, ſhun and avoid, knowing that he which is ſuch an one is perverſe and froward, and damneth himſelf." This moſt holy confeſſor and martyr of Chriſt, Polycarpus ſuffered death in the fourth perſecution after Nero, when Marcus Antonimus, and Lucius Autelius Commodus reigned, as Urſperg affirmeth, and as Euſebius witneſſeth in his chronicles, the ſeventh before the kalends of February.

Anno 167.

Of Germanicus mention is made above in the ſtory of Polycarpus, of whom writeth Euſebius, lib. 4. cap. 15. noting him to be a young man, and moſt conſtantly to perſevere in the profeſſion of Chriſt's doctrine; whom when the proconſul went to perſuade to remember his age, and to favour himſelf, being in the flower of his age, he would not be allured; but conſtantly and boldly, and of his own accord, incited and provoked the wild beaſts to come upon him, and to devour him, to be delivered more ſpeedily out of this wretched life. Hæc Euſeb. an. 170.

Thus have you heard out of the epiſtle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Polycarpus: whereby it may appear that he was a very aged man, who had ſerved Chriſt eighty-ſix years ſince the firſt knowledge of him, and ſerved alſo in the miniſtry about the ſpace of 70 years. This Polycarpus was the ſcholar and hearer of John the evangeliſt, and was placed by the ſame John in Smyrna. Of him alſo Ignatius maketh mention in his epiſtle, which he wrote in his journey to Rome, going toward his martyrdom, and commendeth to him the government of his church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Polycarpus was then in the miniſtry. Likewiſe Ireneus writeth of the ſaid Polycarpus after this manner: "He always taught (ſaid he) thoſe things which he learned of the apoſtles (leaving them to the church) and are only true." Whereunto alſo all the churches that be in Aſia, and all they which ſucceeded after Polycarpus to this day bear witneſs. And the ſame Ireneus witneſſeth alſo, that the ſame Polycarpus wrote an epiſtle to the Philippians, which whether it be the ſame that is now extant and read in the name of Polycarpus, it is doubted of ſome: notwithſtanding in the ſaid epiſtle divers things are found very wholeſome and apoſtolic; as where he teacheth of Chriſt, of judgment, and of the reſurrection. Alſo he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring, that by grace we are ſaved, and not by works, but in the will of God by Jeſus Chriſt.

In Euſebius we read in like manner a part of an epiſtle writen by Ireneus to Florinus, wherein is declared, how that the ſaid Ireneus being yet young, was with Polycarpus in Aſia; at what time he ſaw and well remembered what Polycarpus did, and the place where he ſate teaching, his whole order of life and proportion of his body, with the ſermons and words which he ſaid to the people. And furthermore, he perfectly remembered, how that the ſaid Polycarpus oftentimes reported unto him thoſe things which he learned and heard them ſpeak of the Lord his doings, power and doctrine, who heard the word of life, all which were moſt conſtant and agreeable to the holy ſcripture. This, with much more, hath Ireneus concerning Polycarpus.

Hierome alſo writing of the ſame Polycarpus, hath, how he was in great eſtimation throughout all Aſia, for that he was ſcholar to the apoſtles, and to them which did ſee, and were converſant with, Chriſt himſelf: whereby it is to be conjectured, his authority to be much, not only with them of his own church, but with all other churches about him.

Over and beſides, it is witneſſed by the ſaid Ireneus, that Polycarpus came to Rome, about the year of our Lord 157, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, whoſe cauſe of his coming thither appeareth to be about the controverſy of Eaſter-day: wherein the Aſians and the Romans ſomething diſagreed among themſelves, and therefore the ſaid Polycarpus, in the behalf of the brethren and church of Aſia, took his long journey thither, to come and confer with Anicetus. Whereof writeth alſo Nicephorus, lib. 4. declaring that Polycarpus and Anicetus ſomething varied in opinions and judgment about that matter, and that notwithſtanding, yet both friendly communicated either with the other, inſomuch that Anicetus in his church gave place to Polycarpus to miniſter the communion and ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper for honour ſake. Which may be a noble teſtimony now to us, that the doctrine concerning the free uſe and liberty of ceremonies, was at that time retained in the church without any offence, or breach of chriſtian peace in the church.

This Polycarpus, as is above-mentioned, ſuffered his martyrdom even in his own church at Smyrna, where he had laboured ſo many years in planting of the goſpel of Chriſt, which was about the year of our Lord 170, as Euſebius reckoneth in his chronicle, and in the ſeventh year of Antoninus Verus his reign, whereby it appeareth that Socrates in Hiſtoria tripartita was much deceived, ſaying, That Polycarpus ſuffered in the time of Gordianus.

In this fourth perſecution, beſide Polycarpus and others mentioned before, we read alſo in Euſebius of divers others, who at the ſame time likewiſe did ſuffer at Smyrna.

Over and beſides, in the ſame perſecution ſuffered moreover Metrodorus, a miniſter, who was given to the fire, and ſo conſumed. Another was worthy Pionius, which after much boldneſs of ſpeech, with his apologies exhibited, and his ſermons made to the people in the defence of chriſtian faith, and after much relieving and comforting of ſuch as were in priſons, and otherwiſe diſcomforted, at laſt was put to cruel torments and afflictions; then given likewiſe to the fire, and ſo finiſhed his bleſſed martyrdom.

After theſe alſo ſuffer Carpus, Papilus, and Agathonica, a woman, who after their moſt conſtant and worthy confeſſions, were put to death at Pergamopolis in Aſia, witneſſing Euſebius, lib. 5. cap. 7.

And as theſe ſuffered in Aſia, ſo in Rome ſuffered Felicitas, with her ſeven children, who under this M. Antoninus Verus ſuſtained alſo the cruelty of this perſecution. The names of thoſe children Bergomenſis, and other hiſtories, do thus recite, Januarius, Felix, Philip, Silvanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis. Of whom her firſt and eldeſt ſon Januarius, after he was whipped and ſcourged with rods, was preſt to death with leaden weights. Felix and Philip had their brains beat out with mawls. Silvanus was caſt down headlong, and had his neck broken. Furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis and Martialis, were beheaded. Laſt of all, Felicitas the mother (otherwiſe than as the accuſtomed manner was for ſuch as had borne children) was ſlain with the ſword. Ex. Supplem.

In the rage of this fourth perſecution, under the reign of Antoninus Pius, ſuffered alſo good Juſtinus, a man in learning and philoſophy excellent, and a great defender of chriſtian religion, who firſt exhibited unto the emperor, and to the ſenate, a book or apology in the defence of the chriſtians, and afterwards himſelf alſo died a martyr. Of whom in the hiſtory of Euſebius, lib. 4. cap. 16. it is thus recorded, that about what time, or a little before that Polycarpus, with divers other ſaints, ſuffered martyrdom in Pergamopolis, a city of Aſia, this Juſtinus (as is aforeſaid) preſented a book in defence of our doctrine, to the emperor Antoninus and to the ſenate. After which he was likewiſe crowned with like martyrdom unto thoſe whom he in his book had defended, through the malicious means and crafty circumvention of Creſcens.

This Creſcens was a philoſopher, conforming his life and manners to the Cynical ſect, whom becauſe this Juſtinus had reproved in open audience, and had borne away the victory of the truth which he defended; he therefore, as much as in him lay, did work and procure unto him this crown of martyrdom. And this did alſo Juſtin himſelf, a philoſopher, no leſs famous by his profeſſion, foreſee and declare in his aforeſaid apology, telling almoſt all thoſe things beforehand which ſhould happen unto him, by theſe words, ſaying, And I look after this good turn, that I be ſlain going by the way, either of ſome of thoſe whom I have named, and to have my brains beaten out with a bat, or elſe of Creſcens, whom I cannot call a philoſopher, but rather a vain boaſter. For it is not convenient to call him a philoſopher, which openly profeſſes things to him unknown, and whereof he hath no ſkill, ſaying and reporting of us, that the chriſtians be ungodly and irreligious, and all to pleaſe and flatter them which are ſeduced by error.

For whether he objecteth againſt us the doctrine of the chriſtians, which he hath not read, yet is he very malicious, and worſe than the unlearned idiots, who for the moſt part uſe not to diſpute, or judge of things they know not, and to bear witneſs of the ſame. Or put the caſe that he had read it, yet underſtandeth he not the majeſty of the matters therein contained: or, if peradventure he underſtandeth them, and doth it for this purpoſe, that he would not be counted as one of them: then is he ſo much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondſlave of the vile and beaſtly, both fame and fear. For this I teſtify of him, giving you truly to underſtand, that for a truth, which I declare unto you, how that I have oppoſed him, and have put unto many queſtions, whereby I know and perceive, that he underſtandeth nothing. But if ſo be that this our diſputation with him hath not come unto your ears, I am ready to communicate unto you again thoſe queſtions which I demanded of him, which things ſhall not be unfit for your princely honour to hear. But if ye know and underſtand both what things I have examined him of, as alſo what anſwer he hath made, it ſhall be apparent unto you, that he is altogether ignorant of our doctrine and learning; or elſe if he knoweth the ſame, he dare not utter it for fear of his auditors; which thing, as I ſaid before, is a proof that he is no philoſopher, but a ſlave to vain-glory, which maketh none account of that which his own maſter Socrates had in ſo great eſtimation. And thus much of Juſtine, out of Juſtin himſelf.

Now, to verify that which Juſtine here of himſelf doth propheſy, That Creſcens would and did procure his death: Tacianus (a man brought up of a child in the inſtitutions of the Gentiles, and obtained in the ſame not a little fame, and which alſo left behind him many good monuments and commentaries) writeth in his book againſt the Gentiles in this ſort; "And Juſtin (ſaith he) that moſt excellent learned man, full well ſpake and uttered his mind, that the afore-recited men were like unto thieves or lyars by the high-way ſide." And in the ſaid book, ſpeaking afterward of certain philoſophers, the ſaid Tacianus inferreth thus, Creſcens therefore (ſaith he) when he came firſt into that great city, paſſed all others in the vicious love of children, and was very much given to covetouſneſs; and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, he himſelf doth fear death, and he did all his endeavour to oppreſs Juſtin with death, as with the greateſt evil that was; and all becauſe that Juſtin, ſpeaking truth, reproved the philoſophers to be men only for the belly, and deceivers: and this was the cauſe of Juſtin's martyrdom. Hierome in his Eccleſiaſtical Catalogue thus writeth; Juſtin, when in the city of Rome he had his diſputations, and had reproved Creſcens the Cynick for a great blaſphemer of the chriſtians, for a belly-god, and a man fearing death, and alſo a follower of luſt and lechery; at laſt by his endeavour and conſpiracy was accuſed to be a chriſtian, and for Chriſt ſhed his blood in the year of our Lord 154, under Marcus Antoninus, as the chronicles do witneſs; Abbas Urſpergenſis, and Euſebius in his chronicle, in the thirteenth year of the emperor Antoninus.

Among theſe above recited is alſo to be numbred Praxedis, a bleſſed virgin, the daughter of a citizen of Rome, who in the time of Anicetus their biſhop, was ſo brought up in the doctrine of Chriſt, and ſo affected to his religion, that ſhe, with her ſiſter Potentiana, beſtowed all her patrimony upon the relieving of poor chriſtians, giving all her time to faſting and prayer, and to the burying the bodies of the martyrs. And after ſhe had made free all her family with her ſervants after the death of her ſiſter, ſhe alſo departed, and was buried in peace.

Under the ſame Antoninus alſo ſuffered Ptolomeus and Lucius for the confeſſion of Chriſt, in a city of Egypt, called Alexandria, whoſe hiſtory becauſe it is deſcribed in the Apology of Juſtinus Martyr, I thought therefore ſo to ſet forth the ſame, as it is alledged in Euſebius, declaring the manner and occaſion thereof, lib. 4. cap. 17. in words and effect as followeth, &c.

There

There was (ſaith he) a certain woman married unto a huſband, who was given much to laſciviouſneſs, whereunto ſhe herſelf in times paſt was alſo addicted. But ſhe afterwards being inſtructed in the chriſtian religion, became chaſte herſelf, and alſo perſuaded her huſband to live chaſtely; oftentimes telling him, that it was written in the precepts of the chriſtians, that they ſhould be puniſhed eternally which lived not chaſtely and juſtly in this life. But he ſtill continuing in his filthineſs, thereby cauſed his wife to eſtrange from his company. For why? the woman thought it not convenient to continue in her huſband's company, which contemning the law of nature, ſought otherwiſe to ſatisfy his filthy appetite. Therefore ſhe was purpoſed to be divorced from him. But her neighbours and kinsfolk provoked her, by promiſing his amendment, to keep company again with him, and ſo ſhe did. But he afterward took his journey in Alexandria, and when it was ſhewed her, that there he lived more licentiouſly than at any time before, for that ſhe would not be counted partaker of his inceſtuous life, by coupling herſelf any longer with him, ſhe gave him a letter of divorce, and ſo departed from him. Then her huſband, who ought rather to have rejoiced to have ſo honeſt and chaſte a wife, which not only would not commit any diſhoneſt thing herſelf, but alſo could not abide any lewd or diſordered behaviour in her huſband, and that by this her ſeparation ſhe went about to reclaim him from his inceſt and wickedneſs to better amendent of life: he, in recompence to his wife again, accuſed her to be a chriſtian, which at that time was no leſs than death. Whereupon ſhe, being in great peril and danger, delivered up unto the emperor (as Juſtinus in his Apology, writing to the emperor, himſelf declareth) a ſupplication, deſiring and craving of his majeſty, firſt, to grant her ſo much licence as to ſet her family in order, and that done, afterward to come again and make anſwer to all that might or ſhould be laid againſt her; whereunto the emperor condeſcended. Then her huſband ſeeing that he could have no advantage againſt her, deviſed with himſelf, how he might bring Ptolemeus (which was her inſtructor in the faith of Chriſt) in trouble and accuſation: uſing the means of a certain centurion, who was his very friend, whom he perſuaded to examine Ptolemeus, whether he were a chriſtian or not. Ptolemeus (as one that loved the truth, and not thinking good to hide his profeſſion) confeſſed no leſs then to the examiner, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and profeſſed the verity of chriſtian doctrine. For who ſo denieth himſelf to be that he is, either condemneth in denying the thing that he is, or maketh himſelf unworthy of that, the confeſſion whereof he flyeth, which thing is never found in a true and ſincere chriſtian. Thus then he being brought before Urbicius the judge, and by him condemned to ſuffer: one Lucius being alſo a chriſtian, ſtanding by, and ſeeing the wrong judgment, and haſty ſentence of the judge, ſaid to Urbicius, "What reaſon, I pray you, or equity is this, that this man who neither is adulterer, nor fornicator, nor homicide, nor felon, neither hath committed any ſuch crime wherewith he may be charged, is thus condemned only for his name and confeſſion of a chriſtian? This condemnation, and this manner of judgments (O Urbicius) are neither ſeemly for the virtuous emperor, nor to the philoſopher his ſon, nor yet for the eſtate of his ſenate of Rome."

Which words being heard, Urbicius making no further examination of the matter, ſaid unto Lucius, "Methinketh thou art alſo a chriſtian." And when Lucius had given him to underſtand that he was alſo a chaiſtian, the judge without further delay commanded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom he anſwered, "I thank you with all my heart, that you releaſe me from moſt wicked governors, and ſend me unto my good and moſt loving Father, being alſo the King of all gods. And in like manner the third man alſo, coming unto him, and uſing the like liberty of ſpeech, had alſo the like ſentence of death and condemnation, and was crowned alſo with the ſame crown of martyrdom. And thus much out of the Apology of Juſtinus, by the which ſtory it may appear not to be true that Gratianus attributeth unto Higinus, biſhop of Rome, the diciding of cauſes matrimonial, ſeeing that in Juſtinus's time (who was in the ſame age of Higinus) the divorcement of this woman in this hiſtory above touched, was not decided by any eccleſiaſtical law, or brought before any biſhop, but was brought before an heathen prince, and determined by the law civil.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the martyrology of Iſuardus, of one Concordus, a miniſter of the city of Spolet, who in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, becauſe he would not ſacrifice unto Jupiter, but did ſpit in the face of the idol, after divers and ſundry puniſhments ſuſtained, at laſt, with the ſword was beheaded. Vincentius, in his tenth book, chap. 108. reciteth a long ſtory of his acts and life, whereof ſome part perhaps may ſeem tolerable. But this verily appeareth to be falſe and fabulous, concerning the water flowing beſide his ſepulchre in the forenamed city of Spolet, unto the which water was given (ſaith Vincentius) by the virtue of him for whoſe name he ſuffered, to reſtore ſight to the blind, to heal the ſick, and to caſt out devils, &c. Which kind of virtue to open the eyes of the blind, and to expel devils, neither doth God give to any creature of water, neither is it like that Concordus the bleſſed martyr did or would require any ſuch thing at the hand of God.

Iſuardus and Bede, Vincentius and Henricus de Erfordia, with other authors, make relation of divers other martyrs that by ſundry kinds of torments were put to death, under the aforeſaid Antoninus Verus: the names of whom be Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodus, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus. The cauſe of whoſe martyrdom was the reprehending of idolatry, and becauſe at the emperor's commandment they would not ſacrifice to idols. Many ſorts of puniſhments and miracles are told of them: but at length the end of them all is this; that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more ſuſpected, the hiſtories of theſe writers not to be certain or true, as well touching theſe as alſo other martyrs, as may appear in Vincentius, in Petrus de Natalibus, and other authors of like ſort. In which authors they which liſt to read more of their miracles there may find them.

A little before, mention was made of Symphoriſſa, otherwiſe named Symphoroſa, wife of Getulus, with her ſeven ſons. This Getulus or Getulius was a miniſter or teacher (as witneſſeth Martyol. Adonis) in the city of Tiber, which Getulus, with Cerealis, Amanthius, and Primitivus, by the commandment of Hadrian, were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred, and put to death. The names of the ſeven ſons of this Symphoroſa I find to be Creſcens, Julianus, Nemeſius, Primitivus, Juſtinus, Statteus, and Eugenius, whom the chronicle of Ado declareth to be put to death at the commandment of Hadrian, being faſtened to ſeven ſtakes, and ſo racked up with a pully and at laſt were thruſt thorough, Creſcens in the neck, Julianus in the breaſt, Nemeſius in the heart, Primitivus about the navel, Juſtinus cut in every part of his body, Statteus run thorough with ſpears, Eugenius cut aſunder from the breaſt to the lower parts, and then caſt into a pit, having the name by the idolatrous prieſts, entitled, Ad ſeptem Biothanatos. After the martyrdom of whom alſo Symphoroſa the mother did likewiſe ſuffer, as is before declared.

Under the ſaid Antoninus Verus, and in the ſame perſecution, which raged not in Rome and Aſia only, but in other countries alſo, ſuffered the glorious and moſt conſtant martyrs of Lyons and Vienna, two cities

in France, giving to Chriſt a glorious teſtimony, and to all chriſtian men a ſpectacle or example of ſingular conſtancy and fortitude in Chriſt our Saviour. The hiſtory of whom, becauſe it is written and ſet forth by their own churches, where they did ſuffer, mentioned in Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 2. I thought here to expreſs the ſame in the form and effect of their own words, as there is to be ſeen. The title of which their epiſtle written to the brethren of Aſia and Phrygia thus beginneth.

The Servants of Chriſt inhabiting the Cities of Vienna and Lyons, to the Brethren in Aſia and Phrygia, having the ſame Faith and Hope of Redemption with us: Peace, Grace, and Glory from God the Father, and from Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

THE greatneſs of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles againſt us, and the torments which the bleſſed martyrs ſuffered, neither can we in words, nor yet in writing exactly, as they deſerve, ſet forth. For the adverſary with all his force, gave his endeavour to the working of ſuch preparatives, as he himſelf liſted, againſt his tyrannous coming, and in every place practiſed he, and inſtructed his miniſters, how in moſt ſpiteful manner to ſet them againſt the ſervants of God: ſo that not only in our houſes, ſhops, and markets, we were reſtrained, but alſo were univerſally commanded, that none ſhould be ſeen in any place. But God hath always mercy in ſtore, and took out of their hands ſuch as were weak amongſt them, and other ſome did he ſet up as firm and immoveable pillars, which by ſufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withſtand the enemy, enduring all their opprobrious puniſhment they could deviſe: to conclude, they fought this battle for that intent to come unto Chriſt, eſteeming their great troubles but as light: thereby ſhewing that all that may be ſuffered in this preſent life, is not able to countervail the great glory which ſhall be ſhewed upon us after this life. And firſt they patiently ſuffered whatſoever the multitude of frantic people running headlong did unto them, as railings, ſcourgings, drawings, and hailings, flinging of ſtones, impriſonings, and what other thing ſoever the rage of the multitude is wont to uſe and practiſe againſt their profeſſed enemies. Then afterward they being led into the market-place, and there judged of the captain and reſt of the potentates of the city, after their confeſſion made openly before the multitude, were commanded again to priſon, until the return of their chief governor. After this they being brought before him, and he uſing all extremity that poſſibly he might againſt them: one Vetius Epigathus, one of the brethren, repleniſhed with fervent zeal both towards God and his brethren, (whoſe converſation, although he were a young man,) was counted as perfect as was the life of Zachary the prieſt: for he walked diligently in all the commandments and juſtifications of the Lord, and in all obedience towards his brethren, blameleſs. He having within him the fervent zeal of love, and Spirit of God, could not ſuffer that wicked judgment which was given upon the chriſtians; but being vehemently diſpleaſed, deſired that the judge would hear the excuſe which he was minded to make in the behalf of the chriſtians, in whom (ſaith he) is no impiety found. But the people cried again to thoſe that were aſſiſtants to the chief juſtice, that it might not be ſo (for indeed he was a nobleman born) neither did the juſtice grant him his lawful requeſt, but only aſked him, "Whether he himſelf was a chriſtian or not?" And he immediately with a loud and bold voice anſwered and ſaid, "I am a chriſtian." And thus was he received into the fellowſhip of the martyrs, and called the advocate of the chriſtians. And he having the Spirit of God more plentifully in time, than had Zachary, the abundance thereof he declared, in that he gave his life for the defence of his brethren, being a true diſciple of Chriſt, "following the Lamb whereſoever he goeth."

By this man's example, the reſt of the martyrs were the more animated to martyrdom, and made more joyous with all courage of mind to accompliſh the ſame. Some other there were unready and not ſo well prepared, and as yet weak, not well able to bear the vehemency of ſo great a conflict; of whom ten there were in number that fainted, miniſtering to us much heavineſs and lamentation. Who by their example cauſed the reſt, which were not yet apprehended, to be leſs willing thereunto. Then were we all for the variableneſs of confeſſion not a little aſtoniſhed: not that we feared the puniſhment intended againſt us, but rather as having reſpect to the end, and fearing leſt any ſhould fall. Every day there were apprehended ſuch as were worthy to fulfil the number of them which were fallen: inſomuch, that of two churches, ſuch as were chiefeſt, and which were the principal governors of our churches, were apprehended. With theſe alſo certain of the Ethnicks, being our men-ſervants, were apprehended (for ſo the governor commanded, that all of us without any reſpect ſhould be taken) which ſervants be overcome by ſatan, and fearing the torments which they ſaw the ſaints to ſuffer, being alſo compelled thereunto by the means of the ſoldiers, feigned againſt us that we kept the feaſtings of Thieſtes, and inceſt of Oedipus, and many ſuch other crimes, which are neither to be remembered, nor named of us, nor yet to be thought that ever any man would commit the like.

Theſe things being now bruited abroad, every man began to ſhew cruelty againſt us, inſomuch that thoſe which before for familiarity-ſake were more gentle towards us, now vehemently diſdained us, and waxed mad againſt us. And thus was now fulfilled that which was ſpoken by Chriſt, ſaying, "The time will come, that whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think that he doth God ſervice." Then ſuffered the martyrs of God ſuch bitter perſecution as is paſſing to be told: ſatan ſtill ſhooting at this mark, to make them to utter ſome blaſphemy by all means poſſible. Marvellous therefore was the rage both of the people and prince, eſpecially againſt one Sanctus, which was deacon of the congregation of Vienna, and againſt Maturus, being but a little before baptized, but yet a worthy ſoldier of Chriſt, and alſo againſt Attalus, being born in Pergama, which was the foundation and pillar of that congregation, and alſo againſt Blandina: by whom Chriſt ſheweth thoſe things, which the world eſteemed vile and abject, to be glorious in God's ſight, for the very love which in heart and deed they bare unto him, not in outward face only. For when we are afraid, and ſpecially her miſtreſs in the fleſh, who alſo was herſelf one of the number of the aforeſaid martyrs, leſt hapleſs for the weakneſs of body ſhe would not ſtand ſtrongly to her confeſſion, the foreſaid Blandina was ſo repleniſhed with ſtrength and boldneſs, that they which had the tormenting of her by courſe, from morning to night, for very wearineſs gave over, and fell down, and were themſelves overcome, confeſſing that they could do no more againſt her, and marvelled that yet ſhe lived, having her body ſo torn and rent: and teſtified that any one of thoſe torments alone, without any more, had been enough to have plucked the life from her body. But that bleſſed woman, fighting this worthy battle, became ſtronger and ſtronger, and as often as ſhe ſpake theſe words, "I am a chriſtian, neither have we committed any evil," it was to her a marvellous comfort and boldning to abide the torments.

Sanctus alſo, another of the martyrs, who in the midſt of his torments endured more pains than the nature of a man might away with, at what time the wicked ſuppoſed to have heard him utter ſome blaſphemous words, for the greatneſs and intolerableneſs of his torments and

pains that he was in, abode notwithſtanding in ſuch conſtancy of mind, that neither he told them his name, nor what countryman he was, nor in what city brought up, neither whether he was a freeman or a ſervant: but unto every queſtion that was aſked him, he anſwered in the Latin tongue, "I am a chriſtian;" and this was all that he confeſſed both of his name, city, kindred, and all other things in the place of execution: neither yet could the Gentiles get any more of him: whereupon both the governor and tormentors were the more vehemently bent againſt him. And when they had nothing to vex him withal, they clapped plates of braſs red hot to the moſt tender parts of his body, wherewith his body indeed being ſcorched, yet he never ſhrunk for the matter, but was bold and conſtant in his confeſſion, being ſtrengthened and moiſtened with the fountain of lively water, flowing out of Chriſt's ſide. Truly his body was a ſufficient witneſs what torment he ſuffered: for it was all drawn together, and moſt pitifully wounded and ſcorched, ſo that it had therewith loſt the proper ſhape of a man, in whoſe ſuffering Chriſt obtained unſpeakable glory, for that he overcame his adverſaries, and, to the inſtruction of others, declared, that nothing elſe is terrible, or ought to be feared, where the love of God is, and nothing grievous, wherein the glory of Chriſt is manifeſted.

And when thoſe wicked men began after a certain time again to torment the martyr, and hoped well to bring it to paſs, that either they ſhould overcome him in cauſing him to recant, by reiterating his torments, now when his body was ſo ſore and ſwollen, that he might not ſuffer a man to touch him with his hand, or elſe that he died under their hands, yet that thereby they ſhould ſtrike ſuch fear into the hearts of the reſt, as to cauſe them to deny Chriſt: they were not only diſappointed herein, but alſo contrary to the expectation of men, his body was in the latter puniſhment and torments ſuppled and reſtored, and took the firſt ſhape and uſe of the members of the ſame, ſo that his ſecond torments was by the grace of Chriſt (inſtead of puniſhment) a ſafe medicine.

Alſo ſatan now thinking to have ſettled himſelf in the heart of one Biblides, being one of them which had denied Chriſt, and thinking to have cauſed her, being a weak and feeble woman in faith, to have damned her ſoul, in blaſpheming the name of God, brought her to the place of execution: enforcing to wreſt ſome wicked thing out of the mouth of the chriſtians. But ſhe in the middle of her torments returning to herſelf, and waked as it were out of her dead ſleep by that temporal pain, called to her remembrance the pains of hell-fire, and againſt all mens expectations reviled the tormentors, ſaying, "How ſhould we chriſtians eat young infants (as ye reported of us) for whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of any beaſt?" Upon that, as ſoon as ſhe had confeſſed herſelf to be a chriſtian, ſhe was martyred with the reſt. Thus when Chriſt had ended thoſe tyrannical torments, by the patience and ſufferance of our ſaints, the devil yet invited other engines and inſtruments. For when the chriſtians were caſt into priſon, they were ſhut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and were drawn by the feet in a rack or engine made for that purpoſe, even unto the fifth hole. And many other ſuch puniſhments ſuffered they, which the furious miniſters, ſtirred up with deviliſh fury, are wont to put men unto: ſo that very many of them were ſtrangled and killed in priſons, whom the Lord in this manner would have to enjoy everlaſting life, and ſet forth his glory. And ſurely theſe good men were ſo pitifully tormented, that if they had had all the helps and medicines in the world, it was thought impoſſible for them to live, and to be reſtored. And thus they remaining in priſon, deſtitute of all human help, were ſo ſtrengthened of the Lord, and both in body and mind confirmed, that they comforted and ſtirred up the minds of the reſt: the younger ſort of them, which were later apprehended, and put in priſon, whoſe bodies had not yet felt the laſh of the whip, were not able to endure the ſharpneſs of their impriſonment, but died for the ſame.

The bleſſed Photinus, who was deacon to the biſhop of Lyons, about fourſcore and nine years old, and a very feeble weak man, who could ſcarcely draw breath for the imbecility of his body: yet was he of a lively courage and ſpirit, and for the great deſire he had of martyrdom, when he was brought unto the judgment-ſeat, although his body was feeble and weak, both becauſe of his old age, and alſo through ſickneſs, yet was his ſoul or life preſerved to this purpoſe, that by the ſame Chriſt might triumph and be glorified. He, being by the ſoldiers brought to the place of judgment, many citizens and men of great ability following him, and the whole multitude crying upon him diverſly, as though he had been Chriſt himſelf, gave a good teſtimony. For being demanded of the chief ruler, what was the chriſtian man's God? He anſwered, If thou be worthy to know, thou ſhalt know. He being with theſe words ſomewhat near touched, cauſed him to be very ſore beaten. For thoſe that ſtood next him did him all the ſpite and diſpleaſure that they could both with hand and foot, having no regard at all to his old age or white hairs. And they which were further off, whatſoever came next to hand, they threw at him, and every man thought that he did verywickedly refrain, that withheld his hand from doing the like. For by this means they thought that they did revenge the quarrel of their gods. Photinus now, even as it were gaſping after life, was thrown into priſon, and within two days after died.

And here is the mighty providence of God, and the unſpeakable mercy of Jeſus Chriſt declared, which providence, being aſſured amongſt a fraternity, is never deſtitute of the aid of Jeſus Chriſt. For thoſe which in their firſt perſecution denied Chriſt, they alſo were put in priſon, and made partakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time help them that had denied Chriſt, but they which confeſſed him were impriſoned as chriſtians, neither was there any other crime objected againſt them; but the other ſort taken like homicides and wicked doers, were laid hand on, and had double more puniſhment than the others had. Theſe men were refreſhed with the joys of martyrdom, the hope of God's promiſes, the love towards Chriſt, and the Spirit of God: the others, their conſciences accuſed them, and that very ſore, inſomuch that by their gait, their countenances bewrayed unto the reſt their guilty conſciences. For the chriſtians went forth having cheerful countenances, very much adorned with glory and grace, inſomuch that the bonds wherewith they were tied ſet them out as men in ſeemly apparel, and like as brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garments, and therewithal ſavoured as of the redolent ſmell of Chriſt, ſo that they might be ſuppoſed to be anointed with ſome ſweet balm: whereas the others were doubtful and ſad, abject, ill-favoured, filled with all ſhame, and furthermore reviled of the Gentiles themſelves, as wretches degenerate, having the crime of homicide, and deſtitute of the moſt precious, glorious, and lively calling of the chriſtian name. And truly by theſe ſights the reſt were confirmed, and being apprehended, confeſſed Chriſt without any ſtaggering, not having ſo much as the thought of any ſuch deviliſh mind of denial. And in the ſame epiſtle of the foreſaid brethren of France, writing to the brethren of Aſia, it followeth in this manner: After theſe things done, the martyrdom of theſe holy ſaints was divided diverſly into divers kinds and forms, as the offering to God the Father a garland decked with divers and ſundry kinds of colours and flowers. For ſo it behoved the worthy champions of God, after they had ſuffered divers kinds of torments, and ſo won a triumphant victory, to obtain the great reward of immortality.

Then Maturus, Blandina, and Attalus, were brought together to the common ſcaffold, there in the face of the people to be caſt to and devoured of the beaſts. And Maturus with Sanctus, being brought the ſecond time to the ſcaffold, ſuffered again all kind of torments, as tho' hitherto they had ſuffered nothing at all: yea rather the adverſary being oftentimes put to the worſt, they as ſtriving for the crown, ſuffered again more ſcourgings, the tearing of wild beaſts, and what things elſe ſoever the frantic people cried for and willed. And above all the reſt they brought an iron chair, in the which their bodies being ſet, were ſo fried and ſcorched, as on a grid-iron fried on the coals, and filled with the ſavour of the frying all the people that ſtood by. And yet for all that the tormentors ceaſed not, but waxed more fierce and mad againſt them, labouring to overcome the patience of the ſaints. Notwithſtanding all this, they could not get out of Sanctus' mouth any other thing but the confeſſion which at the beginning he declared. And thus theſe holy men, after they had long continued alive in this their moſt horrible conflict, at the length were ſlain, being made all that whole day a ſpectacle unto the world, in place and inſtead of the games and ſights which were wont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning Maturus and Sanctus.

Now concerning Blandina, ſhe being faſtened upon a ſtake, was caſt to the ravening beaſts to be devoured; which thing was not done without the determinate will of God; to this end, that while ſhe ſeemed to hang as it were upon a croſs, by the ferventneſs of her prayer ſhe might comfort the reſt of the ſaints, as beholding their Chriſt with their bodily eyes, which in that agony ſuffered for them all; and that all which believe in him, and ſuffer for the glory of Chriſt, might be aſſured to live with him for ever. And when they ſaw that no beaſt could come near her thus hanging, they took her down from the tree, and caſt her again into priſon till another time, that ſhe, having the victory of many battles, might triumph over that ugly ſerpent the devil, and that ſhe being a weak and a ſilly woman, and not regarded, armed with Chriſt the invincible conqueror, might encourage her brethren, and by the enduring of this battle might win a crown of incorruptible glory.

Now to Attalus; who, being alſo required and called for of the people to puniſhment, already prepared (for his conſcience ſake) cometh forth to the fight. For he being worthily exerciſed in the chriſtian profeſſion, was always a witneſs and a maintainer of our doctrine. Therefore when the preſs of people were about the ſcaffold, and the table carried before him, whereon was written in the Roman tongue, "This is Attalus the chriſtian:" then the people were in a marvellous rage againſt him. But the governor, underſtanding that he was a Roman, commanded him to priſon, with the reſt of his priſon fellows: whereof he wrote to the emperor, and waited for anſwer what his pleaſure herein was. The priſoners were not idle in the mean ſeaſon, nor unprofitable to their brethren, but by their patience the unſpeakable mercy of Chriſt ſhined out. For thoſe which were dead before were now revived by them that lived; and they which were martyrs profited them that were none, and the church did much rejoice, as receiving them again alive, whom ſhe had loſt before as dead. For many of them, which before had denied, now by their denial were reſtored and ſtirred up, and learned to be confeſſors. And now being revived and ſtrenthened, and taſted the ſweetneſs of him "who deſireth not the death of a ſinner, but is merciful to the penitent," came of their own accord to the judgment-ſeat again, that they might be examined of the judge. And for that the emperor had written back again to him, that all the confeſſors ſhould be puniſhed, and the others let go, and that ſeſſions or ſizes were now begun, which, for the multitude that had repair thither out of every quarter, was marvellous great: he cauſed all the holy martyrs to be brought thither, that the multitude might behold them, and once again examined them; and as many of them as he thought had the Roman freedom he beheaded, the reſidue he gave to the beaſts to be devoured. And truly Chriſt was much glorified by thoſe which a little before had denied him, which again, contrary to the expectation of the infidels, confeſſed him even unto the death. For they were examined apart from the reſt, becauſe of their delivery; which being found confeſſors, were joined to the company of the martyrs and had with them their part. But there were then ſome abroad which had no faith at all, neither yet ſo much as the feeling of the wedding garment, nor any cogitation at all of the fear of God, but blaſphemed his ways by their lewd converſation of their life, even ſuch as were the children of damnation. All the reſidue joined themſelves to the congregation; which when they were examined, one Alexander, a Phrygian born, and a phyſician, which had dwelt long in France, and known almoſt of all, for the love he had to God, and boldneſs of ſpeaking (neither was he void of the apoſtolical love) one Alexander, I ſay, ſtanding ſomewhat near to the bar, by ſigns and becks perſuaded ſuch as were examined to confeſs Chriſt: ſo that by his countenance ſometime rejoicing, ſome other while ſorrowing, he was deſcried of the ſtanders by. The people not taking in good part to ſee thoſe which now recanted by and by again to ſtick to their firſt confeſſion, they cryed out againſt Alexander as one that was the cauſe of all this matter. And when he was inforced by the judge, and demanded what religion he was of? he anſwered, "I am a chriſtian." He had no ſooner ſpoken the word, but he was judged of the beaſts of them to be devoured.

The next day following, Attalus, of whom I made mention a little before, and Alexander, were brought forth together. For the governor granting Attalus unto the people, he was baited again of the beaſts. When theſe men were brought to the ſcaffold, and had taken a taſte of all the inſtruments that were prepared for their execution, and had ſuffered the greateſt agony they could put them to, they were alſo at the length ſlain: of whom Alexander never gave ſo much as a ſigh, nor held his peace; but from the bottom of his heart praiſed and prayed to the Lord. But Attalus, when he was ſet in the iron chair, and began to fry, and the frying ſavour of his burned body began to ſmell, he ſpake to the multitude in the Roman language; "Behold, ſaith he, this which ye do is to eat man's fleſh; for we neither eat men, nor yet commit any other wickedneſs." And being demanded what was the name of their God? "Our God, ſaith he, hath no ſuch name as men have." Then ſaid they, "Now let us ſee whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands or not."

And this being the laſt day of the ſpectacle, Blandina again, and one Ponticus, a child of fifteen years old, was brought forth, and this was every day, to the intent that they, ſeeing the puniſhment of their fellows, might be compelled thereby to ſwear by their idols. But becauſe they conſtantly abode in their purpoſe, and defied their idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither ſparing the age of the child, nor favouring the ſex of the woman, but put them to all the puniſhment and pain they could deviſe, and oftentimes enforced them to ſwear, and yet were not able to compel them thereunto. For Ponticus, being ſo animated of his ſiſter, as the Ethnicks ſtanding by did ſee, after that he had ſuffered all torments and pains gave up the ghoſt. This bleſſed Blandina therefore being the laſt that ſuffered, after ſhe had, like a worthy mother, given exhortations unto her children, and had ſent them before as conquerors to the heavenly king, and had called to her remembrance all their battles and conflicts, ſo much rejoiced of her childrens death, and ſo haſtened her own, as though ſhe had been bidden to a bridal, and not in caſe to be thrown to the wild beaſts. After this her pitiful whipping,

ping, her delivery to the beaſts, and her torments upon the grid-iron, at the length ſhe was put in a net, and thrown to the wild bull; and when ſhe had been ſufficiently gored and wounded with the horns of the ſame beaſt, and felt nothing of all that chanced to her, for the great hope and conſolation ſhe had in Chriſt and heavenly things, was thus ſlain, inſomuch that the very heathen men themſelves confeſſed, that there was never woman put to death of them that ſuffered ſo much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious cruelty thus aſſuaged againſt the chriſtians. For the cruel barbarous people, like wild beaſts, when they be moved, knew not when the time was to make an end, but invented new and ſundry torments every day againſt our bodies. Neither yet did it content them when they had put the chriſtians to death, for that they wanted the ſenſe of men: for which cauſe both the magiſtrate and people were vexed at the very hearts, that the ſcripture might be fulfilled, which ſaith, "He that is wicked, let him be wicked ſtill: and he that is juſt, let him be more juſt." For thoſe which in their priſons they ſtrangled, they threw after to the dogs, ſetting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they ſhould not be buried, and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies, ſome half burned, ſome left of the wild beaſts, and ſome all mangled, alſo bringing forth heads of others which were cut off, and in like manner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to ſee them remain unburied.

The Gentiles grinded and gnaſhed at the chriſtians with their teeth, ſeeking which way they might amplify their puniſhment: ſome other flouted and mocked them, extolling their idols, attributing unto them the cauſe of this cruelty and vengeance ſhewed to us. Such as were of the meeker ſort, and ſeemed to be moved with ſome pity, did hit us in the teeth, ſaying, "Where is your God that you ſo much boaſt of? and what helpeth this your religion for which you gave your lives?" Theſe were the ſundry paſſions and affects of the Gentiles, but the chriſtians in the mean while were in great heavineſs, that they might not bury the bodies and relicks of the holy martyrs. Neither could the dark night ſerve them to that purpoſe, nor any intreaty nor waging them with money, which were appointed for watchmen: but they ſo narrowly looked unto the matter, as though they ſhould have gotten great benefit and profit thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the martyrs made a wondering ſtock, and lay ſix days in the open ſtreets; at length they burned them, and threw their aſhes into the river of Rhodes, ſo that there might appear no remnant of them upon the earth. And this did they as though they had been able to have pulled God out of his ſeat, and to have let the regeneration of the ſaints, and taken from them the hope of the reſurrection, whereof they being perſuaded, ſaid they, bring in this new and ſtrange religion, and ſet thus light by death and puniſhment. Atque hæc ex Epiſtola Viennenſium, &c.

Among others that ſuffered under Antoninus, mention was made alſo of Juſtinus, who, as it is ſaid before, exhibited two apologies, concerning the defence of chriſtian doctrine, the one to the ſenate of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the emperor, concerning whoſe ſuffering, and the cauſes thereof, is partly before declared: this Juſtine was born in Neapoli, in the country of Paleſtine, whoſe father was Priſcius Bachius, as he himſelf doth teſtify, by whom in his youth he was ſet to ſchool to learn, where in proceſs of time he became a famous and worthy philoſopher, of whoſe excellency many learned and notable men do record. For firſt he being altogether inflamed and raviſhed with deſire of knowledge, would in no wiſe be ſatisfied in his mind, before he had gotten inſtructors ſingularly ſeen in all kind of philoſophy, whereupon he writeth of himſelf in the beginning of his dialogue Cum Triphone, thus declaring that in the beginning he being deſirous of that ſect and ſociety, applied himſelf to be the ſcholar to a certain Stoick, and remained with him a time, when he nothing profited in divine knowledge (whereof the Stoick had no ſkill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be neceſſary) he forſook him, and went to another of the ſect of the Peripateticks, a ſharp witted man, as he thought; with whom after he had been a while, he demanded of him a ſtipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiarity. Whereupon Juſtine, accounting him as no philoſopher, left him, and departed. And yet not ſatisfied in mind, but deſirous of hearing of further learning in philoſophy, adjoined himſelf to one that profeſſed the Pythagorean ſect, a man of great fame, and one who made no ſmall account of himſelf. Whom after he had followed a time, his maſter demanded of him whether he had any ſight in muſic, aſtronomy, and geometry, without the ſight of which ſcience, he ſaid he could not be apt to receive the knowledge of virtue and felicity, unleſs before he had uſed to apply his mind from ſenſible matters to the contemplation of things intelligible. And ſpeaking much in the commendation of theſe ſciences, how profitable and neceſſary they were: after that Juſtine had declared not to be ſeen therein, the philoſopher gave him over, which grieved Juſtine not a little, and ſo much the more, becauſe he thought his maſter to have ſome knowledge in thoſe ſciences. After this Juſtine conſidering with himſelf what time was requiſite to the learning of thoſe ſciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought beſt to reſort to the ſect of the Platoniſts for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore he choſe unto him a ſingular learned man of that ſect, which lately was come to thoſe parts, and ſo remaining with him ſeemed to profit not a little in contemplation of ſupernal things and inviſible forms, inſomuch that he thought ſhortly to aſpire to ſuch ſharpneſs of wit and wiſdom, that out of hand he might atchieve to the comprehenſion and contemplation of God, which is the end of Plato his philoſophy. And in this manner he beſtowed his youth: but afterward he growing to a riper age, how and by what means the ſame Juſtine came to the profeſſion of chriſtianity, it followeth likewiſe in his ſaid firſt apology: where he affirmeth of himſelf (as witneſſeth Euſebius in his fourth book) that when he did behold the chriſtians in their torments and ſufferings to be ſo conſtant in their profeſſion, was therewith marvelouſly moved: after this manner reaſoning with himſelf, that it was impoſſible for that kind of people to be ſubject to any vice or carnality, which vices of their own nature are not able to ſuſtain any ſharp adverſity, much leſs the bitterneſs of death. The ſight whereof helped him not a little (being of his own nature inclined to the ſearching of true knowledge and virtue) to begin thereby to love and embrace chriſtian religion, for ſo he doth witneſs of himſelf in the end of the firſt apology: ſignifying there how it was his ſeeking and endeavour to attain to chriſtianity: underſtanding the chriſtians by malice of wicked perſons were compelled to ſuffer wrong and torments, and to be evil ſpoken of. By ſight whereof, as he ſays of himſelf, he became a chriſtian through this occaſion. For being thus afflicted in his mind, as is aforeſaid, it came in his head, for his more quietneſs, to go aſide to ſome deſart and ſolitary place void of concourſe of people, unto a village or grange near to the ſea ſide: whither as he approached, thinking there to be all alone, there meeting with him an old ancient father of a comely viſage and gentle behaviour, who following him a little off, began to reaſon with him: where after long diſputation, when the old man had declared unto him, that there was no knowledge of truth amongſt the philoſophers, which neither knew God, neither were aided by the Holy Ghoſt: and further had reaſoned with him of the immortality of the ſoul, of the reward of the godly and puniſhment of the wicked: then Juſtine being confirmed with his reaſons and arguments, yielded to him of his own accord; and demanded of him by

what means he might attain to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had ſpoken: who then counſelled him to read and ſearch the prophets, adjoining therewith prayer. But what maſter, quoth Juſtine, ſhould I uſe for the inſtruction thereof, and who ſhall be able to help us if theſe philoſophers, as you ſay, lack the truth, and are void of the ſame? To whom the old father anſwered, There have been, ſaid he, many years before theſe philoſophers, other more ancient than all theſe, which being accounted for philoſophers were juſt and beloved of God: who ſpake by the the Spirit of God, foreſeeing and propheſying theſe which we ſee now come to paſs, and therefore they are called prophets. Theſe only have known the truth, and revealed it to men, neither fearing nor paſſing for any; who were ſeduced with no opinions of man's invention, but only ſpake and taught thoſe things which they themſelves both heard and ſaw, being inſpired with the Holy Spirit of God: whoſe writings and works yet to this day remain, out of which the reader may receive great profit and knowledge of things as concerning the firſt creation of the world, and end of the ſame, with all other things neceſſary to be known of every true philoſopher which will give credit unto them. Neither in their teaching do they uſe any demonſtration, as being more certain of themſelves, than that they need any ſuch demonſtration to be made, foraſmuch as the accompliſhing the end of things both paſt and now preſent, conſtraineth us of neceſſity to believe the words and doctrine which they taught; which men not only therefore are to be believed, but alſo their miracles and wonders done, are worthy of credit; for that they both preached of God the Maker and Creator of all things, and alſo did propheſy before of Chriſt his Son to be ſent of him; the which, the falſe prophets being ſubdued with falſe and wicked ſpirits, neither have done, nor do, but only take upon them to work certain prodigious wonders for men to gaze at, ſetting out thereby to the world falſe and unclean ſpirits. But then afore all things, make thy prayer that the gate of light may be opened unto thee, for otherwiſe theſe things cannot be attained unto of every man, but only of ſuch to whom God and his Chriſt giveth underſtanding.

Theſe things, with much more (which now leiſure ſerveth not to proſecute) after the foreſaid old father had declared unto him, he departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had ſpoken: and that Juſtine, as he himſelf witneſſeth, ſaw him no more. Immediately after this, juſtine being all inflamed as with fire kindled in his breaſt, began to conceive a love and zeal towards the prophets, and all ſuch as were favoured of Chriſt: and thus he, revolving in his mind more and more theſe words, found only this philoſophy among all other profeſſions both ſure and profitable, and ſo became he a philoſopher, and in time by theſe means afterwards he was made a chriſtian and baptized. But where he received this holy ſacrament of baptiſm is not read of, nor yet by what occaſion he left his country and came to Rome. This only we read in Jerome, that he was in Rome, and there uſed certain exerciſes which he called Diatribus, diſputing there with Creſcens a Cynical philoſopher, as is before touched. But this is certain, how that Juſtine after he had received the profeſſion of chriſtian religion, became an earneſt defender of the ſame, travelling and diſputing againſt all the adverſaries thereof, fearing neither peril of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintain the doctrine of Chriſt againſt the malicious blaſphemers, and alſo augment the number of chriſtian believers, as may appear by his vehement diſputations againſt the heathen philoſophers: alſo moreover it well appeareth in that long diſputation which he had with one Tripho at Epheſus, as alſo in his confutation of heretics. Furthermore, his conflicts and apologies, which with great courage and ſecurity he exhibited againſt the perſecutors of the chriſtians, both to the emperor and to the magiſtrates, yea, and the whole ſenate of Rome, do teſtify the ſame.

Of the which apologies, the firſt he wrote to the ſenate of Rome, and after to Anoninus Pius the emperor, as is before mentioned; where in the firſt writing with great liberty to the ſenate, he declared, that of neceſſity he was compelled to write and utter his mind and conſcience to them. For that the perſecuting of the chriſtians they did neglect their duty and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admoniſhed. And further writing to Urbicius lieutenant of the city, ſaid, "That he put men to death and torments for no offence committed, but for the confeſſion only of the name of Chriſt; which proceedings and judgments neither became the emperor, nor his ſon, nor the ſenate:" defending moreover in the ſaid apology, and purging the chriſtians of ſuch crimes as falſly were laid and objected againſt them by the Ethnicks.

And likewiſe in his ſecond apology, writing to Antoninus the emperor, and his ſucceſſors, with like gravity and free liberty declareth unto them how they had the name, commonly being reputed and taken as virtuous philoſophers, maintainers of Juſtice, lovers of learning; but whether they were ſo their acts declared. As for him, neither for flattery, nor favour at their hands, he was conſtrained thus to write unto them; but only to ſue unto them, and deſire a ſerious and righteous kind of dealing in their judgments and ſentences (for it becometh princes to follow uprightneſs and piety in their judgments, not tyranny and violence) and alſo in plain words chargeth as well the emperor as the ſenate with manifeſt wrong, for that they did not grant the chriſtians, with which is not denied to all other malefactors, judging men to death not convicted, but only for the hatred of the name. "Other men which he appeached, ſaid he, in judgment, are not condemned before they are convicted: but on us you take our name only for the crime, when as indeed you ought to ſee juſtice done upon our accuſers." And again, ſaith he, "If a chriſtian being accuſed only deny that name, him you releaſe, being not able to charge him with any other offence: but if he ſtand to his name, only for his confeſſion you caſt him; where indeed it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, what thing they confeſs or deny, and according to their demerits to ſee juſtice done."

And further he ſaith, "You examine not the cauſes, but incenſed with raſh affections, as with the ſpur of fury, ye ſlay and murder them not convicted, without any reſpect of juſtice." And further he addeth, "Some peradventure will ſay, certain of them have been apprehended and taken in evil doing: as though (ſaith he) you uſed to enquire upon them being brought before you, and commonly to condemn them before due examination of their offence for the cauſe above-mentioned." Where alſo in the end of the ſaid apology, after this manner he apprehendeth them; "You do degenerate (quoth he) from the goodneſs of your predeceſſors, whoſe example you follow not, for your father Hadrian of famous memory cauſed to be proclaimed, That chriſtians accuſed before the judge ſhould be condemned, unleſs they were found guilty of ſome notorious crime." I find that all the vehement and grave apology ſtandeth upon moſt ſtrong and firm probations, denying, that the chriſtians ought by conſcience at the will and commandment of the emperor and ſenate to do ſacrifice to the idols: for the which they being condemned, affirm, that they ſuffer open wrong; affirming moreover, that the true and only religion is the religion of chriſtians, whoſe doctrine and

converſation have no fault. Juſtinus, although with theſe and ſuch like perſuaſions, he did not ſo prevail with the emperor, to cauſe him to love his religion, and become a chriſtian (for that is not written) yet thus much he obtained, that Antoninus writeth to his officers in Aſia in the behalf of the chriſtians, required and commanded them, that thoſe chriſtians only which were found guilty of any treſpaſs ſhould ſuffer, and ſuch as were not convicted, ſhould not therefore only for the name be puniſhed, becauſe they were called chriſtians. By this it is apparent with what zeal and faith this Juſtinus did ſtrive againſt the perſecutors, which (as he ſaid) could kill only, but could not hurt.

This Juſtinus by the means and malice of Creſcens the philoſopher (as is declared) ſuffered martyrdom under Marcus Antoninus Verus, a little after that Polycarpus was martyred in Aſia, as witneſſeth Euſebius, lib. 4. Here is to be gathered, how Euſebius was deceived in the time of his death, ſaying, "that he ſuffered under Ruſticus the preſident, and Hadrian the emperor, being thirty years of age; which indeed agreeth neither with Euſebius, nor Hierome, nor Suide, nor many others, which manifeſtly declare and teſtify how he exhibited his apology unto Antoninus Pius which came after Hadrian. Thus haſt thou, good reader, the life of this learned and bleſſed martyr, although partly touched before, yet now more fully and amply diſcourſed for the better commendation of his excellent and notable virtues, of whoſe final end thus writeth Photius, ſaying, "That he, ſuffering for Chriſt, died cheerfully and with honour."

Thus have ye heard of the whole diſcourſe of Juſtinus, and of the bleſſed ſaints of France, Vetius, Rachārias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexander, Alcibiades, with others, recorded and ſet forth by the writing of certain chriſtian brethren of the ſame church and place of France. In the which foreſaid writing of theirs, moreover appeareth the great meekneſs and modeſt conſtancy of the ſaid martyrs, deſcribed in theſe words; "Such followers were they of Chriſt, (who when he was in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, being in the ſame glory with him)," that they, not once nor twice, but oft-times ſuffered martyrdom; and taken again from the beaſts, and bearing wounds, tearings and ſcars in their bodies, yet neither would count themſelves martyrs, neither would they ſuffer us ſo to call them: but if any of us, either by word or letter would call them martyrs, they did vehemently rebuke them, ſaying, "That the name of martyrdom was to be given to Chriſt, the faithful and true martyr, the firſt born of the dead, and the captain of life;" teſtifying moreover, that martyrdom belongeth to ſuch, who, by this martyrdom, were already paſſed out of this life: and whom Chriſt by their worthy confeſſion hath received unto himſelf, and hath ſealed up their martyrdom by their end finiſhed: as for them which were not yet conſummated, They, ſaid they, were not worthy the names of martyrs, but only were humble and worthy confeſſors, deſiring alſo their brethren, with tears, to pray without ceaſing for their confirmation. Thus they performing indeed that which belongeth to true martyrs, in reſiſting the heathen with much liberty and great patience, without all fear of man, being repleniſhed with the fear of their brethren for martyrs. And after, in the ſaid writing it followeth more, They humbled themſelves under the mighty hand of God, by which they were greatly exalted; then they rendered to all men a reaſon of their faith, they accuſed no man, they looſed all, they bound none, and for them which ſo evil did intreat them they prayed, following the example of Stephen the perfect martyr, which ſaith, "O Lord, impute not their ſin to them." And after again, Neither did they proudly diſdain againſt them which fell, but of ſuch as they had imparted to them that lacked, bearing toward them a motherly affection, ſhedding their plentiful tears for them to God the Father, and prayed for their life and ſalvation; and as God gave it them, they alſo did communicate to their neighbours, and thus they, as conquerors of all things, departed to God. They loved peace, and leaving the ſame to us, they went to God, neither leaving any moleſtation to their mother, nor ſedition or trouble to their brethren, but joy, peace, concord, and love, to all.

Out of the ſame writing moreover concerning theſe martyrs of France afore-mentioned, is recorded alſo another hiſtory not unworthy to be noted, taken out of the ſame book of Euſebius, cap. 3. which hiſtory is this:

There was among theſe conſtant and bleſſed martyrs, one Alcibiades, as is above ſpecified: which Alcibiades ever uſed a very ſtrict diet, receiving for his food and ſuſtenance nothing elſe but only bread and water. When this Alcibiades, now being caſt into priſon, went about to accuſtom the ſame ſtrictneſs of diet, after his uſual manner, it was before revealed by God to Attalus afore-mentioned, one of the ſaid company being alſo the ſame time impriſoned after his firſt conflict upon the ſcaffold, that Alcibiades did not well in that he refuſed to uſe and take the creatures of God, and alſo thereby miniſtered to others a pernicious occaſion of offenſive example. Whereupon Alcibiades being advertiſed and reformed, began to take all things boldly, and with giving thanks. Whereby may appear to all ſcrupulous conſciences, not only wholeſome inſtructions of the Holy Ghoſt, but alſo here is to be noted how in thoſe days they were not deſtitute of the grace of God, but had the Holy Spirit of God to be their inſtructor. Hæc Euſeb.

The foreſaid martyrs of France at the ſame time commanded Ireneus, newly then made miniſter, with their letters unto Eleutherius biſhop of Rome, as witneſſeth Euſeb. in the tenth chapter of the ſaid book, which Ireneus firſt was the hearer of Polycarpus, then made miniſter, as is ſaid, under theſe martyrs: and after their death made biſhop afterward of Lions in France, and ſucceeded after Photinus. Beſides this Juſtinus, there was alſo the ſame time in Aſia, Claudius Apollinaris, or Apollinarius, biſhop of Hieropolis, and alſo Melito biſhop of Sardis, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of Tertullian, who ſucceeding after the time of the apoſtles, in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited unto him learned and eloquent apologies in defence of Chriſt's religion, like as Quadratus and Ariſtides above-mentioned did unto the emperor Hadrian, whereby they moved him ſomewhat to ſtay the rage of his perſecution. In like manner did this Apollinaris and Melito (ſtirred up by God) adventure to defend in writing the cauſe of the chriſtians unto this Antoninus. Of this Melito Euſebius in his fourth book making mention, ſelecteth certain places of his apology in theſe words, as followeth, "Now, ſaith he, which was never ſeen before, the godly ſuffer perſecution by occaſion of certain proclamations and edicts proclaimed throughout Aſia, for villainous ſycophants, robbers and ſpoilers of other men's goods, grounding themſelves upon thoſe proclamations, and taking occaſion of them, rob only night and day, and ſpoil thoſe which do no harm." And it followeth after, "Which if it be done by your commandment, be it ſo, well done; for a good prince will never command but good things, and ſo we will be contented to ſuſtain the honour of this death. This only we moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty, that calling before you and examining the authors of this tumult and contention, then your grace would juſtly judge whether we are worthy of cruel death, or quiet life. And then, if it be not your pleaſure, and that it proceedeth not by your occaſion (which indeed againſt your barbarous enemies were too bad) the more

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a great deal we are petitioners to your highneſs, that hereafter you will vouchſafe to hear us thus ſo vexed and oppreſſed with theſe kind of villainous robberies. And verily our philoſophy and doctrine did firſt among the barbarous take place, which doctrine firſt in the days of Auguſtus your predeceſſor, when it did reign and flouriſh, thereby your empire became more famous and fortunate: and from that time more and more the ſtate of the Roman empire increaſed in honour, whereof you moſt happily were made ſucceſſor, and ſo ſhall your ſon too. Honour therefore this philoſophy which with your empire ſprang up, and came in with Auguſtus, which your progenitors above all other honoured and moſt eſteemed. And verily this is no ſmall argument of a good beginning, that ſince our doctrine flouriſhed in the empire, no misfortune or loſs happened from Auguſtus's time: but contrary, always victory, good and honourable years, as ever any man would wiſh: only among all, and of all, Nero and Domitian, being kindled by divers naughty and ſpiteful perſons, cavillingly objected againſt our doctrine; of whom this ſycophantical ſlandering of us by naughty cuſtom firſt came and ſprang up. But your godly fathers, eſpying the ignorance of theſe, oftentimes by their writing corrected their temerarious attempts in that behalf: among whom your grandfather Hadrian with many others is read of, to have written to Fundane the proconſul and lieutenant of Aſia: and your father, your own father, I ſay, with whom you ruled in all things, wrote to the cities under his ſignet, as the Laerſens, Theſſalonicenſes Athenienſes, and Grecians, raſhly to innovate or alter nothing. Of your highneſs therefore, who in this caſe is of that ſect as your predeceſſors were, yea and of a more benign and philoſophical mind, we are in good hope to obtain our petition and requeſt."

Thus much out of the apology of Melito, who writing to Oneſimus, giveth to us this benefit, to know the true catalogue and the names of all the authentic books of the Old Teſtament, received in the ancient time of the primitive church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the ſaid Melito in his letter to Oneſimus declareth; how that he returning into the parts where theſe things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the books approved of the Old Teſtament, the names whereof in order here ſubſcribeth, and ſendeth unto him as followeth, "The five books of Moſes, Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jeſus Nave, the Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two books Paralipomenon, the Pſalms, Proverbs of Solomon, the book of Wiſdom, the Preacher, the Song of Songs, Job, the Prophets, Eſay, Jeremy, twelve Prophets in one book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Eſdras." And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for it is not unprofitable for theſe later times to underſtand, what in the firſt times was received and admitted as authentic, and what otherwiſe.

But from this little digreſſion, to return to our matter omitted; that is, to the apologies of Apolinarius and Melito, in the ſtory ſo it followeth; that whether it was by the occaſion of theſe two apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras a philoſopher, and a legate of the chriſtians, it is uncertain: but this is certain, that the perſecution the ſame time was ſtayed. Some do think, which moſt probably ſeems to touch the truth, that the cauſe of ſtaying this perſecution did ariſe upon a wonderful miracle of God ſhewed in the emperor's camp by the chriſtians, the ſtory whereof is this; At what time the two brethren Marcus Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius Commodus emperors, joining together, warred againſt the Quades, Vandales, Sarmates, and Germans, in the expedition againſt them; their army by reaſon of the imminent aſſault of their enemies, was cooped and ſhut in within the ſtraits and hot dry places, where their ſoldiers, beſides other difficulties of battle, being deſtitute of water five days, were like to have periſhed, which dread not a little diſcomforted them, and abated their courage; where, in this great diſtreſs and jeopardy, ſuddenly withdrew from the army a legion of the chriſtian ſoldiers for their ſuccour, who falling proſtrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer, by and by obtained of God double relief: by means of whom, God gave certain pleaſant ſhowers from the element, whereby as their ſoldiers quenched their thirſt, ſo were a great number of their enemies diſcomforted and put to flight by continual lightnings which ſhooted out of the air. This miracle ſo pleaſed and won the emperor, that ever after he waxed gentler and gentler to the chriſtians, and directed his letters to divers of his rulers (as Tertullian in his apology witneſſeth) commanding them therein to give thanks to the chriſtians, no leſs for his victory, than for the preſervation of him and all his men. The copy of which letter inſueth.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor, to the Senate and People of Rome.

"I Give you hereby to underſtand what I intend to do, as alſo what ſucceſs I had in my wars in Germany, and with how much difficulty I have victualled my camp, being compaſſed about with ſeventy and four fierce dragons, whom my ſcouts deſcried to be within nine miles of us, and Pompeianus our lieutenant hath viewed, as he ſignified unto us by his letters. Wherefore I thought no leſs but to be overrun and all my bands of ſo great multitude, as well my Va-ward, Main-ward, as Rereward, with all my ſoldiers of Ephrata; in whoſe hoſt there were numbered of fighting men, nine hundred ſeventy and five thouſand. But when I ſaw myſelf not able to encounter with the enemy, I craved aid of your country gods: at whoſe hands I finding no comfort, and being driven of the enemy unto an exigent, I cauſed to be ſent for thoſe men which we call chriſtians, who being muſtered were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in further rage than I had good cauſe, as afterwards I had experience by their marvellous power; who forthwith did their endeavour, but without either weapon, munition, armour, or trumpets, as men abhorring ſuch preparation and furniture, but only ſatisfied in truſt of their God, whom they carry about with them in their conſciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worſhip God in their hearts. For they falling proſtrate upon the ground, prayed not only for me, but for the hoſt alſo which was with me, beſeeching their God for help in that our extremity of victuals and freſh water: for we had been now five days without water, and were in our enemies land, even in the midſt of Germany; who thus falling upon their faces, made their prayers to a God unknown of me. And there fell amongſt us from heaven a moſt pleaſant and cold ſhower, but amongſt our enemies a great ſtorm of hail mixt with lightning, ſo that immediately we perceived the invincible aid of the moſt mighty God to be with us: therefore we give thoſe men leave to profeſs chriſtianity, leſt, perhaps, by their prayers we be puniſhed with the like, and thereby I make myſelf the author of ſuch hurt as ſhall be received by the chriſtian profeſſion. And if any ſhall apprehend one that is a chriſtian, only for this cauſe, I will that he being apprehended, without puniſhment may have leave to confeſs the ſame, ſo that there be none other cauſe objected againſt him, more than that he is a chriſtian; but let his accuſer be burned alive. Neither will I that he confeſſing and being found a chriſtian ſhall be inforced to alter the ſame his opinion by the governor of any of our provinces, but left to his own choice. And this decree of mine I will to be ratified in the ſenate-houſe, and command the ſame publicly to be proclaimed and read in the court of Trajanus: and that further from thence it may be ſent into all our provinces by the dili-

gence of Veratius governor of our city Polione. And further, we give leave to all men to uſe and write out this our decree, taking the ſame out of our copy publicly in the common hall ſet forth."

Thus the tempeſtuous rage of perſecution againſt the chriſtians, began for a time to aſſuage, partly by the occaſion hereof, partly upon other cauſes incident, compelling the enemies to ſurceaſe their perſecution, as great plagues and peſtilence lying upon the country of Italy; likewiſe great wars, as well in the eaſt parts, as alſo in Italy and France, terrible earthquakes, great floods, noiſome ſwarms of flies and vermin devouring their cornfields, &c.

And thus much of things done unto Antoninus Verus, which Antoninus in the beginning of his reign, joined with him in the government of the empire his brother Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who alſo was with him at the miraculous victory gotten by the chriſtians, as Euſebius, cap. 5. lib. 5. recordeth. Contrary, Platina in vita Soteris, and the book intitled Flores Hiſtoriarum, refer the ſame to the time of Antoninus Verus, and his ſon Lucius Antoninus Commodus, and not of Marcus Aurelius Commodus his brother. But howſoever the truth of years doth ſtand; certain it is, that
An. 175. after the death of Antoninus Verus, and of Aurelius Commodus, ſucceeded Lucius Antoninus Commodus, the ſon of Verus, who reigned thirty years.

In the time of this Commodus, although he was an incommodious prince to the ſenators of Rome, yet notwithſtanding there was ſome quietneſs univerſally thro' the whole church of Chriſt from perſecution, by what occaſion it is not certain. Some think, of whom is Xiphilinus, that it came through Marcia, the emperor's concubine, which favoured the chriſtians: but howſoever it came, ſaith Euſebius, the fury of the raging enemies was then ſomewhat mitigated, and peace was given by the grace of Chriſt unto the church throughout the whole world. At what time, the wholeſome doctrine of the goſpel allured and reduced the hearts of all ſorts of people unto the true religion of God, inſomuch that many, both rich and noble perſonages of Rome, with their whole families and houſholds, to their ſalvation, adjoined themſelves to the church of Chriſt.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a nobleman, and a ſenator of Rome, mentioned in Euſebius, lib. 5. cap. 21. who being maliciouſly accuſed unto the ſenate, by one whom Hierome writeth to be the ſervant of the ſaid Apollonius, and named him Severus. But whoſe ſervant ſoever he was, the wretched man came ſoon enough before the judge, being condignly rewarded for that his malicious diligence: for by a law which the emperor made, that no man upon pain of death, ſhould falſly accuſe the chriſtians, he was put to execution, and had his legs broken forthwith by the ſentence of Perenninus the judge, which being an heathen man, he pronounced againſt him: but the beloved martyr of God, when the judge, with much ado had obtained of him to render an account, before the honourable ſenate, of his faith, under whoſe defence and warrant of life he did the ſame, delivered unto them an eloquent apology of the chriſtian belief: but the former warrant notwithſtanding, he by the decree of the ſenate was beheaded, and ſo ended his life; for that there was an ancient law among them decreed, that none that profeſſed Chriſt, and therefore arraigned, ſhould be releaſed without recantation, or altering his opinion.

This Commodus is ſaid in ſtories to be ſo ſure and ſteady handed in caſting the dart, that in the open theatre before the people, he would encounter with the wild beaſts, and be ſure to hit them in the place where appointed. Among divers other his vicious and wild parts, he was ſo far ſurpriſed in pride and arrogancy, that he would be called Hercules, and many times would ſhew himſelf to the people in the ſkin of a lion, to be counted thereby the king of men, like as the lion is of beaſts.

Upon a certain time, being his birth day, this Commodus calling the people of Rome together, in a great royalty, having his lion's ſkin upon him, made a ſacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, cauſing it to be cried through the city, that Hercules was the patron and defender of the city. There was the ſame time at Rome, Vincentius, Euſebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, learned men, and inſtructors of the people, who, following the ſteps of the apoſtles, went about from place to place where the goſpel was not yet preached, converting the Gentiles to the faith of Chriſt. Theſe, hearing the madneſs of the emperor, and of the people, began to reprove their idolatrous blindneſs, teaching in villages and towns, all that heard them to believe upon the true and only God, and to come away from ſuch worſhipping of devils, and to give honour to God alone, which is to be worſhipped, willing them to repent and to be baptized leſt they periſh with Commodus. With this their preaching they converted one Julius, a ſenator, and others, to the religion of Chriſt. The emperor hearing thereof, cauſed them to be apprehended of Vitellus his captain, and to be compelled to ſacrifice unto Hercules, which when they ſtoutly refuſed, after divers grievous torments and great miracles by them done, at laſt they were preſſed with leaden weights to death. Vincentius, lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.

This Peregrinus above-mentioned had been ſent before by Xiſtus, biſhop of Rome, into the parts of France, to ſupply the room of a biſhop and teacher, by reaſon that for the continual and horrible perſecutions thereabout touched, thoſe places were left deſolate and deſtitute of miniſters and inſtructors, where after he had occupied himſelf with much fruit among the ſtock of Chriſt, and had eſtabliſhed the congregation there, returned home again to Rome, where he finiſhed at laſt (as it is ſaid) his martyrdom.

Now remaineth likewiſe to ſpeak of Julius: which Julius being a ſenator of Rome, and now won by the preaching of theſe bleſſed men to the faith of Chriſt, did ſoon after invite them and brought them home to his houſe, where being by them more fully inſtructed in chriſtian religion, he believed the goſpel. And ſending for one Ruffinus a prieſt, was, with all his family, by him baptized, who having not (as the common ſort was wont to do) kept cloſe and ſecret his faith, but inſpired with a marvellous and ſincere zeal, openly profeſſed the ſame, altogether wiſhing and praying to be given to him by God, not only to believe in Chriſt, but alſo to hazard his life for him. Which thing the emperor hearing, how that Julius had forſaken his old religion, and become a chriſtian, forthwith ſent for him to come before him, unto whom he ſpake on this wiſe: "O Julius, what madneſs hath poſſeſſed thee, that thus thou doſt fall from the old and common religion of thy fore-fathers, who acknowledged and worſhipped Jupiter and Hercules their gods, and now doſt embrace a new and fond kind of religion of the chriſtians?" At which time Julius, having good occaſion to ſhew and open his faith, gave ſtraitway an account thereof to him, and affirmed that Herculus and Jupiter were falſe gods, and how the worſhippers of them ſhould periſh with eternal damnation and puniſhments. Which the emperor hearing how that he condemned and deſpiſed his gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath (as he was by nature very choleric) committed him forthwith to Vitellus, the maſter of the ſoldiers, a very cruel and fierce man, to ſee Julius either to ſacrifice to mighty Hercules, or refuſing the ſame, to ſlay him. Vitellus (as he was commanded) exhorted Julius to obey the emperor's commandment, and to worſhip his gods, alledging how that the whole empire of Rome was not only conſtituted, but alſo preſerved and maintained by them: which Julius denied utterly to do, admoniſhing

moniſhing ſharply in like manner Vitellus to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commandments, leſt he with his maſter, ſhould die ſome grievous death: whereat Vitellus being moved, cauſed Julius with cudgels to be beaten unto death.

Theſe things being thus briefly recited, touching ſuch holy martyrs as hitherto have ſuffered, now remaineth that we return again to the order of the Romiſh biſhops, ſuch as followed next after Alexander, or whom we left, whoſe ſucceeder next was Xiſtus or Sixtus, the ſixth biſhop counted after Peter, who governed the miniſtry the ſpace of ten years, as Damaſcus and others do write. Uſpergenſis maketh mention but of nine years. Platina recordeth that he died a martyr, and was buried at the Vaticane. But Euſebius ſpeaking of his deceaſe, maketh no word or mention of any martyrdom. In the ſecond tome of the councils certain epiſtles be attributed to him, whereof Euſebius, Damaſcus, Hierome, and other old authors, as they make no relation, ſo ſeem they to have no intelligence nor knowledge of any ſuch matter. In theſe counterfeit epiſtles, and in Platina it appeareth, that Xiſtus was the firſt author of theſe ordidances. Firſt, that the holy myſteries and holy veſſels ſhould be touched but only of perſons holy and conſecrated, eſpecially of no woman. Item, that the corporal cloth ſhould be made of no other cloth but of fine linen. Item, that ſuch biſhops as were called up to the apoſtolic ſee, returning home again, ſhould not be received at their return, unleſs they brought with them letters from the biſhop of Rome, ſaluting the people. Item, at the celebration he ordained to be ſung this verſe, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabbaoth. Where moreover it is to be noted, that the ſaid Platina, in the life of this Xiſtus, doth teſtify that Peter miniſtered the celebration of the communion only with the Lord's prayer. Theſe trifling ordinances of Xiſtus, who is ſo rude that ſeeth not, or may not eaſily conjecture to be falſly fathered of Xiſtus, or of any father of that time?

Firſt, by the uniform rudeneſs and ſtyle of all thoſe decretal letters, nothing favouring of that age, but rather of the later ignorant times that followed: alſo by the matter and argument in thoſe letters contained, nothing agreeing with the ſtate of thoſe troubleſome days.

Neither again is it to be ſuppoſed, that any ſuch recourſe of biſhops was then to the apoſtolical ſee of Rome, that it was not lawful to return without their letters: when as the perſecution againſt the chriſtians was then ſo hot, in the days of Hadrian, that the biſhops of Rome were more glad to fly out of the city, than other biſhops were to come to them unto Rome. And if Xiſtus added the Sanctus unto the maſs canon, what piece then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after Xiſtus? And if they came after Xiſtus, that added the reſt, why did they ſet their pieces before his, ſeeing they that began the firſt piece of the canon, came after him?

The ſame likewiſe is to be judged of the epiſtles and ordinances of Teleſphorus, who ſucceeded next unto Xiſtus, and being biſhop of that congregation the term of eleven years, the firſt year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, died martyr about the year of our Lord 138. His epiſtle, like unto the reſt, containing in it no great matter of doctrine, hath theſe ordinances.

Firſt, he commandeth all that were of the clergy to faſt and abſtain from fleſh eating ſeven weeks before Eaſter. That three maſſes ſhould be ſaid upon the nativity day of our Lord. That no man ſhould accuſe either biſhop or prieſt. He ordained moreover, Gloria in excelſis, to be added to the maſs, &c.

But theſe things falſly to be feigned upon him may eaſily be conjectured. For as touching the ſeven weeks faſt, neither doth it agree with the old Roman term commonly received, calling it Quadrageſima, that is, the forty days faſt: neither with the example of our Saviour, who faſted not ſeven weeks, but only forty days. Moreover, as concerning theſe forty days faſt, we read of the ſame in the epiſtle of Ignatius, which was long before Teleſporus: whereby it may appear that this Teleſphorus was not the firſt inventor thereof. And if it be true that is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but untruly as by many conjectures may be proved) there it is read, that in the days of St. Matthew, this lent faſt of forty days was obſerved long before Teleſphorus, by theſe words that follow: In the days, ſaid he, either of lent, or in the time of other lawful faſtings, he that abſtaineth not as well from eating meat as alſo from the mixture of bodies, doth incur in ſo doing, not only pollution, but alſo committeth offence which muſt be waſhed away with the tears of repentance. Again, Apollonius affirmeth, that Montanus the heretic was the firſt deviſer and bringer in of theſe laws of faſting into the church, which before was uſed to be free, Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 18. But eſpecially by Socrates, writer of the eccleſiaſtical ſtory, who lived after the days of Theodoſius, it may be argued, that this ſeven weeks faſt is falſly imputed to Teleſphorus. For Socrates in his firſt book, ſpeaking of this time, hath theſe word: "The Romans do faſt three weeks continually before Eaſter, beſide the ſabbath and ſunday." And moreover, ſpeaking of divers and ſundry faſtings of lent in divers and ſundry churches, he addeth theſe words: "And becauſe that no man can bring forth any commandment written of this matter, it is therefore apparent, that the apoſtles left this kind of faſt free to every man's will and judgment, leſt any ſhould be conſtrained by fear and neceſſity to do that which was good, &c." With this of Socrates agree alſo the words of Sozomenus, living much about the ſame time, in his ſeventh book, where he thus writeth: "The whole faſt of lent, ſaith he, ſome comprehend in ſix weeks, as do the Illyrians, and weſt churches, with all Lybia, Egypt, and Paleſtina: ſome in ſeven weeks, as at Conſtantinople, and the parts bordering to Phenecia: other ſome in three weeks next before the day of Eaſter, and ſome again in two weeks," &c. by the which it may be collected, that Teleſphorus never ordained any ſuch faſt of ſeven weeks; which otherwiſe never would have been neglected in Rome, and in the weſt churches: neither again would have been unremembered of theſe ancient eccleſiaſtical writers, if any ſuch thing had been. The like is to be thought alſo of the reſt, not only of his conſtitutions, but alſo of the other ancient biſhops and martyrs which followed after him, as of Higinus in the year of our Lord one hundred forty and two, who ſucceeded him and died alſo a martyr, as Volateranus, lib. 22. declareth, is ſaid, or rather feigned to bring in the cream, one godfather and godmother in baptiſm, and to ordain the dedication of churches: when as in his time ſo far it was off, that any ſolemn churches were ſtanding in Rome, that the chriſtians could not ſafely convent in their own houſes. Likewiſe the diſtinguiſhing the order of metropolitans, biſhops and other degrees, ſavour nothing leſs than of that time.

After Higinus followed Pius, who, as Platina reporteth, was ſo preciſely devout about the holy myſteries of the Lord's table, that if any one crumb thereof did fall down to the ground, he ordained that the prieſt ſhould do penance forty days: if any fell upon the ſuper alter, he ſhould do penance three days: if upon the linen corporal cloth, four days; if upon any other linen cloth, nine days. And if any drop of the blood, ſaith he, ſhould chance to be ſpilled, whereſoever it fell, it ſhould be licked up, if it were poſſible: if not, the place ſhould be waſhed or pared, and ſo being waſhed or pared, ſhould be burned and laid in the veſtry. All which toys may ſeem to a wiſe man more vain and trifling, than to ſavour of thoſe pure and ſtrict times of thoſe holy martyrs. This Pius, as is reported, was much converſant with

Hermes, called otherwiſe Paſtor. Damaſus, ſaith he, was his brother. But how is that like, that Hermes being a diſciple of Paul, or one of the threeſcore diſciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes, and of the revelations, the aforeſaid Pius in his epiſtle decretal (if it be not forged) maketh mention, declaring that unto him appeared the angel of God in the habit of a ſhepherd, commanding him that Eaſter day ſhould be celebrated of all men upon no other day, but on ſunday: whereupon, ſaith the epiſtle, Pius the biſhop, by his authority apoſtolical decreed and commanded the ſame to be obſerved of all men.

Then ſucceeded Anicetus, Soter, and Elutherius, about the year of our Lord one hundred and fourſcore. This Elutherius, at the requeſt of Lucius, king of Britain, ſent to him Damianus and Fugatius, by whom the king was converted to Chriſt's faith, and baptized about the year of our Lord one hundred threeſcore and nineteen. Nauclerus, lib. Cron. Gen. 6. ſaith, it was in the year one hundred fifty and ſix. Henr. de Erfordia, ſaith, it was in the year one hundred threeſcore and nine, in the nineteenth year of Verus the emperor. Some ſay it was in the ſixth year of Commodus, which ſhould be about the year of our Lord one hundred fourſcore and five. Timotheus in his ſtory thinketh, that Elutherius came himſelf: but that is not like. And as there is a variance among the writers in the count of years; ſo doth there riſe a queſtion among ſome, whether Elutherius was the firſt that brought the faith from Rome into this land or not. Nicephorus, lib. 4. cap. 4. ſaith, that Simon Zelotes came into Britain. Some other alledge out of Gildas de Victoria, Aurel. Ambroſ. that Joſeph of Arimathea, after the diſperſion of the Jews, was ſent by Philip the apoſtle from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord threeſcore and three, and here remained in this land all his time, and ſo with his fellows, laid the firſt foundation of chriſtian faith among the Britain people. Whereupon other preachers and teachers coming afterward, confirmed the ſame, and increaſed it more. And therefore doth Petrus Cluniacenſis call the Scottiſhmen, and ſo doth count them as more ancient chriſtians. For the confirmation hereof might be alledged the teſtimony of Origen, of Tertullian, and the words alſo of the letter of Eleutherius,, which import no leſs but that the faith of Chriſt was here in England among the Britain people, before Eleutherius's time, and before the king was converted: but hereof more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter (Chriſt willing) when after the tractation of theſe ten perſecutions, we ſhall enter into the matter of our Engliſh ſtories.

About this time of Commodus afore-mentioned, among divers other learned men and famous teachers whom God ſtirred up at that time (as he doth at all other times raiſe up ſome) in his church, to confound the perſecutors by learning and writing, as the martyrs to confirm the truth with their blood, was Seraphion, biſhop of Antioch, Egeſippus, a writer of the Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory from Chriſt's paſſion to his time, as witneſſeth Hierome and Euſebius, lib. 4. cap. 8. & 22. which books of his be now remaining: and thoſe that be remaining (which be five De excidio Hieroſol.) be not mentioned, neither of Hierome, Euſebius, nor of Miltiades, who alſo wrote his Apology in defence of chriſtian religion, as did Melito, Quadratus, and Ariſtides, before-mentioned. About the ſame time alſo wrote Heraclitus, who firſt began to write Annotations and Enarrations upon the New Teſtament, and epiſtles of the apoſtles. Alſo Theophilus, biſhop of Ceſarea, Dionyſius, biſhop of Corinth, a man famouſly learned, which wrote divers epiſtles to divers churches, and among others writeth, exhorting Penitus, a certain biſhop, That he ſhould lay no yoke of chaſtity of any neceſſity upon his brethren: but that he would conſider the infirmity of others, and bear with it, Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 23. Moreover, the ſaid Dionyſius in his epiſtles writing of Dionyſius Areopagita, declareth of him how that he was firſt converted to the chriſtian faith by St. Paul, according as in the Acts is recorded, and afterward was made the firſt biſhop of Athens, but maketh there no mention of his book De Hierarchia. Whereby it may appear what is to be judged of that book.

Furthermore, by the epiſtles of the ſaid Dionyſius of Corinth, this we have to underſtand to be the uſe at that time in churches, to read the letters and epiſtles, ſuch as were ſent by learned biſhops and teachers unto the congregations, as may appear by theſe words of Dionyſius, who writing to the church of the Romans, and to Soter, ſaith, "This day we celebrate the holy dominical-day, in which we have read your epiſtle, which always we will read for our exhortation; like as we do read alſo the epiſtle of Clement ſent to us before, &c." Euſebius ibid. Where alſo mention is made of keeping of Sunday holy, whereof we find no mention made in ancient authors before his time, except only in Juſtinus Martyr, who in his deſcription declareth two times moſt eſpecially uſed for chriſtian men to congregate together: firſt, when any convert was to be baptized: the ſecond was, upon the Sunday, which was wont for two cauſes then to be hallowed: firſt, becauſe (ſaith he) upon that day God made the world; ſecondly, becauſe that Chriſt upon that day firſt ſhewed himſelf, after his reſurrection, to his diſciples, &c.

Over and beſide theſe above-named, about the days of Commodus, wrote alſo Clemens Alexandrinus, a man of notable and ſingular learning, whoſe books, although for a great part loſt, yet certain of them yet remain, wherein is declared, among other things, the order and number of the books and goſpels of the New Teſtament, &c.

The ſame time moreover lived Pantenus, which was the firſt in Alexandria that profeſſed in open ſchool to read, of whom is thought firſt to proceed the order and manner among the chriſtians to read and profeſs in univerſities. This Pantenus for his excellency of learning, was ſent by Demetrius, biſhop of Alexandria, to preach to the Indians, where he found the goſpel of Saint Matthew written in Hebrew, left there by St. Bartholomew, which book afterward he brought with him from thence to the library of Alexandria.

During all the reign of Commodus, God granted reſt and tranquillity, although not without ſome bloodſhed of certain holy martyrs, as is above declared, unto his church. In the which time of tranquillity the chriſtians having now ſome leiſure from the foreign enemy, began to have a little contention among themſelves about the ceremony of Eaſter: which contention albeit of long time before had been ſtirring in the church, as is before mentioned of Polycarpus and Anicetus: yet the variance and difference of that ceremony brought no breach of chriſtian concord and ſociety among them: neither as yet did the matter exceed ſo far, but that the bond of love and communion of brotherly life continued, altho' they differed in the ceremony of the day. For they of the Weſt church pretending the tradition of Paul and Peter, but indeed being the tradition of Hermes and Pius, kept one day, which was upon the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the firſt month. The church of Aſia, following the ordinance of John the apoſtle, obſerved another, as more ſhall be declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the time of Victor, biſhop of Rome. In the mean time, as concerning the fourth perſecution, let this hitherto ſuffice.

The Fifth Perſecution.

AFTER the death of Commodus reigned Pertinax, but few months, after whom ſucceeded Severus, under whom was raiſed the fifth perſecution againſt the chriſtian ſaints: who reigning An. 195.

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the term of eighteen years, the firſt ten years of the ſame was very favourable and courteous to the chriſtians: afterward through ſiniſter ſuggeſtions and malicious accuſations of the malignant, he was ſo incenſed againſt them, that by proclamations he commanded no chriſtians any more to be ſuffered. Thus the rage of the emperor being inflamed againſt them, great perſecution was ſtirred up on every ſide, whereby an infinite number of martyrs were ſlain, as Euſebius in his ſixth book recordeth, which was about the year of our Lord 205.

The crimes and falſe accuſations objected againſt the chriſtians, are partly touched before; as ſedition and rebellion againſt the emperor, ſacrilege, murdering of infants, inceſtuous pollution, eating raw fleſh, libidinous commixture, whereof certain indeed, called then Gnoſtici, were infamed. Item, it was objected againſt them, for worſhipping the head of an aſs: which whereof it ſhould riſe, I find no certain cauſe, except it were, perhaps, by the Jews. Alſo they were charged for worſhipping the ſun, for that peradventure before the ſun did riſe, they convented together, ſinging their morning hymns unto the Lord, or elſe becauſe they prayed toward the Eaſt: but ſpecially for that they would not with them worſhip their idolatrous gods, and were counted enemies to all men, &c.

The captains and preſidents of this perſecution under the emperor were Hilerianus, Vigellius, Claudius, Hermianus, ruler of Cappadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Veſpronius, alſo Demetrius mentioned of Cyprian, and Aquila judge of Alexandria, of whom Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 5. maketh relation.

The place where the force of this perſecution moſt raged, was Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage. The number of them that ſuffered in this perſecution, by the report of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtory, was innumerable. Of whom the firſt was Leonides, the father of Origen, who was beheaded: with whom alſo Origen his ſon, being of the age then of ſeventeen years, ſhould have ſuffered (ſuch a fervent deſire he had to be martyred for Chriſt) had not his mother privily in the night ſeaſon conveyed away his cloaths and his ſhirt. Whereupon more for ſhame to be ſeen, than for fear to die, he was conſtrained to remain at home: and when he could do nothing elſe, yet he writeth to his father a letter with theſe words, "Take heed to yourſelf, that you turn not your thought and purpoſe for our ſake, &c." Such a fervency had this Origen, being yet young, to the doctrine of Chriſt's faith, by the operation of God's heavenly providence, and partly alſo by the diligent education of his father, who brought him up from his youth moſt ſtudiouſly in all good literature, but eſpecially in the reading and exerciſe of the holy ſcripture, wherein he had ſuch inward and myſtical ſpeculation, that many times he would move queſtions to his father of the meaning of this place or that place in the ſcripture. Inſomuch that his father divers times would uncover his breaſt being aſleep, and kiſs it, giving thanks to God which had made him ſo happy a father of ſuch a happy child. After the death of his father, and all his goods confiſcated to the emperor, he with his poor mother, and ſix brethren were brought to ſuch extreme poverty, that he did ſuſtain both himſelf and them by teaching a ſchool: till at length, being weary of the profeſſion, he transferred his ſtudy only to the knowledge and ſeeking of divine ſcripture, and ſuch other learning conducible to the ſame. So much he profited both in the Hebrew and other tongues, that he conferred the Hebrew text with the tranſlation of the threeſcore: and moreover did confer and find out the other tranſlations which we call the common tranſlation of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Alſo he adjoined to the aforeſaid other four tranſlations, whereof more is in the ſtory of Euſebius expreſſed.

They that write of the life of Origen, teſtify of him, that he was of wit quick and ſharp, much patient of labour, a great traveller in the tongues, of a ſpare diet, of a ſtrict life, a great faſter; his teaching and his living were both one: his going was much on barefoot: a ſtrict obſerver of that ſaying of the Lord, "bidding to have but one coat; &c." He is ſaid to have written ſo much as ſeven notaries, and ſo many maids every day could pen. The number of his books, by the account of Hierome, came to ſeven thouſand volumes, the copies whereof he uſed to ſell for three-pence, or a little more, for the ſuſtentation of his living. But of him more ſhall be touched hereafter. So zealous he was in the cauſe of Chriſt, and of Chriſt's martyrs, that he nothing fearing his own peril, would aſſiſt and exhort them going to their death, and kiſs them, inſomuch that he was oft in jeopardy to be ſtoned of the multitude; and ſometimes by the proviſion of chriſtian men had his houſe guarded about with ſoldiers, for the ſafety of them which daily reſorted to hear his readings. And many times he was compelled to ſhift places and houſes, for ſuch as laid wait for him in all places: but great was the providence of God to preſerve him in the midſt of all this tempeſt of Severus.

Among others which reſorted unto him, and were his hearers, Plutarchus was one, and died a martyr; and with him Serenus, his brother, who was burned The third after theſe was Heraclides, the fourth Heron, who were both beheaded; the fifth was another Serenus, alſo beheaded. Rhais and Potamiena, who was tormented with pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her mother Marcella, who died alſo in the fire. This Potamiena was of a freſh and flouriſhing beauty, who becauſe ſhe could not be removed from her profeſſion, was committed to Baſilides, one of the captains there in the army, to ſee the execution done. Baſilides receiving her at the judge's hand, and leading her to the place, ſhewed her ſome compaſſion, in repreſſing the rebukes and railings of the wicked adverſaries: for the which Potamiena the virgin, to requite again his kindneſs, bade him be of good comfort, ſaying, "That ſhe would pray the Lord to ſhew mercy upon him;" and ſo went ſhe to her martyrdom, which ſhe both ſtrongly and quietly did ſuſtain.

Not long after it happened that Baſilides was required to give an oath in a matter concerning his fellow ſoldiers, which thing he denied to do, plainly affirming, that he was a chriſtian: for their oath then was wont to be by the idols and the emperor. At firſt he was thought diſſemblingly to jeſt; but after, when he was heard conſtantly and in earneſt to confirm the ſame, he was had before the judge, and ſo by him committed to ward. The chriſtians marvelling thereat as they came to him in the priſon, enquired of him the cauſe of that his ſudden converſion. To whom he anſwered, "That Potamiena had prayed for him to the Lord, and ſo he ſaw a crown upon his head;" adding, "That it ſhould not be long but he ſhould be received." Which things thus done, the next day following he was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded, Euſebius, lib. 6. cap. 5. Albeit the ſaid Euſebius giveth this ſtory of no credit, but only of hear-ſay, as he there expreſſeth.

As divers and many there were that ſuffered in the days of this Severus, ſo ſome there were again, which through the protection of God's providence, being put to great torments, yet eſcaped with life: of whom was one Alexander, who, for his conſtant confeſſion and torments ſuffered, was made biſhop afterwards of Jeruſalem, together with Narciſſus: who being then an old man of one hundred and threeſcore years and three, as ſaith Euſebius, was unwieldy for his age to govern that function alone.

Of this Narciſſus it is reported of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. that certain miracles by him were wrought, very notable, if they be true. Firſt, of water by him turned

into oil, at the ſolemn vigil of Eaſter, what time the congregation wanted oil for their lamps. Another miracle is alſo told of him, which is this. There were three evil-diſpoſed perſons, who ſeeing the ſoundneſs and grave conſtancy of his virtuous life, and fearing their own puniſhment, as a conſcience that is guilty is always fearful, thought to prevent his accuſations, in accuſing him firſt, and laying an heinous crime unto his charge. And to make their accuſation more probable before the people, they bound their accuſation with a great oath, one wiſhing to be deſtroyed with fire, if he ſaid not true; the other to be conſumed with a grievous ſickneſs; the third to loſe both his eyes if they did lye. Narciſſus, although having his conſcience clear, yet not able, but one man, to withſtand their accuſation, bound with ſuch oaths, gave place, and removed himſelf from the multitude into a ſolitary deſart by himſelf, where he continued the ſpace of many years.

In the mean time, to them which ſo willingly and wickedly forſware themſelves, this happened. The firſt, by caſualty of one little ſpark of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his family. The ſecond was taken with a great ſickneſs from the top to the toe, and devoured with the ſame. The third, hearing and ſeeing the puniſhment of the other, confeſſed his fault, but through great repentance poured out ſuch tears, that he loſt both his eyes: and thus was their falſe perjury puniſhed. Narciſſus, after long abſence, returned home again, was, by this means, both cleared of the fact, and received into his biſhopric again: to whom, for impotency of his age, Alexander was joined in execution of the function, Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. cap. 10.

Of this Alexander is recorded in the ſaid Eccleſ. Hiſt. That after his agonies and conſtancy of his confeſſion ſhewed in the perſecution of Severus he was admoniſhed by a viſion in the night ſeaſon to make his journey up to Jeruſalem and Paleſtina (for that place remained free from this perſecution) to ſee there the congregation, and to pray.

Thus he taking his journey, and drawing near to the city, a viſion with plain words was given to certain chief heads of Jeruſalem, to go out of the gate of the city, there to receive the biſhop appointed to them of God. And ſo was Alexander met and received, and joined partner with aged Narciſſus, as is before expreſſed, in the city of Jeruſalem, where he continued biſhop above forty years, until the perſecution of Decius; and there erected a famous library, where Euſebius had his chiefeſt help in writing his Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He wrote alſo divers epiſtles to divers churches, and licenſed Origen openly to teach his church. At length, being very aged, he was brought from Jeruſalem to Ceſarea before the judge under Decius, where after his conſtant confeſſion, the ſecond time, he was committed to priſon, and there died.

Beſides theſe that ſuffered in this perſecution of Severus, recited of Euſebius, Vincentius alſo, lib. 11. cap. 6. Ex Martyrologio, ſpeaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarpus before had ſent into France: which Andoclus, becauſe he had ſpread there the doctrine of Chriſt, was apprehended of Severus, and firſt beaten with ſtaves and bats, and after was beheaded.

To theſe above-named, may alſo be added Aſclepiades, who, although he was put to death in this perſecution of Severus, yet conſtantly he did abide the trial of his confeſſion, and ſuffered much for the ſame, as Alexander before-mentioned did. Wherefore, afterward he was ordained biſhop of Antioch, where he continued the ſpace of ſeven years, of whom Alexander writes unto the church of Antioch out of priſon, much rejoicing and giving thanks to God, to hear that he was their biſhop.

About the ſame time, during the reign of Severus, died Ireneus. Henr. de Erfordia, Ado, and other martyr-writers, do hold, that he was martyred with a great multitude of others more, for the confeſſion and doctrine of Chriſt, about the fourth or fifth year of Severus. This Ireneus, as he was a great writer, ſo was he greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning, whom he calleth, A great ſearcher of all kind of learning. He was firſt ſcholar and hearer of Polycarpus, from thence either was ſent, or came to France, and there by Photinus, and the reſt of the martyrs, was inſtituted into the miniſtry, and commended by their letter to Eleutherius, as is before premoniſhed. At length, after the martyrdom of Photinus, he was appointed biſhop of Lions, where he continued about the ſpace of three and twenty years. In the time of this Ireneus, the ſtate of the church was much troubled, not only for the outward perſecution of the foreign enemy, but alſo for divers ſects and errors then ſtirring, againſt which he diligently laboured and wrote much, although but few books be now remaining. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name, was ſuch, that he ever loved peace, and ſought to ſet agreement when any controverſy roſe in the church. And, therefore, when the queſtion of keeping the Eaſter-day was renewed in the church between Victor biſhop of Rome, and the churches of Aſia; and when Victor would have excommunicated them as ſchiſmaticks, for diſagreeing from him therein, Ireneus, with other brethren of the French church, ſorry to ſee ſuch a contention among brethren for ſuch a trifle, convented themſelves together in a common council, and directing their letter with their common conſent ſubſcribed, ſent unto Victor, intreating him to ſtay his purpoſe, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themſelves agreed with him in obſerving the Sunday Eaſter as he did: yet with great reaſons and arguments they exhorted him not to deal ſo rigorouſly with his other brethren, following the ancient cuſtom of their country manner in that behalf. And beſides this, he wrote divers other letters abroad concerning the ſame contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Not long after Ireneus followed alſo Tertullian, about the time of this Severus and Antoninus Caracalla his ſon, a man both in Greek and Latin well expert, having great gifts in diſputing, and in writing eloquent, as his books declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth teſtify no leſs. To whom Vincentius Lirienſis giveth ſuch praiſe, that he calleth him "the flower of all Latin writers:" and of the eloquence of his ſtile he thus writeth, "that with the force of his reaſons, he ſaith, whom he could not perſuade, them he compelled to conſent unto him. How many words, ſo many ſentences, and how many ſentences, ſo many victories he had, &c."

Such men of doing and writing God raiſed up from time to time, as pillars and ſtays for his poor church, as he did this Tertullian in theſe dangerous days of perſecution. For when the chriſtians were vexed with wrongs, and falſly accuſed of the Gentiles, Tertullian taking their cauſe in hand, defendeth them againſt the perſecutors, and againſt their ſlanderous accuſations. Firſt, that they never minded any ſtir or rebellion, either againſt the empire or emperors of Rome: for ſo much as the uſe of chriſtians was to pray for the ſtate of their emperors and governors. And whereas they were accuſed falſly to be enemies of all mankind, "How could that be (ſaith Tertullian to Scapula) ſeeing the proper office of the chriſtians is by their profeſſion to pray for all men, to love their enemies, never requiting evil for evil, when as all other do love but only their friends and ſcarcely them?" As touching the horrible ſlander of murthering infants, "How can that be true in the chriſtians, ſaith he, whoſe order is to abſtain from all blood and ſtrangled; inſomuch that it is not lawful for them to touch the blood of any beaſt at their tables when they feed? from filthy copulation no ſort more free than they, which are,

and

and ever have been, the greateſt obſervers of chaſtity, of whom ſuch as may live in perpetual virginity all their life; ſuch as cannot contract matrimony, for avoiding all whoredom and fornication." Neither can it be proved that the chriſtians do worſhip the ſun: which falſe ſurmiſe Tertullian declareth to riſe hereof, for that the manner of the chriſtians was to pray towards the eaſt. Much leſs was there any of them ſo mad as to worſhip an aſs's head; whereof the occaſion being taken only of the Jews, the ſlander thereof therefore he proveth to be falſely and wrongfully laid to the charge of the chriſtians.

And likewiſe againſt all other lyes and ſlanders objected of the heathen againſt the chriſtians, the ſaid Tertullian purgeth the chriſtians, declaring them falſly to be belyed, and wrongfully perſecuted, not for any deſert of theirs, but only for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithſtanding, by the ſame perſecutions, he proveth in the ſame apology, the religion of the chriſtians nothing to be impaired, but rather increaſed. "The more, ſaith he, we are mown down of you, the more riſe up. The blood of chriſtians is ſeed. For what man, ſaith he, in beholding the painful torments, and the perfect patience of them, will not ſearch and inquire what is the cauſe? And when he hath found it out, who will not agree unto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not deſire to ſuffer for it? Thus, ſaith he, this ſect will never die, which the more it is cut down, the more it groweth. For every man ſeeing and wondering at the ſufferance of the ſaints, is moved the more thereby to ſearch the cauſe; in ſearching he findeth it, and finding he followeth it." Tertullian, in eodem Apolog.

Thus Tertullian, in this dangerous time of perſecution, being ſtirred up of God, defended the innocency of the chriſtians againſt the blaſphemy of the adverſaries; and moreover, for the inſtruction of the church he compiled many fruitful works, whereof ſome are extant, ſome are not to be found. Notwithſtanding the great learning and famous virtues of this worthy man, certain errors and blemiſhes are noted in his doctrine, as were before both of Origen and Ireneus, and likewiſe of them, were they never ſo excellent that followed them. Which errors all here in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this ſtory to proſecute. This by the way ſhall be ſufficient to admoniſh the reader, never to look for any ſuch perfection of any man in this world, how ſingular ſoever they be, Chriſt only excepted, but ſome blemiſh or other joineth itſelf withal, whereof more, perchance, ſhall be ſaid when we come to Cyprian.

And now, to return again to the order of biſhops of Rome intermitted. After Eleutherius afore-mentioned, next in the biſhopric of Rome ſucceeded Victor, who, as Platina ſaith, died quietly in the days of Severus. But Damaſus, Supplem. lib. 8, and ſuch as do follow the common chronicles, affirm that he died a martyr, after he had ſitten ten (or as ſome ſay twelve) years. This Victor was a great ſtirrer (as partly before is ſignifyed) in the controverſy and contention of Eaſter day, for the which he would have proceeded in excommunication againſt the churches of Aſia, had not Ireneus, the biſhop of Lions, with the counſel of other his brethren there aſſembled, repreſſed his intended violence. As touching that controverſy of Eaſter in thoſe days of the primitive church, the original thereof was this, as Euſebius, Socrates, Platina, and others record. Firſt, certain it is, that the apoſtles being only intentive and attendant to the doctrines of ſalvation, gave no heed nor regard to the obſervation of days and times, neither bound the church to any ceremonies and rights, except thoſe things neceſſary mentioned in the acts of the apoſtles, as ſtrangled and blood, which was ordained then of the Holy Ghoſt, not without a moſt urgent and neceſſary cauſe, touched partly in the hiſtory before. For when the murdering and blood of infants was commonly objected by the heathen perſecutors againſt the chriſtians, they had no other argument to help themſelves, nor to refel the adverſary, but only their own law, by the which they were commanded to abſtain, not only from all mens blood, but alſo from the blood of all common beaſts. And therefore that law ſeemeth by the Holy Ghoſt to be given, and alſo to the ſame end continued in the church, ſo long as the cauſe, that is, the perſecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Beſides theſe, we read of no other ceremonies or rites, which the apoſtles greatly regarded, but left ſuch things free to the liberty of chriſtians, every man to uſe therein his own diſcretion, for the uſing or not uſing thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremonial obſervations of days, times, places, meats, drinks, veſtures, and ſuch others; of all theſe things neither was the diverſity among men greatly noted, nor any uniformity greatly required. Inſomuch that Ireneus, writing to Victor of the tradition of days, and of faſtings, and of the diverſity of things then uſed among the primitive fathers, ſaith: "Notwithſtanding all this variety, all they kept peace among themſelves, and yet we keep it ſtill, and this difference of faſting among us commendeth more the concord of faith." And ſo long did the doctrine of chriſtian liberty remain whole and ſound in the church till the time of Victor, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred; although the diverſity of theſe uſages began before alſo in the days of Pius and Anicetus, about the year of Chriſt 163, to be miſliked; yet reſtraint hereof was not ſo much urged before, as in the time of Victor. And yet neither did the violence of Victor take ſuch place, but that the doctrine of chriſtian liberty was defended and maintained by means of Ireneus, and others, and ſo continued in the church till after the council of Nice. And thus much concerning the doctrine of chriſtian liberty, and of the differences of rights and ceremonies.

Now to return to Victor again, to ſhew what diverſity there was in obſerving the day of Eaſter, and how it came, thus is the ſtory. Firſt, in the time of Pius and Anicetus, in the year of Chriſt 163, the queſtion of Eaſter day began firſt to be moved, at what time Pius, by the revelation of Hermes, decreed the obſervation of that day to be changed from the wonted manner of the fourteenth day of the moon in the firſt month unto the next ſunday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter and Eleutherius, biſhops of Rome, which alſo determined the ſame. Againſt theſe ſtood Melito biſhop of Sardis, Polycarpus, and as ſome think, Egeſippus, with other learned men of Aſia. Which Polycarpus, being ſent by the brethren of Aſia, came to Rome as is aforeſaid, to confer with Anicetus in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithſtanding, they did both communicate together with reverence, and departed in peace. And ſo the celebration of Eaſter day remained as a thing indifferent in the church, till the time of Victor; who following after Anicetus and his fellows, and chiefly ſtirring in this matter, endeavouring by all means and might to draw, or rather ſubdue the churches of Aſia, as heretics and ſciſmatics, which diſagreed from the Roman order: had not Ireneus otherwiſe reſtrained him from that doing, as is aforeſaid, which was about the year of our Lord 191, in the reign of Commodus. Thus then began the uniformity of keeping that holy day to be firſt required as a thing neceſſary, and all they accounted as heretics and ſchiſmatics, which diſſented from the biſhop and tradition of Rome.

With Victor ſtood Theophilus biſhop of Ceſarea, Narciſſus of Jeruſalem, Ireneus of Lions, Palmas of Pontus, Banchillus of Corinth, the biſhop of Oſtroena, and others more. All which condeſcended to have the celebration of Eaſter upon ſunday, becauſe they would differ from the Jews in all things as near as they might,

and partly, becauſe the reſurrection of our Lord fell on the ſame day.

On the contrary ſide, divers biſhops were in Aſia, of whom the principal was Polycrates biſhop of Epheſus, who being aſſembled with a great multitude of biſhops and brethren of thoſe parts, by the common aſſent of the reſt, wrote again to Victor, and to the church of Rome, declaring, that they had ever from the beginning obſerved that day, according to the rule of ſcripture unchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the ſame: alledging for them the examples of the apoſtles and holy fathers their predeceſſors, as Philip the apoſtle, with his three daughters at Hieropolis; alſo John the apoſtle and evangeliſt at Epheſus, Polycarpus at Smyrna, Thraſeas at Eumenia biſhop and martyr; likewiſe of Sagaris at Laodicea, biſhop and martyr, holy Papirius and Melito at Sardis. Beſides theſe biſhops alſo of his own kindred, and his own anceſtors, to the number of ſeven, which all were biſhops before him, and he the eighth now after them. All which obſerved, ſaith he, the ſolemnity of the ſame day, after the ſame wiſe and ſort as we do now.

Victor being not a little moved herewith, by letters again denounced againſt them (more bold upon authority than wiſe in his commiſſion) violent excommunication, albeit by the wiſe handling of Ireneus, and other learned men, that matter was ſtaid, and Victor otherwiſe perſuaded. What the perſuaſions of Ireneus were, partly may appear in Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 6. the ſum whereof tendeth to this effect: that the variance and difference of ceremonies is no ſtrange matter in the church of Chriſt, when as this variety is not only in the day of Eaſter, but alſo in the manner of faſting, and in divers other uſages among the chriſtians. For ſome faſt one day, ſome two days, ſome others faſt more. Others there be, which counting forty hours, both day and night, take that for a full day's faſt. And this ſo divers faſhion of faſting in the church of Chriſt began not only in this our time, but was before among our fore-elders. And yet notwithſtanding, they with all this diverſity were in unity among themſelves, and ſo be we; neither doth this difference of ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And he bringeth forth the examples of the fathers, of Teleſphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, and ſuch others, who neither obſerved the ſame uſage themſelves, nor preſcribed it to others, and yet notwithſtanding kept chriſtian charity with ſuch as came to communicate with them, not obſerving the ſame form of things which they obſerved, as well appeared by Polycarpus and Anicetus, which although they agreed not in one uniform cuſtom of rites, yet refuſed not to communicate together, the one giving reverence unto the other. Thus the controverſy being taken up between Ireneus and Victor, remained free to the time of the Nicene council. Hæc ex Irenæo. Euſebius. And thus much concerning the controverſy of that matter, and concerning the doings of Victor.

After Victor, ſucceeded in the ſee of Rome, Zephirinus, in the days of the foreſaid Severus, about the year of our Lord two hundred and three. To this Zephirinus be aſcribed two epiſtles, in the firſt tome of the councils. But as I have ſaid before of the decretal epiſtles of other Roman biſhops, ſo I ſay and verily ſuppoſe of this; that neither the countenance of the ſtile, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time doth otherwiſe give to think of theſe letters, but that they be verily baſtard letters, not written by theſe fathers, nor in theſe times, but craftily and wickedly packt in by ſome, which, to ſet up the primacy of Rome, have moſt peſtilently abuſed the authority of theſe holy and ancient fathers, to deceive the ſimple church. For who is ſo rude, but that in conſidering only the ſtate of thoſe terrible times he may eaſily underſtand, except affection blind him, beſide a number of other probable conjectures to lead him, that the poor perſecuted biſhops in that time would have been glad to have any ſafe covert to put their heads in: ſo far was it off, that they had any luſt or leiſure then to ſeek for any primacy or patriarchſhip, or to drive all other churches to appeal to the ſee of Rome, or to exempt all prieſts from the accuſation of any layman; as in the firſt epiſtle of Zephirinus is to be ſeen, written to the biſhops of Sicilia: and likewiſe the ſecond epiſtle of his to the biſhops of the province of Egypt, containing no manner of doctrine, nor conſolation neceſſary for that time, but only certain ritual decrees to no purpoſe, argueth no leſs, but the ſaid epiſtles neither to ſavour of that man, nor to taſte of that time.

Of like credit alſo ſeemeth the conſtitution of the patins of glaſs, which Damaſus ſaith that the ſame Zephirinus ordained to be carried before the prieſt at the celebration of the maſs. Again Platina writeth that he ordained the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, to be more uſed in veſſels of wood or of glaſs, or of any other metal, except only ſilver, gold, and tin, &c. But how theſe two teſtimonies of Damaſus and Platina join together, let the reader judge: eſpecially, ſeeing the ſame decree is referred to Urbanus that came after him. Again, what needed this decree of golden chalices to be eſtabliſhed afterward in the council of Tiber and Rhenes if it had been enacted before by Zephirinus? How long this Zephirinus ſate, our writers do vary. Euſebius ſaith, he died in the reign of Caracalla, and ſate ſeventeen years. Platina writeth that he died under Severus, and ſate eight years, and ſo ſaith alſo Nauclerus. Damaſus affirmeth that he ſate ſixteen years and two months.

Matheus, author of the ſtory intituled Flores hiſtoriarum, with other later chronicles, maketh mention of Perpetua and Felicitas, and Revocatus her brother, alſo of Saturninus and Satyrus brethren, and Secundulus, which in the perſecution of this Severus gave over their lives to martyrdom for Chriſt, being thrown to wild beaſts, and devoured of the ſame in Carthage and in Africk, ſave that Saturninus brought again from the beaſts was beheaded, and Secundulus died in priſon about the year of our Lord two hundred and two, as writeth Florilegus.

This Severus the perſecutor reigned, as the moſt part of writers accord, the term of eighteen years, who about the latter time of his reign came with his army hither into Britain, where after many conflicts had with the Britains, in the borders of the north, he caſt up a ditch with a mighty wall made of earth and turfs, and ſtrong ſtakes, to the length of one hundred thirty and two miles from the one ſide of the ſea to the other, beginning at Tine, and reaching to the Scottiſh ſea: which done, he removed to York, and there by the breaking in of the northern men and Scots, was beſieged and ſlain, about the year of our Lord 214, leaving behind him two ſons, Baſſianus and Geta. Which Baſſianus, ſirnamed Caracalla, after he had ſlain his brother Geta here in Britain, governed the empire alone the ſpace of ſix years. After whoſe death, he being ſlain alſo of his ſervants (as he had ſlain his brother before) ſucceeded Macrinus with his ſon Diadumenus, to be emperor, who, after they had reigned one year, were both ſlain of their own people.

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus in the empire, rather to be called a monſter than a man, ſo prodigious was his life in all gluttony, filthineſs, and ribauldry. Such was his pomp, that in his lamps he uſed balm, and filled his fiſh-ponds with roſe-water To let paſs his ſumptuous veſtures, which he would not wear but only of gold, and moſt coſtly ſilks: his ſhoes glittering with precious ſtones finely engraved, he was never two days ſerved with one kind of meat; he never wore one garment twice. And likewiſe for his fleſhly wickedneſs, ſome days his company was ſerved at meal with the brains of oſtriches, and a ſtrange fowl called phenocoptery, another day with the tongues of popingais, and other ſweet ſinging birds. Being nigh to the ſea he never

ver uſed fiſh: in places far diſtant from the ſea, all his houſe was ſerved with moſt delicate fiſhes: at one ſupper he was ſerved with ſeven thouſand fiſhes, and five thouſand fowls. At his removing in his progreſs, often there followed him ſix hundred chariots laden only with bawds, common harlots and ribaulds. He ſacrificed young children, and preferred to the beſt advancements in the commonweal moſt light perſonages, as bawds, minſtrels, carters, and ſuch like: in one word, he was an enemy to all honeſty and good order. And when he was foretold by his ſorcerers and aſtronomers, that he ſhould die a violent death, he provided ropes of ſilk to hang himſelf, ſwords of gold to kill himſelf, and ſtrong poiſon in jacinths and emerolds to kill himſelf, if needs he muſt thereto be forced; moreover, he made an high tower, having the boards covered with gold plate, bordered with precious ſtones, from the which tower he would throw himſelf down, if he ſhould be purſued of his enemies. But notwithſtanding all his proviſion, he was ſlain of the ſoldiers, drawn through the city and caſt into Tiber, after he had reigned two years and eight months, as witneſſeth Eutropius, others ſays four years.

This Heliogabalus, having no iſſue, adopted to his ſon and heir Agrelius Alexander Severus, the ſon of Mammea, who entering his reign the year of our Lord 224, continued 13 years, well commended for being virtuous, wiſe, gentle, liberal and to no man hurtful. And as he was not unlearned himſelf, through the diligent education of Mammea his mother, ſo he was a great favourer of men wiſe and learned. Neither did he any thing in the commonweal, without the aſſiſtance of learned and ſage counſellors. It is reported of him to bear ſuch ſtomach againſt corrupt judges, that when he chanced to meet with any of them, by the commotion of his mind he would caſt up cholor, being ſo moved with them that he could not ſpeak, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his court he diſmiſſed all ſuperfluous and unneedful ſervants, ſaying, that he was no good pupil, which fed idle ſervants with the bowels of his commonweal.

Among his other good virtues, it appeareth alſo that he was friendly and favourable unto the chriſtians, as by this act may be gathered: for when the chriſtians had occupied a certain public place in ſome good uſe, belike for the aſſembling and conventing together of the congregation; the company of the cooks or tiplers made challenge of that place to belong unto them. The matter being brought before the emperor, he judged it more honeſt, the place to be continued to the worſhip of God, howſoever it were, than the dirty ſlubbering of cooks and ſcullions.

By this it may be underſtood, that in Rome no chriſtian churches were erected unto this time, when as yet (notwithſtanding this favour of the emperor) no public houſe could quietly be obtained for the chriſtians. So that by the reaſon hereof may appear the decretal epiſtle and ordinance of pope Higinus concerning the dedication of churches above mentioned to be falſified. And likewiſe the ordinance of Pius his ſucceſſor, concerning the altar, or ſuperaltar, to be alſo falſe. For what ſuperaltar was it like they had in the time of Higinus and Pius, when at this time, which was long after, no public place almoſt could be granted them for the chriſtians to aſſemble together.

Of this Alexander Platina writeth, that as he was a great hater of all boaſters and flatterers, ſo he was of ſuch prudence, that no deceit could eſcape him, and bringing in a ſtory of one Turinus, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people believe that he was with great authority with the emperor, and that he could help them to have whatſoever they ſued for. Whereof the emperor being certified, cauſed him in the open market to be faſtened to a ſtake, and there killed with ſmoke, where the crier ſtood thus crying to the people, "Smoke he ſold, and with ſmoke he is puniſhed."

Mammea the mother of this Alexander above mentioned (whom Hierome calleth a devout and religious woman) hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of Origen, being then at Alexandria, ſent for him to Antioch, deſirous to hear and ſee him: unto whom the aforeſaid Origen, according to her requeſt, reſorted, and that he had there remained a ſpace with the emperor and his mother, returned again to Alexandria.

And thus continued this good emperor his reign the ſpace of 13 years: at length at a commotion in Germany, with his mother Mammea he was ſlain. After whom ſucceeded Maximinus, contrary to the mind of the ſenate, only appointed by the ſoldiers to be emperor. During all this time between Severus and this Maximinus, the church of Chriſt, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had ſome mean tranquillity from perſecution. Albeit ſome martyrs there were at this time that ſuffered, whereof Nauclerus giveth this reaſon; For although (ſaith he) Alexander being perſuaded through the intreating of his mother Mammea, did favour the chriſtians, yet notwithſtanding, there was no public edict or proclamation provided for their ſafeguard. By reaſon whereof, divers there were which ſuffered martyrdom under Almachius and other judges. In the number of whom, after ſome ſtories, was Calixtus biſhop of Rome, who ſucceeded next unto Zephirinus above mentioned, and after him Urbanus alſo, which both being biſhops of Rome, did both ſuffer by the opinion of ſome writers, under Alexander Severus.

This Calixtus in his two decretal epiſtles, written to Benedictus, and to the biſhops of France, giving theſe ordinances, that no actions or accuſations againſt the prelates or teachers of the church ſhould be received, that no ſecret conſpiracies ſhould be made againſt biſhops: Item, no man to communicate with perſons excommunicate: alſo no biſhop to excommunicate or to deal in another's dioceſe. And here he expounded the dioceſe, or the pariſh of any biſhop or miniſter, to be his wife. "The wife (ſaith the apoſtle) is bound to the law, as long as the huſband liveth; when he is dead, ſhe is free from the law:" "So (ſaith Calixtus) the wife of a biſhop (which is his church) ſo long as he liveth, is bound only to him, neither ought to be judged or diſpoſed by any other man, without his will and judgment: after his death ſhe is free from the law, to marry to whom ſhe will, ſo it be in the Lord, that is regulariter, regularly."

In the end of the ſaid his epiſtle decretal, he confuteth the error of them which hold, "that they which are fallen are not to be received again." Which hereſy, after the times of Calixtus or Caliſtus, came in firſt by Novatus, in the days of Cornelius. Moreover, in his ſaid firſt epiſtle decretal, is contained the faſt of the four times, commonly called the Ember faſt, whereof alſo Marianus Scotus maketh mention. But Damaſus, ſpeaking of the ſame faſt, ſaith, He ordained the faſt but of three times, which was for the increaſe of corn, wine, and oil.

By theſe hitherto premiſed, it is not hard for a quick reader to ſmell out the crafty juggling of that perſon or perſons, whoſoever they were, that falſly have aſcribed theſe decretal inſtitutions to the holy fathers.

For firſt, what leiſure had the chriſtians to lay their accuſations againſt their biſhops, when we never read or find in any ſtory any kind of variance in thoſe days among them, but all love, mutual compaſſion, and hearty communion among the ſaints? And as we read of no variance among the people in thoſe days, nor of any fault or backſliding among the biſhops, who for the moſt part then died all conſtant martyrs; ſo neither do we read of any tribunal ſeat or conſiſtory uſed or frequented then about any ſuch matters.

Again,

Again, if a man examine well the dangers of thoſe buſy days, he ſhall ſee the poor flock of the chriſtians ſo occupied and pitiouſly oppreſſed by the cruel accuſations of the heathen infidels, that tho' the cauſe did, yet the time would not ſerve them to commence any law againſt their biſhops.

Secondly, As touching their conſpiracy againſt biſhops, what conſpiracy either would they then practiſe againſt them, which always gave their lives for their defence? Or how could they then conſpire in any companies together, when never a true chriſtian man durſt once put his head out of his doors? Neither was there in the church any chriſtian man in thoſe perilous days, except he were a true man indeed, ſuch as was far from all falſe conſpiracies. And when all the world, almoſt in all places, conſpired againſt them: What time, what cauſe, or what heart, trow ye, could they have to conſpire againſt their inſtructors?

Thirdly, Concerning the confutation of that hereſy, How ſtandeth the confutation with the time of Calixtus, when Novatus, the author of that hereſy, was after him in the time of Cornelius?

Fourthly, If by the law of Calixtus, every dioceſe be the proper wife of every biſhop or miniſter, then how many biſhops wives, and parſons wives, has the adulterous pope of Rome deflowered in theſe later days of the church, which ſo proudly and impudently hath intermeddled and taken his pleaſure, and his own profit, in every dioceſe and pariſh almoſt through all chriſtendom, without all leave and licence of the good man, who hath been in the mean time, and yet is compelled, whereſoever the pope's holineſs cometh, Vigilante ſtertere naſo, and to give him leave, unaſked, to do what he liſt? Wherefore if this canon decretal be truly his, why is it not obſerved. ſo that it may ſtand without exception? If it be not, why is it then falſly forged upon him, and the church of Chriſt deceived? And very lamentable it is, that this falſifying of ſuch trifling traditions, under the falſe pretence of antiquity, either was begun in the church to deceive the people, or that it hath remained ſo long undetected. For, as I think the church of Chriſt will never be perfectly reformed, before theſe decretal conſtitutions and epiſtles, which have ſo long put on the viſor of antiquity ſhall be fully detected, and appear in their own colour wherein they were firſt painted.

And yet neither do I ſay this, or think contrary, but that it may be, that biſhops of Rome, and of the ſame name, have been the true authors of theſe traditions. But here cometh in the error (as I credibly ſuppoſe) that when other like biſhops of the like name have deviſed theſe ceremonial inventions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the firſt primitive fathers, altho' being of another time, yet bearing the ſame name with the true inventors thereof. But of Calixtus enough: who, as Damaſus ſaith, in the days of this Alexander Severus, died a martyr. Vincentius affirmeth, that he was tied to a great ſtone, and ſo was thrown out of a window into a ditch. Euſebius, ſpeaking of his death, maketh no mention of his martyrdom, and ſaith he ſate five years, Platina ſaith ſix years, Sabellicus giveth him ſeven years, and ſo doth Damaſus,

After Calixtus followed Urbanus, about the year of our Lord 227, who in his epiſtle decretal (coming out of the ſame forge) which he wrote in common to all biſhops, making no mention of the heavy perſecutions of the church, nor miniſtering any exhortation of comfort or conſtancy to the brethren, only giveth many ſtrict precepts, for not tranſporting or alienating the goods of the church, and to pay truly their offerings which they vow: alſo to have all common among the clergy. Moreover, about the end of his epiſtle he inſtituteth the confirmation of children after baptiſm (which the papiſts be wont to take into the number of their ſeven ſacraments;) affirming and denoucing more than ſcripture will bear, that the impoſition of the biſhop's hand bringeth the Holy Ghoſt, and that thereby men be made full chriſtians, &c. But of theſe decretal epiſtles enough is ſaid before, more may be conſidered of the diſcreet reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, and other late ſtory writers, do hold, as is afoteſaid, that he died a martyr in the days of Alexander Severus, after he had governed that ſeat four years, as Damaſus and Platina do witneſs, as Marianus ſaith, eight years.

The ſame Damaſus and Platina do teſtify of him, that he, by his preaching and holineſs of life, converted divers heathens to the faith. Among whom were Tiburtius, and Valerianus, the huſband of Cecilia, which both, being noblemen of Rome, remained conſtant in the faith unto their end and martyrdom. Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the martyrology of Ado, that Cecilia the virgin, after ſhe had brought Valerian her huſband eſpouſed, and Tiburtius his brother to the knowledge and faith of Chriſt, and with her exhortations had made them conſtant unto martyrdom: after the ſuffering of them ſhe was alſo apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the idols to do ſacrifice: which thing when ſhe abhorred to do, ſhe ſhould be preſent before the judge to have the condemnation of death. In the mean time, the ſerjeants and officers which were about her, beholding her comely beauty, and the prudent behaviour in her converſation, began with many perſuaſions of words to ſolicit her mind to favour herſelf, and that ſo excellent beauty, and not to caſt herſelf away, &c. But ſhe again ſo replied to them with reaſons and godly exhortation, that by the grace of Almighty God their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yield to that religion which before they did perſecute. Which thing ſhe perceiving, deſired of the judge Almachius a little reſpite: which being granted, ſhe ſendeth for Urbanus the biſhop home to her houſe, to eſtabliſh and ground them in the faith of Chriſt: and ſo were they, with divers others at the ſame time baptized, both men and women, to the number (as the ſtory ſaith) of 400 perſons, among whom was one Gordianus, a nobleman.

This done, this bleſſed marty was brought before the judge, where ſhe was condemned: then after was brought to the houſe of the judge, where ſhe was incloſed in a hot bath: but ſhe remained there a whole day and night without any hurt as in a cold place, was brought out again, and commandment given, that in the bath ſhe ſhould be beheaded. The executioner is ſaid to have four ſtrokes at her neck: and ſo died this holy virgin martyr, whoſe body in the night ſeaſon Urbanus, the biſhop, took and buried among the other biſhops.

Ado, the compiler of this martyrology, addeth, that this was done in the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. But that cannot be, forſomuch as Urbanus, by all hiſtories, was long after thoſe emperors, and lived in the days of this Alexander, as is above declared.

Antoninus Bergomenſis, Equilinus, with ſuch other writers, ſet forth this hiſtory with many ſtrange miracles wrought by the ſaid Cecilia, in converting her huſband Valerianus and his brother. But as touching theſe miracles, I do not diſpute whether they be true or fabulous, ſo becauſe they have no ground upon any ancient or grave authors, but are taken out of certain new legends, I do therefore refer them thither from whence they came.

Under the ſame Alexander divers others there be, whom Bergomenſis mentioned to have ſuffered martyrdom; as one Agapetus, of the age of fifteen years, who being apprehended, and condemned at Preneſte in Italy, becauſe he would not ſacrifice to idols, was aſſailed with ſundry torments: firſt with whips ſcourged; then hanged up by the feet, after having hot water poured upon him; and at laſt caſt to the wild beaſts: with all which torments when he could not be hurt, finally with the ſword was beheaded. The executor of theſe puniſhments (as by Henricus Erford may be gathered) was one

Antiochus: who in the executing of the aforeſaid torments ſuddenly fell down from his judicial ſeat, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within him, and ſo gave up his breath. Henr. de Erfordia, lib. 6. cap. 29.

Alſo with the ſame Agapetus is numbered Calepodius, a miniſter of Rome, whoſe body firſt was drawn thro' the city of Rome, and after caſt into Tiber. Bergo. ibidem.

Then followeth Pammachius, a ſenator of Rome, with his wife and children, and others both men and women, to the number of forty and two.

Item, another noble ſenator of Rome, named Simplicius, all which together in one day had their heads ſmitten off, and their bodies after hanged up in divers gates of the city for a terror of others, that none ſhould profeſs the name of Chriſt.

Beſides theſe ſuffered alſo Quiritius, a nobleman of Rome, who, with his mother Julia, and a great number more, were put likewiſe to death.

Alſo Tiberius and Valerianus, citizens of Rome, and brethren, ſuffered (as Bergomenſis ſaith) the ſame time, who, firſt being bruiſed and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Alſo Vincentius, Bergomenſis, and Erfordienſis make mention of Martina a chriſtian virgin, which, after divers bitter puniſhments being conſtant in her faith, ſuffered in like manner by the ſword.

Albeit as touching the time of theſe forenamed martyrs, as I find them not in older writers: ſo do I ſuppoſe them to ſuffer under Maximinus or Decius, rather than under Alexander.

The Sixth Perſecution.

AFTER the death of Alexander the emperor, who with his mother Mammea, as is ſaid, was murdered in Germany, followed Maximinus, choſen by the will of the ſoldiers, rather than by the authority of the ſenate, about the year of our Lord 237, who for the hatred he had to the houſe of Alexander, as Euſebius recordeth, raiſed up the ſixth perſecution againſt the chriſtians, eſpecially againſt the teachers and leaders of the church, thinking thereby the ſooner to vanquiſh the reſt, if the captains of them were removed out of the way. Whereby I ſuppoſe the martyrdom of Urbanus, the biſhop, and of the reſt above ſpecified, to have happened rather under the tyranny of this Maximinus than under Alexander. In the time of this perſecution Origen wrote his book, De Martyrio: which book, if it were extant, would give us ſome knowledge, I doubt not, of ſuch as in this perſecution did ſuffer, which now lie in ſilence unknown, and no doubt but a great number they were, and more ſhould have been, had not the provident mercy of God ſhortened his days, and bridled his tyranny, for he reigned but three years. After whom ſucceeded Gordianus, in the year of our Lord 240, a man no leſs ſtudious for the utility of the commonwealth, than mild and gentle to the chriſtians. This Gordianus, after he had governed with much peace and tranquillity the monarchy of Rome the ſpace of ſix years, was ſlain of Philip, emperor after him.

In the days of theſe emperors above recited was Pontianus biſhop of Rome, who ſucceeded next after Urbanus above rehearſed, about the year of our Lord 236, in the 12th year of Alexander, as Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 28. noteth, declaring him to ſit ſix years. Contrary Damaſus and Platina write, that he was biſhop nine years and a half, and that in the time of Alexander, he with Philippus his prieſt was baniſhed into Sardinia, and there died. But it ſeemeth more credible that he was baniſhed rather under Maximinus, and died in the beginning of the reign of Gordianus. In his epiſtles decretal, which ſeem likewiſe to be feigned, he appeareth very devout, after the common example of other biſhops, to uphold the dignity of prieſts, and of clergymen, ſaying, that God had them ſo familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, he forgiveth their ſins, and reconcileth them unto him: alſo, that they do make the body of the Lord with their own mouth, and give it to others, &c. which doctrine how it ſtandeth with the teſtament of God and glory of Chriſt, let the reader uſe his own judgment.

Other notable fathers alſo in the ſame time were raiſed up in the church, as Philetus, biſhop of Antioch, which ſucceeded after Aſclepiades afore-mentioned, in the year of our Lord 220, and after him Zebenus, biſhop of the ſame place, in the year of our Lord 231.

To theſe alſo may be added Ammonius, the ſchoolmaſter of Origen, as Suidas ſuppoſeth, alſo the kinſman of Porphyry, the great enemy of Chriſt: notwithſtanding, this Ammonius indued with better grace, as he left divers books in defence of Chriſt's religion, ſo did he conſtantly perſevere, as Euſebius reporteth, in the doctrine of Chriſt, which he had in the beginning received, who was about the days of Alexander.

Julius Africanus alſo, about the time of Gordianus aforeſaid, is numbered among the old and ancient writers, of whom Nicephorus writeth, that he was the ſcholar of Origen, and a great writer of hiſtories of that time.

Unto theſe doctors and confeſſors may be adjoined the ſtory of Natilius, mentioned in the firſt book of Euſebius. This Natilius had ſuffered perſecution before like a conſtant confeſſor, and was ſeduced and perſuaded by Aſclepiodotus and Theodorus, which were the diſciples of Theodocus, to take upon him to be biſhop of their ſect, promiſing to give him every month an hundred and fifty pieces of ſilver: and ſo joining himſelf to them, was admoniſhed by viſion and revelation from the Lord; for ſuch was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Chriſt Jeſus, that he would not have this martyr, which had ſuffered ſo much for his name before, now to periſh out of his church: for which cauſe, ſaith Euſebius, God by certain viſions did admoniſh him; but he not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long ſcourged of the angels, inſomuch that he being made thereby very ſore, and early on the morrow putting on ſackcloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to Zephirinus, the biſhop above-mentioned, where he falling down before him, and all the chriſtian congregation, ſhewed them the ſtripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Chriſt, that he might be received into their communion again, from which he had ſequeſtred himſelf before, and ſo was admitted according as he deſired.

After the deceaſe of Pontianus, biſhop of Rome aforementioned, ſucceeded next in that place Anterius, of whom Iſuardus writeth, that Pontianus departing away, did ſubſtitute him in his room: but Euſebius writeth, that he ſucceeded immediately after him. Damaſus ſaith, that becauſe he cauſed the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to martyrdom himſelf by Maximinus the judge. Concerning the time of this biſhop our writers do greatly differ. Euſebius and Marianus Scotus affirm, that he was biſhop but one month; Sabellicus ſaith, that was not ſo. Damaſus aſſigneth to him twelve years and one month. Volateranus Bergomenſis, and Henricus Erford, gave to him three years and one month. Nauclerus writeth, that he ſat one year and one month. All which are ſo far diſcordant one from another, that which of them moſt agreeth with the truth, it lieth in doubt. Next to this biſhop was Fabianus, of whom more is to be ſaid hereafter.

Of Hippolytus alſo both Euſebius and Hieronymus make mention that he was a biſhop; but where, they make no relation. And ſo likewiſe doth Theodoretus witneſs him to be a biſhop, and alſo a martyr, but nameth no place. Gelatius contra Eutychen ſaith, he died a

martyr, and that he was a biſhop of an head city in Arabia. Nicephorus writeth, that he was biſhop of Oſtia, a port town near to Rome. Certain it is, he was a great writer, and left many works in the church, which Euſebius and Hierom do recite: by the ſupputation of Euſebius he was about the year of our Lord 330.

Prudentius, in his Periſtephanon, making mention of great heaps of martyrs buried by threeſcore together, ſpeaketh alſo of Hippolytus, and ſaith that he was drawn with wild horſes through fields, dales, and buſhes, and deſcribeth thereof a pitiful ſtory.

After the emperor Gordianus, the empire fell to Philippus, who with Philip his ſon governed the ſpace of ſeven years, in the year of our Lord 246. This Philippus with his ſon and all his family was chriſtened and converted by Fabianus and Origen, who by letters exhorted him and Severa his wife to be baptized, being the firſt of all the emperors that brought in chriſtianity into the imperial ſeat. Howſoever Pomponius Letus reporteth him to be a diſſembling prince, this is certain, that for his chriſtianity he with his ſon was ſlain of Decius, one of his captains. Sabellicus Bergomenſis, lib. 8. ſheweth this hatred of Decius againſt Philippus to be conceived, for that the emperor Philip both the father and the ſon had committed their treaſure unto Fabianus, then biſhop of Rome.

The Seventh Perſecution.

THUS Philippus being ſlain, after him Decius invaded the crown, about the year of our Lord 250, by whom was moved a terrible perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, which Oroſius noteth to be the ſeventh perſecution. The firſt occaſion of this hatred and perſecution of this tyrant, conceived againſt the chriſtians, was chiefly, as is before touched, becauſe of the treaſures of the emperor, which were committed to Fabian the biſhop.

This Fabian firſt being a married man, as (Platina writeth) was made biſhop of Rome after Anterius abovementioned, by the miraculous appointment of God, which Euſebius doth thus deſcribe in his ſixth book. "When the brethren, ſaith he, were together in the congregation about the election of their biſhop, and had purpoſed among themſelves upon the nomination of ſome noble and worthy perſonage of Rome, it chanced that Fabianus among others was there preſent, who of late before was newly come out of the country to inhabit in the city. This Fabian, as is ſaid, thinking nothing leſs than of any ſuch matter, there ſuddenly cometh a dove flying from above, and ſitteth upon his head, whereupon all the congregation were moved with one mind and one voice to chooſe him for their biſhop;" in the which function he remained the ſpace of thirteen years, as Euſebius writeth; Damaſus, Marianus and Sabellicus ſay fourteen years unto the time of Decius: who, whether for that Philippus had committed to him his treaſures, or whether for the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the beginning of his reign cauſed him to be put to death, ſending out moreover his proclamation in all quarters, that all which profeſſed the name of Chriſt ſhould be ſlain.

To this Fabian be aſcribed certain ordinances, as of conſecrating new oil once every year, and burning the old, of accuſations againſt biſhops, of appealing to the ſee apoſtolic, of not marrying within the fifth degree, of communicating thrice a year, of offering every Sunday, with ſuch other things more in his three epiſtles decretal; the which epiſtles, as by divers other evidences may be ſuppoſed to be untruly named upon him, giving no ſignification of any matter agreeing to that time: ſo do I find the moſt part of the third epiſtle word for word ſtanding in the epiſtle of Sixtus the third, which followed almoſt two hundred years after him, beſide the unſeemly doctrine alſo in the end of the ſaid epiſtles contained, where he contrary to the tenor of the the goſpel applieth remiſſion of ſins (only due to the blood of Chriſt) unto the offerings of bread and wine by men and women every Sunday in the church.

To this Fabianus wrote Origen de Orthodoxia ſuæ fidei, that is, Of the righteouſneſs of his faith: whereby is to be underſtood, that he continued to the time of Decius: ſome ſay alſo to the time of Gallus. Of this Origen partly mention is touched before, declaring how bold and fervent he was in the days of Severus, in aſſiſting, comforting, exhorting and kiſſing the martyrs that were impriſoned and ſuffered for the name of Chriſt, with ſuch danger of his own life, that had he not been under the ſingular protection of God, he had been ſtoned to death many times of the heathen multitude. Such great concourſe of men and women was daily at his houſe to be catechiſed and inſtructed in the chriſtian faith by him, that ſoldiers were hired of purpoſe to defend the place where he taught them. Again, ſuch ſearch ſometimes was ſet for him, that ſcarce any ſhifting of place or country could cover him. In whoſe laborious travels and affairs of the church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting and expounding, he continued about the ſpace of fifty-two years, unto the time of Decius and Gallus. Divers and great perſecutions he ſuſtained, but eſpecially under Decius, as teſtifieth Euſebius in his ſixth book, declaring that for the doctrine of Chriſt, he ſuſtained bands and torments in his body, rackings with bars of iron, dungeons, beſides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he ſuffered in the perſecution of Decius, as Euſebius recordeth of him, and maketh no relation of any further matter. But Suidas and Nicephorus following the ſame, ſaith further concerning him, that the ſaid Origen, after divers and ſundry other torments which he manfully and conſtantly ſuffered for Chriſt, at length was brought to an altar, where a foul filthy Ethiop was appointed to be, and there this option or choice was offered unto him, "Whether he would ſacrifice to the idols, or have his body polluted with that foul and ugly Ethiop." Then Origen, ſaith he, who with a philoſophical mind ever kept his chaſtity undefiled, much abhorring that filthy villainy to be done to his body, condeſcended to their requeſt: whereupon the judge, putting incenſe in his hand, cauſed him to ſet it to the fire upon the altar; for the which impiety he afterward was excommunicated of the church. Epiphanius writeth, that he being urged to ſacrifice to idols, and taking the boughs in his hand, wherewith the heathen were wont to honour their gods, called upon the chriſtians to carry them in the honour of Chriſt. The which fact the church of Alexandria miſliking, removed him from their communion: whereupon Origen, driven away with ſhame and ſorrow out of Alexandria, went into Jewry, where being in Jeruſalem among the congregation, and there requeſted of the prieſts and miniſters (he being alſo a prieſt) to make ſome exhortation in the church, he refuſed a great while ſo to do. At length by importunate petition being conſtrained thereunto, he roſe up, and turning the book, as though he would have expounded ſome place of the ſcripture, he only read the verſe of the forty-ninth pſalm; "But God ſaid to the ſinner, Why doſt thou preach my juſtifications, and why doſt thou take my teſtament in thy mouth? &c". Which verſe being read, he ſhut the book, and ſat down weeping and wailing, the whole congregation alſo weeping and lamenting with him: Suid. Niceph. More what became of Origen is not found in hiſtory, but only that Suidas addeth, he died and was buried at Tyrus. Euſebius affirmeth, that he departed under the emperor Gallus, about the year of our Lord 255; and in the 70th year of his age, in great miſery, as appeareth, and poverty.

In this Origen divers blemiſhes of doctrine be noted, whereupon Hierom ſometimes doth inveigh againſt him; albeit

albeit in ſome places again he doth extol and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his apology againſt Ruff. And in his epiſtle to Pammachius and Ocean, where he praiſeth Origen, although not for the perfection of his faith and doctrine, nor for an apoſtle, yet for an excellent interpreter, for his wit, and for a philoſopher: and yet in his prologue upon the homilies of Origen on Ezekiel, he calleth him another maſter of the churches after the apoſtles. And in another preface upon his queſtions upon Geneſis, he wiſheth to himſelf the knowledge of the ſcriptures, which Origen had, alſo with the envy of his name. Athanaſius moreover calleth him ſingular and laborious, and uſeth alſo his teſtimonies againſt the Arians. Socrates, lib. 6. cap. 13.

After Origen, the order of hiſtory requireth next to ſpeak of Heraclas his uſher; a man ſingularly commended for his knowledge, not only in philoſophy, but alſo in ſuch faculties as to a chriſtian divine do appertain. This great towardneſs of wit and learning when Origen perceived in him, he appointed him above all others to be his uſher or under-teacher, to help in his ſchool or univerſity of Alexandria in the reign of Antoninus Caracalla ſon of Severus. And after in the tenth year of Alexander, Origen departing unto Ceſarea, he ſucceeded in his room to govern the ſchool in Alexandria. Further alſo in the time of Gordianus, after the deceaſe of Demetrius biſhop of Alexandria, this Heraclas ſucceeded to the biſhopric of the ſaid city: Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 29. In the which function he miniſtered the term of ſixteen years: Euſebius, lib. 6. cap. 35. Of this Heraclas writeth Origen himſelf, that he, although being a prieſt, yet ceaſed not to read over and peruſe the books of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better out of their own books confute their error, &c.

After Heraclas ſucceeded Dionyſius Alexandrinus in the biſhopric of Alexandria, like as he ſucceeded him in the ſchool before: which Dionyſius alſo writeth of the ſame Heraclas unto Philemon a prieſt of Rome, thus ſaying: "This canon and type I received of bleſſed Heraclas our pope," &c. This Heraclas was no martyr, for he died three years before Decius, about the year of our Lord 250. After whom ſucceeded next in the ſame ſeat of Alexandria, Dionyſius Alexandrinus, who alſo ſuffered much under the tyranny of Decius, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed, Chriſt willing, when we come to the time of Valerian.

Nicephorus in his firſt book, and others which write of this perſecution under Decius, declare the horribleneſs thereof to be ſo great, and ſo innumerable martyrs to ſuffer in the ſame, that he ſaith, it is as eaſy to number the ſands of the ſea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this perſecution did devour. In the which perſecution the chiefeſt doers and tormentors under the emperor appear in the hiſtory of Vicentius to be theſe: Optimus the under conſul, Secundianus, Verianus, and Marcellianus, &c. Although therefore it be hard here to infer all and ſingular perſons in order that died in this perſecution, yet ſuch as remain moſt notable in ſtories, I will briefly touch by the grace of him for whoſe cauſe they ſuffered.

In the former tranſaction of the firſt perſecution, mention was made before of Alexander biſhop of Jeruſalem, and of his troubles ſuffered under Severus, and how afterward by the miracle of God he was appointed biſhop of Jeruſalem, where he continued a very aged man, above the term of forty years governor of that church, till the firſt year of Decius, at what time he being brought from Jeruſalem to Ceſarea into the judgment place, after a conſtant and evident confeſſion of his faith made before the judge, was committed unto priſon, and there finiſhed his life, as teſtifieth Dionyſius Alexandrinus in the ſixth book of Euſebius. After whom ſucceeded in that ſeat Mezabanes, the thirty ſixth biſhop of that city, after James the apoſtle.

Mention was made alſo before of Aſclepiades biſhop of Antioch, who ſucceeded after Serapion, and in the perſecution of Severus did likewiſe perſevere a conſtant confeſſor, and, as Vincentius teſtifieth in his eleventh book, ſuffered martyrdom at laſt under this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wiſe agree with the truth of time; forſomuch as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others, the ſaid Aſclepiades after Serapion entered the biſhop's ſeat of Antioch, in the year of our Lord 214, and ſat ſeven years before the time of Gordianus, after whom ſucceeded Philetus, in the year of our Lord 221, governing the function twelve years. And after him Zebinus followed in the year of our Lord 232, and ſo after him Babylas; which Babylas, if he died in this perſecution of Decius, then could not Aſclepiades alſo ſuffer in the ſame time, who died ſo long before him, as is declared.

Of this Babylas biſhop of Antioch, Euſebius and Zonaras record, that under Decius he died in priſon, as did Alexander biſhop of Jeruſalem, above rehearſed.

We read in a certain treatiſe of Chryſoſtom, intituled Contra Gentiles, a noble and long hiſtory of one Babylas a martyr, who about theſe times was put to death for reſiſting a certain emperor, not ſuffering him to enter into the temple of the chriſtians after a cruel murder commited, the ſtory of which murder is this: There was a certain emperor who upon the concluſion of peace made with a certain nation, had received for hoſtage or ſurety of peace the ſon of the king, being of young and tender age, with conditions upon the ſame, that neither he ſhould be moleſted of them, nor that they ſhould ever be vexed of him. Upon this the king's ſon was delivered, not without great care and fear of the father, unto the emperor, whom the cruel emperor, contrary to promiſe, cauſed in ſhort time without all juſt cauſe to be ſlain.

This ſo horrible fact being committed, the tyrant with all haſte would enter into the temple of the chriſtians, where Babylas being biſhop or miniſter withſtood him that he ſhould not approach into that place. The emperor therewith not a little incenſed, in great rage bad him forthwith to be laid in priſon with as many irons as he could bear, and from thence ſhortly after to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas, going conſtantly and boldly to his martyrdom, deſired after his death to be buried with his irons and bands, and ſo he was.

The ſtory proceedeth moreover, and ſaith: that in the continuance of time in the reign of Conſtantinus, Gallus, then made the overſeer of the eaſt parts, cauſed his body to be tranſlated into the ſuburbs of Antioch, called Daphnes, where was a temple of Apollo, famous with deviliſh oracles and anſwers given by that idol, or by the devil rather in that place. In the which temple, after the bringing of the body of Babylas, the idol ceaſed to give any more oracles, ſaying, that for the body of Babylas he could give no more anſwers, and complaining that that place was wont to be conſecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead mens bodies.

And thus the oracles there ceaſed for that time till the coming of Julianus; who inquiring out the cauſe why the oracles ceaſed, cauſed the bones of the holy martyr to be removed again from thence by the chriſtians, whom he then called Galileans. They coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens, and children, to the tomb of Babylas, tranſported his bones according to the commmandment of the emperor, ſinging by the way as they went, the verſe of the pſalm in words as followeth: "Confounded be all that worſhip images, and all that glory in idols," &c. Which coming to the emperor's ear, ſet him in great rage againſt the chriſtians, ſtirring up perſecution againſt them. Albeit Zonaras declareth the cauſe ſomething otherwiſe, ſaying, That ſo ſoon as the body of him and other martyrs were removed

ed away, immediately the temple of the idol, with the image, in the night was conſumed with fire: For the which cauſe (ſaith Zonaras) Julian, ſtirred up with anger, perſecuted the chriſtians, as ſhall be ſhewed (Chriſt willing) in his order and place hereafter.

And thus much of Babylas, which whether it was the ſame Babylas, biſhop then of Antioch, or another of the ſame name, it appeareth not by Chryſoſtom, which neither maketh mention of the emperor's name, nor of the place where this Babylas was biſhop.

Again, the ſtopping of the emperor out of the church importeth as much, as that emperor to have been a chriſtian, For otherwiſe if he had come in as an heathen, and as a perſecutor, it was not then the manner of chriſtian biſhops violently to withſtand the emperors, or to ſtop them out. Over and beſide the teſtimony of Euſebius, Zonaras doth witneſs contrary in his ſixth book, that this Babylas, which was then biſhop of Antioch after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in priſon: wherefore it was not impoſſible but this Babylas, and this emperor which Chryſoſtom ſpeaketh of, may be another Babylas than that which ſuffered under Decius. Nicephorus in his fifth book maketh mention of another Babylas beſide this that ſuffered under Decius, which was biſhop of Nicomedia.

In the fore-named city of Antioch, Vicentius, lib. 11. ſpeaketh of forty virgins, martyrs, who ſuffered in the perſecution of Decius.

In the country of Phrygia, and in the town of Lampſar, the ſame Vicentius alſo ſpeaketh of one Peter which there was apprehended, and ſuffered bitter torments for Chriſt's name, under Optimus the proconſul: and in Tordona likewiſe of other martyrs that there ſuffered, whoſe names were Andrew, Paul, Nicomachus, and Dionyſia, a virgin, lib. 11. cap. 46.

Alſo in Babylon, ſaith he, divers chriſtian confeſſors were found of Decius, which were led away into Spain, there to be executed, lib. eodem, cap. 43.

In the country of Cappadocia, at the city of Ceſarea, in like manner of the ſaid author is teſtified, that Germanus, Theophilus, Ceſarius, and Vitalis, ſuffered martyrdom for Chriſt. Eodem, cap. 52. and in the ſame book mention is alſo made of Polychronius, biſhop of Babylon, cap. 89. and in Pamphilia of Neſtor there biſhop that died martyr, cap. 52.

At Perſide, in the town of Cardola, Olympiades and Maximus; in Tyrus alſo Anatolia, virgin, and Audax, gave their lives likewiſe to death for the teſtimony of Chriſt's name.

Euſebius moreover in his ſixth book reciteth out of the epiſtles of Dionyſius Alexandrinus, divers that ſuffered diverſly at Alexandria; the which places of Dionyſius, as they be cited in Euſebius, I thought here good, for the ancientneſs of the author, to inſert in his own words, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius, biſhop of Antioch, as followeth.

This perſecution, ſaith he, began not with the proclamation ſet forth by the emperor, but began a whole year before, by the occaſion and means of a wicked perſon, a ſooth-ſayer, and a follower of wicked arts: who, coming to our city here, ſtirred up the multitude of the heathen againſt us, and incited them to maintain their own old ſuperſtition, and gentility of their country; whereby they being ſet agog, and obtaining full power to proſecute their wicked purpoſe, ſo thought, and no leſs declared, all their piety and religion to conſiſt only in idolatrous worſhip of devils, and in our deſtruction. And firſt flying upon a certain prieſt of ours, named Metra, they apprehended him, and brought him forth, to make him ſpeak after their wicked blaſphemy; which when he would not do, they laid upon him with ſtaves and clubs, and with ſharp reeds pricked his face and eyes, and afterward bringing him out into the ſuburbs, there they ſtoned him to death.

Then they took a faithful woman. called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their idols, to compel her to worſhip with them: which, when ſhe refuſed to do, and abhorring their idols, they bound her feet, and drew her through the whole ſtreet of the city upon the hard ſtones, and ſo daſhing her againſt millſtones, and ſcourging her with whips, brought her to the ſame place of the ſuburbs as they did the other before, where ſhe likewiſe ended her life.

This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude running together, they burſt into the houſes of the religious and godly chriſtians, ſpoiling, ſacking, and carrying away all that they could find of any price. The reſt of things, ſuch as were of leſs value, and of wood, they brought into the open market, and ſet them on fire. In the mean time the brethren avoided aſide, and withdrew themſelves, taking patiently and no leſs joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, than did they of whom St. Paul doth teſtify: neither do I know any of them all, apprehended of them, which revolting from his profeſſion denied the Lord yet to this preſent day.

Amongſt the reſt that were taken, there was a certain virgin well ſtricken in years, named Apollina, whom they brought forth, and daſhing all her teeth out of her jaws, made a great fire before the city, threatening to caſt her into the ſame, unleſs ſhe would blaſpheme with them and deny Chriſt: whereat ſhe ſtaying a little with herſelf, as one that would take a pauſe, ſuddenly leaped into the midſt of the fire, and there was burned.

There was alſo one Serapion, whom they took in his own houſe, and after they had aſſailed him with ſundry kinds of torments, and had broken almoſt all the joints of his body, they caſt him down from an upper loft, and ſo did he complete his martyrdom.

Thus was there no way, neither privy nor public, nor corner nor alley left for us, neither by day nor by night, to eſcape, all the people making an outcry againſt us, that unleſs we uttered words of blaſphemy, we ſhould be drawn to the fire and burned. And this outrageous tumult endured a certain ſpace; but at length, as the Lord would, the miſerable wretches fell at diſſention among themſelves, which turned the cruelty they exerciſed againſt us, upon their own heads. And ſo had we a little breathing time for a ſeaſon, while the fury of the heathen people by this occaſion aſſwaged.

Shortly after this, word was brought unto us, that the ſtate of the empire, which before was ſomething favourable to us, was altered aud changed againſt us, putting us in great fear. And conſequently upon the ſame followed the edict of the emperor ſo terrible and cruel, that according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect (if it had been poſſible) might have been thereby ſubverted. Upon that edict ſuch fear came over us all, that many there were, eſpecially of the richer ſort, of whom ſome for fear came running, ſome were led by the occaſion of time, ſome were drawn by their neighbours being cited by name, to thoſe impure and idolatrous ſacrifices. Other ſome came trembling and ſhaking, not as men which ſhould do ſacrifice, but which ſhould be ſacrificed themſelves, the multitude laughing them to ſcorn. Some again came boldly to the altars, declaring themſelves never to have been of that profeſſion; of whom it is ſaid, that hardly they ſhall be ſaved. Of the reſidue, ſome followed one part, ſome another, ſome ran away, ſome were taken; of whom certain continued to bands and torments conſtant; others again after long impriſonments, before they ſhould come before the judge, renounced their faith. Some alſo, after they ſuffered torments, yet after revolted. But others being as ſtrong as bleſſed, and valiant pillars of the Lord, fortified with conſtancy agreeing

agreeing to their faith, were made faithful martyrs of the kingdom of God.

Of whom the firſt was Julianus, a man diſeaſed with the gout, and not able to go, being carried of two men, of whom the one quickly denied the other. Cronion, ſurnamed Eunus, with the foreſaid Julianus the old man, confeſſing the Lord with a perfect faith, were laid upon camels and there ſcourged, at length caſt into the fire, and with great conſtancy were ſo conſumed.

As theſe aforeſaid were going to their martyrdom, there was a certain ſoldier, who in their defence took part againſt them that railed upon them. For the which cauſe the people crying out againſt him, he alſo was apprehended, and, being conſtant in his profeſſion, was forthwith beheaded.

Likewiſe one Marcar, a man born in Lybia, being admoniſhed and exhorted of the judge to deny his faith, and not agreeing to his perſuaſions, was burned alive.

After theſe ſuffered Epimachus, and one Alexander, who being long detained in priſon and in bands, after innumerable pains and torments with razors and ſcourges, were alſo caſt into the burning fire with four other women with them, which all there ended their martyrdom.

Alſo Ammonarion, an holy virgin, whom the cruel judge had long and bitterly tormented, for that ſhe promiſing the judge before, that for no puniſhment ſhe would yield to his requeſt, and conſtantly performing the ſame, ſuffered likewiſe martyrdom with two other women, of whom there was an aged matron, named Mercuria; the other was called Dionyſia, being a mother of many fair children, whom yet notwithſtanding ſhe loved not above the Lord. Theſe, after they could not be overcome by any torments of the cruel judge, but he rather aſhamed and confounded to be overcome of ſilly women, at length being paſt feeling of all torments, were ſlain with the ſword; firſt Ammonarion, like a valiant captain, ſuffering before them.

Heron, Ater, and Iſidorus, Egyptians, and with them Dioſcorus alſo a child of fifteen years, were crowned with the ſame crown of martyrdom. And firſt the judge began with the child, thinking him more eaſy to be won with words to entice him, than with torments to conſtrain him. But he perſiſted immoveable, giving neither place to perſuaſions nor puniſhment. The reſt, after he had grievouſly tormented them, being conſtant in rheir profeſſion, he committed to the fire. The judge greatly marvelled at Dioſcorus for his wiſe anſwers and grave conſtancy, diſmiſſed him, ſparing, as he ſaid, his age to a longer reſpite: which Dioſcorus is yet alſo with us at this preſent, waiting for a long trial.

Nemeſion, being an Egyptian, firſt was accuſed for a companion of thieves, but being purged thereof before the centurion, was then accuſed of chriſtianity, and for that cauſe, being in bands, was brought to the preſident; who moſt unrighteouſly tormenting and ſcourging him double to all other thieves and felons, at length among the thieves burned him to death, making him a bleſſed martyr.

There was ſtanding before the tribunal ſeat certain of the warriors or knights, whoſe names were Ammon, Zenon, Ptolomeus, Ingenuus, and with them a certain aged man called Theophilus: who ſtanding by at what time a certain chriſtian man was before the judge examined, and there ſeeing him for fear ready to decline and fall away, did burſt almoſt for ſorrow with themſelves, making ſigns to him with their hands, and all geſtures of their body to be conſtant. This being noted of all the ſtanders-by, they were ready to lay hold upon them; but they preventing this matter, preſſed up of their own accord before to the bench of the judge, profeſſing themſelves to be chriſtians. Inſomuch that both the preſident with the benches were all aſtoniſhed, the chriſtians which were judged more emboldened to ſuffer, and the judges thereby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad and rejoicing for the teſtimony that they had given of their faith. Many other beſides were in other cities and towns rent and torn aſunder by the heathen, among whom one I will ſpeak of for cauſe worthy of memory.

Iſchirion, one that was in ſervice with a certain nobleman, was commanded of his maſter to make ſacrifice, who for not obeying, was therefore rebuked: after perſiſting in the ſame, was grievouſly threatened with ſharp and menacing words. At laſt his maſter, when he could not prevail againſt him, taking a ſtake or pike in his hands, ran him through in the body and ſlew him.

What ſhall I ſpeak of the multitude of them, which wandering in deſarts and mountains, were conſumed with hunger, thirſt, cold, ſickneſs, thieves or wild beaſts, of whoſe bleſſed victory they which be alive are yet witneſſes? In the number of whom, one I will ſpeak of, among divers others, named Cheremon, biſhop of the city called Nilus, an aged man: he with his wife, flying to the mountains of Arabia, never returned again, nor ever could be ſeen after: and though they were ſought for diligently by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found. Many others there were, which flying to theſe mountains of Arabia were taken of the barbarous Arabians: of whom ſome with much money could ſcarce be ranſomed, ſome were never heard of yet to this preſent day. Thus much out of the epiſtles of Dionyſius in Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 41, 42, &c.

Moreover, the foreſaid Dionyſius in another place writing to Germanus, of his own dangers and of others, ſuſtained in this perſecution, and before this perſecution of Decius, thus inferreth as followeth, "I, ſaith he, behold before the ſight of God, I lye not, and he knoweth, I lye not, how that I having no regard of mine own life, and not without the motion of God, did fly and avoid the danger of this perſecution. Yea, and alſo before that this perſecution of Decius did rage againſt us, Sabinus the ſame hour ſent a farmer to ſeek me, at what time I remaining at home waited three days for his coming. But he ſearching narrowly for me by all ways, fields, floods, and corners, where he thought I might beſt have hid myſelf, or have paſſed by, was ſtricken with ſuch blindneſs, that he could not find my houſe, thinking with himſelf nothing leſs than that I would abide at home in ſuch and ſo dangerous perſecution. Thus theſe three days being paſt, upon the fourth day, the Lord God ſo willing and commanding me to fly, and alſo marvellouſly opening to me the way, I with my children and many other brethren went out together. And this not to come of myſelf, but to be the work of God's providence, the ſequel of thoſe things declared, wherein afterward I was not unprofitable peradventure to ſome," &c.

Again, in another place ſhortly after, the foreſaid Dionyſius proceeding in the narration of himſelf, thus inferreth, "Then I coming to Jeruſalem with them which were with me, was brought by ſoldiers unto Tapoſixis, where as Timotheus (by the providence of God) neither was preſent, nor yet taken. Who then returning home, found his houſe deſert, and officers watching about the ſame, and us within taken," &c. And again ſhortly after it followeth, "And to ſee, ſaith he, the admirable diſpoſing of God's works; as Timotheus was thus flying with much haſte and great fear, a certain man, as happened, a dweller near by, met him by the way, and aſked whither he went ſo haſtily? to whom Timotheus anſwering, declared all the matter ſimply as it was. Which done, the man proceedeth on his journey, whither he was purpoſed to go, which was to a marriage, the manner of which marriages then was to ſit up all the night long, feaſting

feasting and drinking. Thus, as he was come, sitting with them at the feast, he telleth his companious what was done, and what he heard by the way. This was no sooner told, but all they forthwith upon a head, as stricken with a sudden fury, rushing out together, made toward us as fast as they could, with such crying and noise as might seem very terrible. At the first hearing whereof the soldiers that had us in keeping being afraid, ran away, by reason whereof we were left alone, and found as we were lying upon forms and benches. I then (the Lord knoweth) thinking with myself that they had been thieves, which came to spoil and rob, being in my couch, lay still in my shirt only as I was, the rest of my garments lying by me I offered to them: they then willed me in all haste to rise and get away; whereby I then perceiving the cause of their coming, cried unto them, desiring that they would suffer us so to do: and if they would do any benefit for me, for so much as I could not escape the hands of them which would pursue me, and carry me away, I prayed them that they would prevent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus unto them, casting myself groveling upon the pavement, as my companions can testify, who were partakers of all these things, they burst forth violently, taking me by the hands and feet, and carried me out of the doors, and led me away. There followed me Gaius, Faustus, Petrus, Paulus (who were witnesses of all the same), which brought me also out of the city, and so setting me upon a bare ass, conveyed me away." Thus much writeth Dionysius of himself, the example of whose epistle is cited in the ecclesiastical story of Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 40. also lib. 7. cap. 11.

Nicephorus in his first book, cap. 27. maketh mention of one named Christophorus, which also suffered in this persecution of Decius. Of which Christophorus, whether the fable riseth of that mighty giant set up in churches, wading through the seas with Christ on his shoulder, and a tree in his hand for a walking-staff, &c. it is uncertain. Georgius Wicelius alledgeth out of Ruggerus Fuldens. and mentioneth of one Christophorus, born of the nation of Canaanites, which suffered under Decius, being, as he saith, of twelve cubits high. But the rest of the history painted in churches, the said Wicelius derideth as fables of Centaurus, or other poetical fictions.

Bergomensis in his eighth book maketh relation of divers martyred under Decius, as Meniatus, which suffered at Florence; of Agatha, an holy virgin of Sicily, who is said to suffer divers and bitter torments under Quintilianus the proconsul, with prisonment, with beatings, with famine, with racking, rolled also upon sharp shells and hot coals, having moreover her breasts cut from her body, as Bergomensis and the martyrology of Ado record. In the which authors I deny not but that the rest of the story may be true, so again, concerning the miracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the young man clothed in a silken vesture, with an hundred young men after him, and of the marble table with the inscription, Mentem sanctam, &c. I doubt.

Hard it is to recite all that suffered in this persecution, when as whole multitudes went into wildernesses and mountains, wandering without succour or comfort; some starved with hunger and cold, some with sickness consumed, some devoured of beasts, some with barbarous thieves taken and carried away. Vincentius in his eleventh book, speaking of Asclepiades, writeth also of forty virgins and martyrs, which by sundry kinds of torments were put to death about the same time, in the persecution of this tyrant.

Likewise in the said Vincentius mention is made of Triphon, a man of great holiness, and constant in his sufferings, who being brought to the city of Nice, before the president Aquilus, for his constant confession of Christ's name, was afflicted with divers and grievous torments, and at length with the sword put to death.

At what time Decius had erected a temple in the midst of the city of Ephesus, compelling all that were in the city there to sacrifice to the idol: seven christians were found, whose names were Maximianus, Malchus, Martianus, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion, and Constantinus, who refusing the idolatrous worship, were accused for the same unto the emperor to be christians. Which when they constantly professed, and did not deny; notwithstanding, because they were soldiers, retaining to the emperor's service, respite was given to them for a certain space, to deliberate with themselves, till the return again of the emperor, who then was going to war. In the mean space, the emperor being departed, they taking counsel together, went and hid themselves in secret caves of the mount Celius. The emperor returning again, after great inquisition made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place where they were be closed up with heaps of stones, that they, not able to to get out, should be famished within. And thus were those good men martyred. The story, if it be true, goeth further, that they, between fear and sorrow, fell asleep, in which sleep they continued the space of certain ages after, till the time of Theodosius the emperor, before they did awake, as reporteth Vincentius, Nicephorus, lib. 5. cap, 27. and partly also Henricus Erfordiens. But of their awaking that I refer to them that list to believe it. Certain it is, that at the last day they shall awake indeed without any fable.

Hieronymus in the life of Paulus the Hermite reciteth a story of a certain soldier, whom when the Pretor could not otherwise with torments remove from his christianity, he devised another way, which was this; He commanded the soldier to be laid upon a soft bed in a pleasant garden among the flourishing lilies and red roses; which done, all others being removed away, and himself there left alone, a beautiful harlot came to him, who embraced him, and with all other incitements of an harlot laboured to provoke him to her naughtiness. But the godly soldier fearing God more than obeying flesh, bit off his own tongue with his teeth, and spit it in the face of the harlot, as she was kissing him, and so got he the victory, by the constant grace of the Lord assisting him.

Another like example of singular chastity is written in the virgin Theodora and another soldier, by Ambros. lib. 2. de Virginibus. At Antioch this Theodora refusing to do sacrifice to the idols, was condemned by the judge to the stews, and notwithstanding by the singular providence of God was well delivered. For as there was a great company of wanton young men ready at the door to press into the house where she was, one of the brethren named Didymus, as Ado saith, moved with faith and motion of God, putting on a soldier's habit, made himself one of the first that came in, who rounding her in the ear told her the cause and purpose of his coming, being a christian as she was: his counsel was, that she should put on the soldier's habit, and so slip away; and he putting on her garment, would there remain to abide their force, and so did, whereby the virgin escaped unknown. Didymus left unto the rage and wondering of the people, being a man instead of a woman, was presented unto the president, unto whom without delay he uttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing himself, so as he was, to be a christian, and thereupon was condemned to suffer. Theodora understanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him, by accusing herself, claiming and requiring the condemnation to light upon her, the other as innocent to be discharged. But the cruel judge (crueller than Dionysius, which spared Damon and Pithias) neither considering the virtue of the persons, nor the innocency of the cause, unjustly and inhumanly proceeded in execution against them both,

both, who, firſt having their heads cut off, after were caſt into the fire: Ambroſ. Ado. Although what time, or in what perſecution theſe did ſuffer, in the authors of this narration it doth not appear.

Agathon, a man of arms in the city of Alexandria, for rebuking certain lewd perſons ſcornfully deriding the dead bodies of the chriſtians, was cried out of and railed on of the people, and being afterward accuſed to the judge, was condemned to loſe his head. Erfordienſis.

The ſaid Erfordienſis alſo maketh mention of Paulus, and Andreas, whom the proconſul of Troda gave to the people: who being ſcourged, and after drawn out of the city, were trodden to death with the feet of the people. Henr. de Erford.

Among others that ſuffered under this wicked Decius, Bergomenſis alſo maketh mention of one Juſtinus a prieſt of Rome, and of another, Nicoſtratus a deacon. To theſe Vincentius alſo addeth Portius a prieſt of Rome, whom he reporteth to be the converter of Philip the emperor aforementioned.

Of Abdon and Sennas we read alſo in the foreſaid Bergomenſis and Vincentius, two noblemen, who becauſe they had buried the chriſtians, whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Corduba, and there put them to death, was therefore accuſed to Decius, and brought to Rome; where they being commanded to ſacrifice to dead idols, would not obey; and for the ſame were given to the wild beaſts to be devoured: but when the wild beaſts, more gentle than the men, would not touch them, they were at length with the ſword beheaded. Bergom. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 4. Albeit to me it ſeemeth not impoſſible nor unlike, this Abdon and Sennas to be the ſame, whom in other ſtories we find, and before have mentioned to be Ammon and Zenon.

One Secundianus was accuſed to Valerian a captain of Decius, to be a chriſtian, which profeſſion when he ſtoutly did maintain, he was commanded to priſon. By the way as the ſoldiers were leading him to gaol, Verianus and Marcellianus ſeeing the matter, cried to the ſoldiers, aſking them whither they drew the innocent? At the which word, when they alſo confeſſed themſelves to be chriſtians, they were likewiſe apprehended, and brought to a city named Centumcellas: where being willed to ſacrifice, they did ſpit upon the idols, and ſo after ſentence and judgment given, firſt they were beaten with waſters or trunchions, after that were hanged and tormented upon the gibbet, having fire ſet to their ſides. Vincentius addeth moreover, that ſome of the tormentors falling ſuddenly dead, other ſome being taken with wicked ſpirits, the martyrs with the ſword at length were beheaded. Vin. lib. 11. cap. 51.

To proſecute in length of hiſtory the lives and ſufferings of all them, which in this terrible perſecution were martyred, it were too long, and almoſt infinite: briefly therefore to rehearſe the names of ſuch as we find alledged out of a certain brief treatiſe of Bede, intituled, De Temporibus, cited by Henricus de Erford, it ſhall ſhall be at this time ſufficient. Under Decius ſuffered Hippolitus and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abundus, Victoria a virgin, being noble perſonages of Antioch; Bellias biſhop of the city of Appollonia, Leacus, Tirſus, and Gallinetus. Nazanzo, Triphon in the city of Egypt called Tamas, Phileas biſhop, Philocomus, with many other in Perſide, Philcronius biſhop of Babylon; Theſiphone biſhop of Pamphilia, Neſſor biſhop in Corduba, Parmenius prieſt, with divers more. In the province called Colonia, Circenſis, Marianus and Jacobus, In Africa, Nemeſianus, Felix, Rogatianus prieſt, Feliciſſimus. At Rome, Jovinus, Baſileus, alſo Ruffina and Secunda virgins, Tertullianus, Valerianus, Nemeſius, Sempronianus and Olympius. In Spain, Teragon. At Verona, Zeno biſhop. At Ceſarea, Marinus and Archemius. In the town of Milaine, Privatus biſhop, Theodorus ſirnamed Gregorius biſhop of Pontus. Hæc Beda.

Vincentius in his eleventh book maketh mention, citing ex Hugone, of certain children ſuffering martyrdom under the ſame perſecution, in a city of Tuſcia, called Aretium, whoſe names I find not, except they be Pergentius and Laurentius mentioned in Equilinus, lib. 5. cap. 80.

Now that I have recorded of them ſufficiently, which under this tempeſt of Decius conſtantly gave their lives to martyrdom for the teſtimony of Chriſt: it remaineth that a few words alſo be ſpoken of ſuch as for fear or frailty in this perſecution did ſhrink and ſlide from the truth of their confeſſion. In the number of whom firſt cometh in the remembrance of Serapion, an aged old man. Of whom writeth Dionyſius Alexandrinus unto Fabius, declaring that this Serapion was an old man, which lived amongſt them a ſincere and upright life of long time, but at length fell. This Serapion oft and many times deſired to be received again, but no man liſtened to him, for he had ſacrificed before. Not long after, he fell into ſickneſs, where he remained three days dumb, and benumbed of all ſenſes. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recover, he called to him his ſiſter's ſon, and ſaid, "How long, how long, my ſon, do ye hold me here? Make haſte, I pray you, that I were abſolved. Call hither ſome of the miniſters to me:" and ſo, ſaying no more, held his peace as dumb and ſpeechleſs. The boy ran, it was then night, unto the miniſter, who, at the ſame time being ſick, could not come with the meſſenger, but ſaid, "For ſo much as he willed heretofore, as he ſaid, that ſuch as lay a dying, if they covet to be received and reconciled, and eſpecially if they required it earneſtly, ſhould be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence:" therefore he gave to the boy a little of the Euchariſt, willing him to crumble it in the cup, and ſo to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the holy Euchariſt. As he was now come near at hand, before he had entered in, Serapion, the old man, ſpeaking again, "Comeſt thou, ſaid he, my ſon?" "The prieſt, quoth the meſſenger, is ſick and cannot come, but do as he willeth you, and let me go." And the boy immixed the Euchariſt, and dropt in ſoftly into the mouth of the old man, who after he had taſted a little, immediately gave up the ghoſt, &c. Hæc Dionyſ. ex Euſeb,

In the city of Troad, as the proconſul was grievouſly tormenting one Nicomachus, he cried out, "That he was no chriſtian," and ſo was let down again. And after, when he had ſacrificed, he was taken immediately with a wicked ſpirit, and ſo thrown down upon the ground, where he, biting off his tongue with his teeth, ſo departed. Henr. de Erford.

Dionyſius in his epiſtles alſo writing to Fabius, and lamenting the great terror of this perſecution, declareth, how that many worthy and notable chriſtians, for fear and horror of the great tyranny thereof, did ſhew themſelves feeble and weak men. Of whom ſome for dread, ſome of their own accord, others after great torments ſuffered, yet after revolted from the conſtancy of their profeſſion. Alſo St. Cyprian, in his treatiſe De Lapſis, reciteth with great ſorrow, and teſtifieth how that a great number at the firſt threatening of the adverſary, neither being compelled nor thrown down with any violence of the enemy, but of their voluntary weakneſs fell down themſelves. Neither, ſaid he, tarrying while the judge ſhould put incenſe in their hands, but before any ſtroke ſtricken in the field, turned their backs, and played the cowards; not only coming to their ſacrifices, but preventing the ſame, and pretending to come without compulſion, bringing moreover their infants and children either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their own accord, and exhorting moreover others to do the like after their example.

Of this weakneſs and falling, the ſaid author ſheweth two cauſes, either love of their goods and patrimony, or

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fear of torments: and addeth moreover examples of the puniſhments of them which revolted; affirming that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked ſpirits; and that one man among other after his voluntary denial was ſuddenly ſtricken dumb. Again, another after his abjuration, as he ſhould communicate with others, inſtead of bread received aſhes in his hand. Item, a certain maiden being taken and vexed with a ſpirit, did tear her own tongue with her teeth, and tormented with pain in her belly and inward parts ſo deceaſed.

Amongſt others of this ſort, St. Cyprian, lib. 2. cap. 8. maketh alſo mention of one Euariſtus a biſhop in Africa, who leaving his charge, and making ſhipwreck of his faith, went wandering about in other countries, forſaking his own flock. In like manner, he maketh alſo mention of Nicoſtratus a deacon, who forſaking his deaconſhip, and taking the goods of the church with him, fled away into other countries, &c. Albeit Bergomenſis affirmeth, that this Nicoſtratus the deacon afterward died a martyr. Thus then, although ſome did relent, yet a very great number, ſaith he, there were, whom neither fear could remove, nor pain could overthrow, to cauſe them to betray their confeſſion, but they ſtood like glorious martyrs unto the end. Cyprian.

The ſame Cyprianus alſo, in another book De Mortalitate, reciteth a notable ſtory of one of his own colleagues and fellow prieſts, who being oppreſſed with weakneſs and greatly afraid with death drawing at hand, deſired leave to depart, and to be diſcharged. As he was thus intreating, and almoſt now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honourable and reverent majeſty, of a tall ſtature, and comely behaviour, ſo bright and clear to behold, that ſcarce man's carnal eyes were able ſo to do, which was now ready to depart this world. To whom this young man ſpeaking with a certain indignation of mind and voice, thus ſaid, "To ſuffer ye dare not, to go out ye will not, what would ye have me to do unto you?"

Upon the occaſion of theſe and ſuch others, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforeſaid, in this perſecution of Decius, roſe up firſt the quarrel and hereſy of Novatus, who in theſe days made a great diſturbance in the church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and for fear of torments had offered incenſe to the idols, although they repented therefore, yet could not afterward be reconciled nor admitted to the church of Chriſt. This Novatus being firſt prieſt under Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by ſtirring up diſcord and factions began to diſturb the biſhoprick of Cyprian, to appoint there a deacon called Feliciſſimus, againſt the biſhop's mind or knowledge; alſo to allure and ſeparate certain of the brethren from the biſhop; all which Cyprian, lib. 2. epiſt. 8. doth well declare. After this the ſaid Novatus going to Rome, kept there the like ſtir with Cornelius (as the ſame Cornelius in Euſebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. doth teſtify) ſetting himſelf up as biſhop of Rome againſt Cornelius, which was the lawful biſhop of Rome before. The which to bring to paſs, he uſed this practice. Firſt he allured to him, to be his adherents, three or four good men and holy confeſſors, which had ſuffered before great torments for their confeſſion, whoſe names were Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus. After this he inticed three ſimple biſhops about the coaſts of Italy to repair to Rome, under pretence to make an end of certain controverſies then in hand. This done, he cauſed the ſame, whether by making them drunk, or by other crafty counſel, to lay their hands upon him, and to make him biſhop, and ſo they did. Wherefore the one of thoſe three biſhops hardly was received to the communion, by the great interceſſion of his people: the other two by the diſcipline of the church were diſplaced from their biſhopricks, and others poſſeſſed with their rooms. Thus then were there two biſhops together in one church of Rome, Novatus and Cornelius, which was unſeemly, and contrary to the diſcipline of the church. And hereupon riſeth the true cauſe and meaning of St. Cyprian, writing in his epiſtles ſo much of one biſhop, and of the unity to be kept in eccleſiaſtical regiment, as appeareth, lib. 4. epiſt. 2. de ſimplicit. prælat. Item, lib. 3. epiſt, 11. &c. And in like ſort writeth alſo Cornelius himſelf of one biſhop, ſaying, "He knew not that there ought to be one biſhop in a catholic church," &c. This by the way, not out of the way I truſt, I have touched briefly, to detect or refute the cavilling wreſting of the papiſts, which falſly apply theſe places of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintain the pope's ſupreme maſterſhip alone, over the whole univerſal church of Chriſt in all places; when their meaning is otherwiſe, how that every one catholic church or dioceſe ought to have one biſhop over it, not that the whole world ought to be ſubject to the dominion of him only that is biſhop of Rome.

Now to the ſtory again. Novatus being thus biſhop, took not a little upon him, going about by all means to defeat Cornelius, and to allure the people from him. Inſomuch that as in the foreſaid book of Euſebius appeareth, when Novatus came to the diſtributing of the offerings, and ſhould give every man his part, he compelled the ſimple perſons every man to ſwear, before they ſhould receive ofthe benediction, and of the collects or oblations, holding both their hands in his, and holding them ſo long, ſpeaking theſe words unto them, "Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that thou wilt not leave me and go to Cornelius," till that they ſwearing unto him, inſtead of Amen (to be ſaid at the receiving of the bread) ſhould anſwer, "I will not return to Cornelius," &c. Where note by the way, that the Latin book of Chriſtoferſon's tranſlation, in this place, craftily leaveth out the name of bread. This ſtory being written in Euſebius, alſo contained in Nicephorus, although not in the ſame order of words, yet in effect drawn out of him, doth declare in plain words in both the authors, whoſo will mark the ſame, that the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt is termed with the plain name of bread, after the conſecration.

It followeth more in the ſtory, that Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus, before mentioned, perceiving at length the crafty diſſimulation and arrogancy of Novatus, left him, and with great repentance returned again to the church, and were reconciled to Cornelius, as they themſelves writing to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewiſe writing to them an epiſtle gratulatory, doth declare, lib. 3. epiſt. 3. and Cornelius alſo in his epiſtle to Fabius witneſſeth the ſame. In this epiſtle the ſaid Cornelius moreover writeth of one Moſes, a worthy martyr, which onee being alſo a follower of Novatus, after perceiving his wickedneſs, forſook him, and did excommunicate him. Of whom Cyprian alſo maketh mention, and calleth him a bleſſed confeſſor, lib. 2. epiſt. 4. Damaſus in his pontifical ſaith, "That he was apprehended with Marimus and Nicoſtratus above mentioned, and was put with them in priſon, where he ended his life." And thus much of Novatus, againſt whom, as Euſebius teſtifieth, a ſynod was holden at Rome of threeſcore ſundry biſhops in the time of Cornelius, under the reign of Decius, in the year of our Lord 255, whereby it may be ſuppoſed that the heat of the perſecution at that time was ſomewhat calmed.

After Fabianus, or as Zonaras called him Flavianus, next ſucceeded to the biſhoprick of Rome Cornelius, whom Cyprian noteth to be a worthy biſhop, and for his great virtue and maidenly continency much commendable, choſen to that room not ſo much by his own conſent, as by the full agreement, both of the clergymen, and alſo of the people. Hierom addeth alſo, That he was a man of great eloquence: whereby it may appear thoſe two epiſtles decretal, which go in his name, not to be his, both for the rudeneſs of the barbarous and groſs ſtile, and alſo for the matter therein contained, nothing taſting of that time, nor of that age, nor doings then of the

he church. Whereof in the firſt he writeth to all miniſters and brethren of the church, concerning the lifting up of the bodies and bones of Peter and Paul, De Cathecumbis, and tranſpoſed to Vaticanum, at the inſtance of a certain devout woman named Lucina, having no great argument or cauſe to write thereof unto the churches, but only that he in that letter doth deſire them to pray unto the Lord, that through the interceſſion of thoſe apoſtolical ſaints, their ſins might be forgiven them, &c. In the ſecond epiſtle written to Ruffus a biſhop of the eaſt church, he decreeth and ordaineth, that no oath ought to be required or exacted of any head or chief biſhop, for any cauſe, or by any power. Alſo that no cauſe of prieſts or miniſters ought to be handled in any ſtrange or foreign court, without his precinct, except only in the court of Rome by appellation: whereby who ſeeth not the train of our later biſhops, going about craftily to advance the dignity of the court of Rome, under and by the pretenſed title of Cornelius, and of ancient biſhops? If Cornelius did write any epiſtles to any indeed in thoſe turbulent times of perſecution, no doubt but ſome ſignification thereof he would have touched in his ſaid letters, either in miniſtering conſolation to his brethren, or in requiring conſolation and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would have given ſome touch alſo of the matter of Novatus, with whom he had ſo much to do; as indeed he did: for ſo we find it recorded both in Euſebius, and Hierom, that he wrote unto Fabius biſhop of Antioch, of the decreements of the council of Rome, and another letter of the manner of the council, the third alſo of the cauſe of Novatus, and again of the repentance of ſuch as fell, whereof there is no word touched at all in theſe foreſaid epiſtles decretal.

What trouble this Cornelius had with Novatus, ſufficiently is before ſignified. In this perſecution of Decius, he demeaneth himſelf very conſtantly and faithfully, which ſuſtained great conflicts with the adverſaries, as St. Cyprian giveth witneſs, lib. 1. epiſt. 1. Hierom teſtifieth, that he remained biſhop after the death of Decius, to the time of Gallus, which appeareth alſo by St. Cyprian. But Damaſus and Sabellicus, his followers, affirm, that he was both exiled and alſo martyred under the tyrannous reign of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this ſtory, taken out, as it ſeemeth, of Damaſus, and ſaith, "That Cornelius, by the commandment of Decius, was baniſhed to a town called Centumcellas, bordering on Hetruria, from whence he ſent his letters to Cyprian biſhop of Carthage, and Cyprian again to him." This coming to the ears of Decius the emperor, he ſendeth for Cornelius, aſking him, "How he durſt be ſo bold to ſhew ſuch ſtubbornneſs, that he neither caring for the gods, nor fearing the diſpleaſure of his princes, durſt againſt the commonwealth give and receive letters from others?" To whom Cornelius anſwering again, thus purged himſelf, declaring to the emperor, "That letters indeed he had written, and received again, concerning the praiſes and honouring of Chriſt, and the ſalvation of ſouls, but nothing as touching any matter of the commonwealth." And it followeth in the ſtory; "Then Decius, moved with anger, commanded him to be beaten with plumbats, which, as ſaith Sabellicus, is a kind of ſcourging, and ſo to be brought to the temple of Mars: either there to do ſacrifice, or to ſuffer the extremity. But he rather willing to die, than to commit ſuch iniquity, prepared himſelf to martyrdom, being ſure that he ſhould die. And ſo commending the charge of the church unto Stephanus his archdeacon, was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended his life in faithful martyrdom." Euſebius in one place ſaith that he ſat two years, in another place he ſaith that he ſat three years, and ſo doth Marianus Scotus, following alſo the diverſity of the ſaid Euſebius. Damaſus giveth him only two years.

In this foreſaid perſecution of Decius, it ſeemeth by ſome writers alſo that Cyprian was baniſhed; but I ſuppoſe rather his baniſhment to be referred to the reign of Gallus next emperor after Decius, whereof more ſhall be ſaid, Chriſt willing, in his place hereafter. In the mean time the ſaid Cyprian in his ſecond book, epiſt. 5, & 6. maketh mention of two that ſuffered either in the time of this Decius, or much about the ſame time. Of whom one was Aurelius, a worthy and valiant young man, who was twice in torments for his confeſſion, which he never denied, but manfully and boldly withſtood the adverſary till he was baniſhed, and alſo after: and therefore was commended of Cyprian to certain brethren to have him for their lecturer, as in the forenamed epiſtle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappalicus, who in the day before he ſuffered, declaring to the proconſul in the midſt of his torments, and ſaying, "To-morrow you ſhall ſee the running for a wager," &c. was brought forth, according as he foreſpoke, to martyrdom, and there with no leſs conſtancy than patience did ſuffer.

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked Decius againſt God his ſaints. Now to touch alſo the power of God, his vengeance and puniſhment againſt him. Like as we ſee commonly a tempeſt that is vehement, not long to continue: ſo it happened with this tyrannical tormentor, who reigning but two years, as ſaith Euſebius, or three at moſt, as writeth Oroſius, among the middle of the barbarians, with whom he did war, was there ſlain with his ſon. Like as he had ſlain Philippus and his ſon his predeceſſors before, ſo was he with his ſon ſlain by the righteous judgment of God himſelf, Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 1. Platin. Pomponius affirmeth, that he warring againſt the Gothians, and being by them overcome, leſt he ſhould fall into their hands, ran into a whirl-pit, where he was drowned, and his body never found after.

Neither did the juſt hand of God plague the emperor only, but alſo revenged as well the heathen Gentiles and perſecutors of his word throughout all provinces and dominions of the Roman monarchy; amongſt whom the Lord, immediately after the death of Decius, ſent ſuch a plague and peſtilence, laſting for the ſpace of ten years together, that horrible it is to hear, and almoſt incredible to believe. Of this plague or peſtilence teſtifieth Dionyſius to Hierax a biſhop in Egypt, Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 21, 22. where he declareth the mortality of this plague to be ſo great in Alexandria where he was biſhop, that there was no houſe in the whole city free. And although the greatneſs of the plague touched alſo the chriſtians ſomewhat, yet it ſcourged the heathen idolators much more: beſide that the order of their behaviour in the one and in the other was much diverſe. For as the foreſaid Dionyſius doth record, the chriſtians through brotherly love and piety, did not refuſe one to viſit and comfort another: and to miniſter to him what need required, notwithſtanding it was to them great danger: for divers there were who in cloſing up their eyes, in waſhing their bodies, and interring them in the ground, were next themſelves that followed them to the graves. Yet all this ſtayed not them from doing their duty, and ſhewing mercy one to another: whereas the Gentiles contrarily, being extremely viſited by the hand of God, felt the plague, but conſidered not the ſtriker, neither were conſidered by their neighbour, but every man ſhifting for himſelf, neither cared one for another; but ſuch as were infected, ſome they would caſt out of the doors half dead to be devoured of dogs and wild beaſts, ſome they let die within their houſes without all ſuccour, ſome they ſuffered to lie unburied, for that no man durſt come near them: and yet notwithſtanding for all their voiding and ſhifting, the peſtilence followed them whitherſoever they went, and miſerably conſumed them. Inſomuch that Dionyſius, biſhop the ſame time of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his own city, that ſuch a mortality was then among them, that the ſaid city of Alexandria had not in number ſo many of all together both of old and young, as it was wont to contain before of

the old men only from the age of threeſcore to ſeventy, and as were found in that time paſt commonly almoſt in that city. Pomponius Letus and other Latin writers alſo making mention of the ſaid peſtilence, declare how the beginning thereof firſt came (as they think) out of Ethiopia, and from the hot countries, and ſo invading and waſting firſt the ſouth parts, from thence ſpread into the eaſt, and ſo further running and increaſing into all other quarters of the world, eſpecially whereſoever the edicts of the emperor went againſt the chriſtians, it followed after, and conſumed the moſt part of the inhabitants; whereby many places became deſolate and void of all concourſe, and ſo continued the term of ten years together,

This peſtiferous mortality (by the occaſion whereof Cyprian took the ground to write his book De mortalitate) began, as is ſaid, immediately after the death of Decius the perſecutor, in the beginning of the reign of Vibias Gallus, and Voluſianus his ſon, who ſucceeded through treaſon next unto Decius, about the year of our Lord 255, and continued their reign but two years.

This Gallus, although the firſt beginning of his reign was ſomewhat quiet, yet ſhortly after following the ſteps of Decius, by whom rather he ſhould have taken better heed, ſet forth edicts in the like manner for the perſecution of chriſtians, albeit in this edict we find no number of martyrs to have ſuffered, but only all this perſecution to reſt only in the exilement of biſhops or guides of the flock. Of other ſufferings or executions we do not read, for the terrible peſtilence following immediately kept the barbarous heathen otherwiſe occupied. Unto the time of Gallus, rather than to the time of Decius, I refer the baniſhment of Cyprian, who was then biſhop of Carthage, of the which baniſhment he himſelf teſtifieth in divers of his epiſtles, declaring the cauſe thereof to riſe upon a commotion or ſedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himſelf, leſt the ſedition ſhould grow greater; notwithſtanding the ſaid Cyprian, though being abſent, yet had no leſs care of his flock, and of the whole church, than if he had been preſent with them, and therefore never ceaſed in his epiſtles continually to exhort and call upon them to be conſtant in their profeſſion, and patient in their afflictions. Amongſt divers others whom he doth comfort in his baniſhment, although he was in that caſe to be comforted himſelf, writing to ſome that were condemned to mining for metals, whoſe names were Nemeſianus, Felix, Lucius, with other biſhops, prieſts and deacons, he declareth unto them; "How it is no ſhame but a glory not to be feared, but to be rejoiced at, to ſuffer baniſhment or other pains for Chriſt; and confirming them in the ſame, or rather commending them, ſignifieth how worthily they do ſhew themſelves to be as valiant captains of virtue, provoking both by the confeſſions of their mouth, and by the ſuffering of their bodies, the hearts of the brethren to chriſtian martyrdom, whoſe example was and is a great confirmation to many, both maids and children, to follow the like: as for puniſhment and ſuffering, it is (ſaith he) a thing not execrable to a chriſtian: for a chriſtian man's breaſt, whoſe hope doth wholly conſiſt in the tree, dreadeth neither bat nor club: wounds and ſcars of the body be the ornaments to a chriſtian man, ſuch as bring no ſhame nor diſhoneſty to the party, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the mines where the metals be digged there be no beds for chriſtian mens bodies to take their reſt, yet they have their reſt in Chriſt: and though their weary bones lie upon the cold ground, yet it is no pain to lie with Chriſt. Their feet have been fettered with bands and chains, but happily he is bound of man, whom the Lord Chriſt doth looſe: happily doth he lie tied in the ſtocks, whoſe feet thereby are made ſwifter to run to heaven. Neither can any man tie a chriſtian ſo faſt, but he runneth ſo much the faſter for his garland of life. They have no garments to ſave them from cold, but he that putteth on Chriſt is ſufficiently coated. Doth bread lack to their hungry bodies? But man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God. Your deformity (ſaith he) ſhall be turned to honour, your mourning to joy, your pain to pleaſure, and felicity infinite. And if this do grieve you that you cannot now employ your ſacrifices and oblations after your wonted manner, yet your daily ſacrifice ceaſeth not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer up daily your bodies a lively and a glorious ſacrifice unto the Lord, which is the ſacrifice that pleaſeth God. And though your travail be great, yet is the reward greater, which is moſt certain to follow: for God beholding and looking down upon them that confeſs his name, in their willing mind approveth them, in their ſtriving helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them, rewarding that in us which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath perfected. With theſe, and ſuch like comfortable words he doth animate his brethren, admoniſhing them that are now in a joyful journey, haſting apace to the manſions of the martyrs, there to enjoy after this darkneſs a ſtable light and brightneſs greater than all their paſſions, according to the apoſtle's ſaying, Theſe ſufferings of this preſent time be nothing like comparable to the brightneſs of the glory that ſhall be revealed in us," &c.

And after the like words of ſweet comfort and conſolation writing to Seagrius and Rogatianus, which were in priſon and bonds for the teſtimony of truth, doth encourage them to continue ſtedfaſt and patient in the way wherein they have begun to run: for that they have the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiſeth to be with us to the world's end; and therefore willeth them to ſet before their eyes in their death immortality, in their pain everlaſting glory, of the which it is written, Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his ſaints. Item, although before men they ſuffered torments, yet their hope is full of immortality, and being vexed in ſmall things, they ſhall be well requited in great matters: "For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire." And writeth moreover, admoniſhing that it is appointed from the beginning of the world, that righteouſneſs here ſhould ſuffer in ſecular conflicts; for ſo juſt Abel was ſlain in the beginning of the world, and after him all juſt and good men, the prophets alſo and the apoſtles ſent of the Lord himſelf; unto whom all the Lord firſt gave an example in himſelf, teaching that there is no coming to his kingdom, but by that way which he entered himſelf, ſaying by theſe words, "He that loveth his life in this world ſhall loſe it, &c. And again, Fear ye not them that ſlay the body, but have no power to ſlay the ſoul. And St. Paul likewiſe admoniſhing all them whoſoever covet to be partakers of the promiſes of the Lord, to follow the Lord, ſaith, If we ſuffer together with him, we ſhall reign together," &c.

Furthermore, as the ſame Cyprian doth encourage here the holy martyrs which were in captivity to perſiſt: ſo likewiſe writing to the prieſts and deacons which were free, he exhorteth them to be ſerviceable and obſequious with all care and love, to cheriſh and embrace them that were in bonds, Cyprian. lib. 3. epiſt. 6. Whereby may appear the fervent zeal of this good biſhop toward the church of Chriſt, although being now in exile in the time of this emperor Gallus.

In the ſame time, and under the ſaid Gallus reigning with his ſon Voluſianus, was alſo Lucius biſhop of Rome ſent to baniſhment, who next ſucceeded after Cornelius in that biſhoprick, about the year of our Lord 256. Albeit in this baniſhment he did not long continue, but returned home to his church, as by the epiſtle of St. Cyprian, lib. 3. epiſt. 1. may appear. As to all other biſhops of Rome in thoſe primitive days certain decretal epiſtles with ſeveral ordinances be aſcribed, bearing their names and titles, as hath been before declared:

clared: ſo alſo hath Lucius one epiſtle fathered upon him, in the which epiſtle he writing to the brethren of France and Spain, appointeth ſuch an order and form to the church as ſeemeth not to agree with the time then preſent: for ſo he declareth in that epiſtle, that a biſhop in all places, whitherſoever he goeth, ſhould have two prieſts with three deacons waiting upon him to be witneſſes of all his ways and doings. Which ordinance although I deny not but it may be and is convenient, yet I ſee not how that time of Lucius could ſerve then for a biſhop to carry ſuch a pomp of prieſts and deacons about him, or to ſtudy for any ſuch matter: for ſo much as biſhops commonly in thoſe days were ſeldom free to go abroad, went they never ſo ſecret, but either were in houſes cloſe and ſecret, or in priſon, or elſe in baniſhment. Moreover in the ſaid epiſtle how pompouſly writeth he to the church of Rome! "This holy and apoſtolical church of Rome (ſaith he) the mother of all churches of Chriſt, by the grace of God omnipotent, hath never been proved to ſwerve out of the path of apoſtolical tradition, neither hath ever fallen or been depraved with heretical innovations: but even as in the firſt beginning it received the rule of the apoſtolical faith by his firſt inſtructors, the princes of the apoſtles, ſo it continueth ever immaculate and undefiled unto the end."

Unto this Lucius alſo is referred in the decrees of Gratian this conſtitution, that no miniſter whatſoever, after his ordination, ſhould at any time re-enter into the chamber of his own wife, in pain of loſing his miniſtry in the church, &c. Euſebius in his ſeventh book making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his martyrdom, ſaith that he ſat but eight months: but Damaſus in his martyrology holdeth that he ſat three years, and was beheaded the ſecond year of Valerian and Galienus emperors, and ſo doth alſo Marianus Scotus and Nauclerus, with other that follow Damaſus, affirm the ſame.

After him came Stephanus next biſhop of Rome following Lucius, whom Damaſus, Platina, and Sabellicus affirm to have ſat ſeven years and five months, and to die a martyr. Contrary Euſebius, and Volateranus holding with him, give him but two years: which part cometh moſt near to the truth, I leave to the reader's judgment. Of his two epiſtles decretal, and of his ordinances out of the ſame collected, I need not much to ſay, for two reſpects: either for that concerning theſe decretal epiſtles ſuſpiciouſly intitled to the names of the fathers of the primitive church, ſufficiently hath been ſaid before; or elſe becauſe the phraſe is both barbarous and incongruous, and alſo the matter itſelf therein contained is ſuch, that altho' no teſtimony came againſt it, yet it eaſily refelleth itſelf. As where in the ſecond epiſtle he decreeth, "That no biſhop being expulſed out of his ſeat, or deprived of his goods, ought to be accuſed of any, or is bound to anſwer for himſelf, before that by the law regularly he be reſtored again fully to his former ſtate, and that the primates and the ſynod render unto him again all ſuch poſſeſſions and fruits as were taken from him before his accuſation, as is agreeable both to the laws canon and alſo ſecular." Firſt here I would deſire the reader a little to ſtay, and this to conſider with himſelf, who be theſe here meant which either uſed or might deſpoil theſe biſhops of their goods, and expulſe them from their ſeats for ſuch wrongful cauſes, but only kings and emperors, which at this time were not yet chriſtened, nor uſed any ſuch proceedings againſt theſe biſhops, in ſuch ſort as either primates or ſynods could reſtore them again to their places and poſſeſſions. Again, what private goods or poſſeſſions had biſhops then to be taken from them, when as churches yet neither were endowed with patrimonies nor poſſeſſions? And if any treaſures were committed to the church, as in the epiſtles of Cornelius to Fabius may appear, alledged in Euſebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. where he, ſpeaking of his church, and declaring how there ought to be but one biſhop in the ſame, inferreth mention of forty and ſix prieſts, ſeven deacons, with ſeven ſub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, of widows, and poor afflicted perſons, to the number of fifteen hundred and above, found and nouriſhed in the ſame by the merciful benignity and providence of God. Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

It followeth more in the end of the ſaid canon, "Which thing is forbidden both by the laws eccleſiaſtical, and alſo ſecular," &c. Now what laws ſecular were in the time of Stephen, for biſhops not to be charged with any accuſation before they were reſtored again to their ſtate, let any reader marking well the ſtate of the heathen laws that then were, judge; and in judging I doubt not but this matter alone, tho' there were no other, will be enough to deſcribe the untruth hereof.

Moreover, by divers other probable notes and arguments in the ſecond epiſtle of Stephanus it may be eaſily eſpied this epiſtle to be feigned, and miſauthorized, eſpecially by the fifth canon of the ſaid epiſtle, where he ſo ſolemnly entreateth of the difference betwixt primates, metropolitans, and archbiſhops; which diſtinction of degrees and titles, ſavouring more of ambition than of perſecution, giveth me verily to ſuppoſe this epiſtle not to be written by this Stephen, but by ſome other man either of that name, or ſome other time when the church began to be ſettled in more proſperity, and orders therein to be taken for every man to know his degree and limits of his authority, according as is ſpecified by the ſixth and ſeventh canon of the Nicene council, decreeing of the ſame matter.

The like eſtimation may be conceived alſo of the ſeventh canon of the ſaid epiſtle, where he willeth and appointeth all cauſes judiciary to be decided and determined within the precinct of their own proper province, and not to paſs over the bounds thereof, unleſs, ſaith he, the appeal be made to the apoſtolical ſee of Rome; which ſavoureth in my noſe rather of a ſmack of popery, than of the vein of chriſtianity, eſpecially in theſe times, during this terrible perſecution among the biſhops of Chriſt. And thus much of the ſecond decretal epiſtle of Stephanus, although of the firſt epiſtle alſo written to Hilarius, ſomething may be ſaid; as where he ſpeaketh in the ſaid epiſtle of holy veſtments, and holy veſſels, and other ornaments of the altar, ſerving to divine worſhip, and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, ſaving only of prieſts alone.

Concerning all which implements my opinion is this: I think the church of Rome not to have been in ſo good ſtate then, that either Stephanus, or Sixtus before him, being occupied about other more earneſt matters, and ſcarce able to hide their own heads, had any mind or cogitation to ſtudy upon ſuch unneceſſary inventions ſerving in public churches: neither do I ſee how the heathen in thoſe days would have ſuffered thoſe ornaments to be unconſumed, which would not ſuffer the biſhops themſelves to live amongſt them, notwithſtanding Iſidorus and Polydorus judge the contrary. Between this Stephen and Cyprian biſhop of Carthage was a great contention about rebaptizing heretics, whereof more hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be ſaid.

Beſides the biſhops above ſpecified, divers other there were alſo ſent into baniſhment under the forenamed emperors, Gallus and Voluſianus, as appeareth by Dionyſius writing to Hermannus on this wiſe: That Gallus not ſeeing the evil of Decius, nor foreſeeing the occaſion of his ſeduction and ruin, ſtumbled himſelf alſo at the ſame ſtone, lying open before his eyes: for when at the firſt beginning his empire was proſperouſly forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he drove out holy men, which prayed for his peace and ſafeguard, and ſo with them rejected alſo the prayers which they made for him, &c. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 1. Otherwiſe of any bloodſhed, or any martyrs that in the time of this emperor were put to death, we do not read.

After

After the reign of which emperor Gallus, and of his ſon Voluſianus being expired (who reigned but two years), Emilianus, which ſlew them both by civil ſedition, ſucceeded in their place, who reigned but three months, and was alſo ſlain. Next to whom Valerianus and his ſon Gallienus were advanced to the empire.

About the changing of theſe emperors the perſecution which firſt began at Decius, and afterward ſlacked in the time of Gallus, was now extinguiſhed for a time, partly for the great plague reigning in all places, partly by the change of the emperors, although it was not very long. For Valerianus in the firſt entrance of the empire, for the ſpace of three or four years, was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted of the ſenate.

Neither was there any of all the emperors before him, no not one of them, which openly profeſſed Chriſt, that ſhewed himſelf ſo loving and familiar toward the chriſtians as he did: inſomuch that (as Dionyſius writing to Herman doth teſtify) all his whole court was repleniſhed with holy ſaints and ſervants of Chriſt, and godly perſons, ſo that his houſe might ſeem to be made a church of God. But by the malice of ſatan, through wicked counſel, theſe quiet days endured not long. For in proceſs of time this Valerianus being charmed or incenſed by a certain Egyptian, a chief ruler of the heathen ſynagogue of the Egyptians, a maſter of the charmers or inchanters, who indeed was troubled for that he could not do his magical feats for the chriſtians, was ſo far infatuated and bewitched, that through the deteſtable provocations of that deviliſh Egyptian, he was wholly turned unto abominable idols, and to execrable impiety, in ſacrificing young infants, and quartering bodies, and dividing the entrails of children new born; and ſo, proceeding in his fury, he moved the eighth perſecution againſt the chriſtians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not abide, as being the hinderers and deſtroyers of his magical inchantings, about the year of our Lord 259.

The Eighth Perſecution.

IN the which perſecution the chief adminiſters and executors were Emilianus, preſident of Egypt, Paternus and Galerius Maximus, proconſuls in Africa. Bergomenſis alſo maketh mention of Paternus, vicegerent of Rome, and of Perennius. Vincentius ſpeaketh alſo of Nicerius and Claudius, preſidents, &c. An. 259.

What was the chief original cauſe of this perſecution, partly is ſignified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian: but as this was the outward and political cauſe, ſo St. Cyprian ſheweth other cauſes more ſpecial and eccleſiaſtical in his fourth book, epiſtle 4. whoſe words be theſe;

"But we (ſaith he) muſt underſtand and confeſs, that this turbulent oppreſſion and calamity, which hath waſted for the moſt part all our whole company, and doth daily conſume it, riſeth chiefly out of our own wickedneſs and ſins, while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor obſerve his precepts left unto us for our inſtruction. The Lord obſerved the will of his Father in all points, but we obſerve not the will of the Lord, having all our mind and ſtudy ſet upon lucre and poſſeſſions, given to pride, full of emulation and diſſention, void of ſimplicity and faithful dealing, renouncing this world in word only, but nothing in deed, every man pleaſing himſelf, and diſpleaſing all others. And therefore are we thus ſcourged, and worthily; for what ſtripes and ſcourges do we not deſerve, when the confeſſors themſelves (ſuch as have ſtood the trial of their confeſſion) and ſuch as ought to be an example to the reſt of well-doing, do keep no diſcipline? And therefore, becauſe ſome ſuch there be, proudly puffed up with this ſwelling and unmannerly bragging of their confeſſion, theſe torments come, ſuch as do not eaſily ſend us to the crown, except by the mercy of God, ſome, being taken away by the quickneſs of death, do prevent the tedioufneſs of puniſhment. Theſe things do we ſuffer for our ſins and deſerts, as by the Lord's cenſure we have been forwarned, ſaying, "If they ſhall forſake my law, and will not walk in my judgments; if they ſhall prophane my inſtitutions, and will not obſerve my precepts, I will viſit their iniquities with the rod, and their tranſgreſſions with ſcourges." "Theſe rods and ſcourges (ſaith he) we feel, which neither pleaſe God in our good deeds, nor repent in our evil deeds." Wherefore the ſaid Cyprian adding this exhortation withal, exhorted them to pray, and intreat from the bottom of their heart and whole mind, the mercy of God, which promiſeth, ſaying, "But yet my mercy I will not ſcatter from them," &c. Let us aſk, and we ſhall obtain; and though (ſaith Cyprian) it is with tarriance, yet forſomuch as we have grievouſly offended, let us continue knocking, for "to him that knocketh it ſhall be opened," if our prayers, ſighings and weepings knock ſtill at the door with continuance, and if our prayers be joined together with brotherly agreement, &c.

Moreover, what vices were then principally reigning among the chriſtians, he further ſpecifieth in the ſaid epiſtle, which chiefly were diviſion and diſſention among the brethren. For when it was ſpoken to them in a viſion by theſe words, "Pray, and ye ſhall obtain:" afterward it was required of the congregation there preſent, to direct their prayers for certain perſons aſſigned to them by name: but they could not agree and condeſcend altogether of the names and perſons of them which they ſhould pray for, but were diſſonant in their conſent and petition: "Which thing, ſaith Cyprian, did greatly diſpleaſe him that ſpake unto them, Pray, and ye ſhall obtain," for that there was no uniform equality of voice and heart, nor one ſimple and joint concord among the brethren, whereof it is written in Pſalm 67. "God which maketh to dwell in the houſe together men of one accord," &c. And ſo by the occaſion hereof, he writeth unto them in the aforeſaid epiſtle, and moveth them to prayer and mutual agreement. "For, ſaith he, if it be promiſed in the goſpel to be granted whatſoever any two conſenting together ſhall aſk, what then ſhall the whole church do agreeing together? or what if this unanimity were among the whole fraternity? Which unanimity, ſaith Cyprian, if it had been then amongſt the brethren, theſe evils had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had joined together in brotherly unanimity," &c.

After the cauſes thus declared of this and other perſecutions, the ſaid Cyprian, moreover, in the forenamed epiſtle, deſcribeth likewiſe a certain viſion, wherein was ſhewed unto him, by the Lord, before the perſecution came, what ſhould happen. The viſion was this;

"There was a certain aged father ſitting, at whoſe right hand ſat a young man very ſad and penſive, as one with an indignation ſorrowful, holding his hand upon his breaſt, his countenanee heavy and unchearful. On the left hand ſat another perſon, having in his hand a net, which he threatened to lay to catch the people that ſtood about. And as he was marvelling that ſaw the ſight thereof, it was ſaid unto him, The young man whom thou ſeeſt ſit on the right hand, is ſad and ſorry that his precepts be not obſerved. But he on the left hand danceth, and is merry, for that occaſion is given him to have power of the aged father to afflict men. And this viſion was ſeen long before this tempeſt of perſecution happened, wherein is declared the ſame that before is ſaid: the ſins of the people to be the cauſe why ſatan, in this perſecution, and all others, hath had, and hath ſtill ſuch power with his net of deſtruction to rage againſt the blood of chriſtian men, and all becauſe, ſaith Cyprian,

Cyprian, we foreſlack our praying, or be not ſo vigilant therein as we ſhould: wherefore the Lord, becauſe he loveth us, correcteth us; correcteth us to amend us, amendeth us to ſave us," &c. Cyprian.

Furthermore, the ſame Cyprian, and in the ſame epiſtle, writing of his own revelation, or meſſage ſent to him, thus ſaith, " And to his leaſt ſervant, both ſinful and unworthy (meaning himſelf), God of his tender goodneſs hath vouchſafed to direct this word; Tell him, ſaith he, that he be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come; albeit a little ſtay there is for a while, for that ſome remain yet to be proved and tried, &c. And ſheweth alſo in the ſame place of another revelation of his, wherein he was admoniſhed to be ſpare in his feeding, and ſober in his drink, leſt his mind, given to heavenly meditation, might be carried away with worldly allurements, or oppreſſed with too much ſurfeit of meats and drinks, ſhould be leſs apt or able to prayer and ſpiritual exerciſe.

Finally, in the latter end of the aforeſaid epiſtle, mention alſo followeth of other revelations, or ſhewings: " Wherein the Lord, ſaith Cyprian, doth vouchſafe to many of his ſervants to foreſhew to come the reſtoring of his church, the ſtable quiet of our health and ſafeguard; after rain, fair weather; after darkneſs, light; after ſtormy tempeſt, peaceable calm; the fatherly help of his love, the wonted glory of his divine majeſty, whereby both the blaſphemy of the perſecutor ſhall be repreſſed, and the repentance of ſuch as have fallen be reformed, and the ſtrong and ſtable confidence of them that ſtand ſhall rejoice and glory." Thus much hath Saint Cyprian written of theſe things to the Clergy, lib. 4. epiſt. 4.

As touching now the crimes and accuſations in this perſecution laid to the charge of the chriſtians, this was the principal. Firſt, becauſe they refuſed to do worſhip to their idols and to the emperors: then for that they profeſſed the name of Chriſt: beſides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the world, as wars, famine, and peſtilence, were imputed only to the chriſtians.

Againſt all which quarrelling accuſations Cyprian doth eloquently defend the chriſtians, in his book Contra Demetrianum: like as Tertullian had done before, writing Contra Scapulum. And firſt, touching the objection, for not worſhipping idols, he cleareth the chriſtians both in his book Contra Demetrianum, and alſo De Vanitate Idol. proving thoſe idols to be no true gods, but images of certain dead kings, which neither could ſave themſelves from death, nor ſuch as worſhip them. The true God to be but one, and that by the teſtimony of Soſthenes, Plato, and Treſmegiſtus, the which God the chriſtians do truly worſhip. And as concerning that the chriſtians were thought to be the cauſe of public calamities, becauſe they worſhipped not the gentile idols, he purgeth the chriſtians thereof, proving, that if there be any defect in increaſe of things, it is not to be aſcribed to them, but rather to the decreaſe of nature, languiſhing now towards her age and latter end. Again, for that it hath been ſo propheſied, That towards the end of the world ſhould come wars, famine, and peſtilence. Moreover, if there be any cauſe thereof more proper than other, it is moſt like to be imputed to their vain idolatry, and to the contempt of the true God. Alſo that ſuch evils be increaſed by the wickedneſs of the people, ſo that to ſpeak in his own words, " Famine cometh more by avarice of men, than by drought of the air; but eſpecially the cauſe thereof to proceed of the cruel ſhedding of the innocent blood of the chriſtians," &c.

Thus with many other probations doth Cyprian defend the chriſtians againſt the barbarous exclamations of the heathen gentiles. Of which Cyprian, for ſo much as he ſuffered in the time of this perſecution, I mind (Chriſt willing) to recapitulate here in an ample diſcourſe the full ſum, firſt of his life and bringing up, then of his death and martyrdom, as the worthineſs of that man deſerveth to be remembered.

Of this Cyprian therefore, otherwiſe named Statius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Nazianzenus, Jacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus, Hieronymus, and others; that he being an African, and born in Carthage, firſt was an idolater and gentile, altogether given to the ſtudy and practice of the magical arts: of whoſe parentage and education in letters from his youth no mention is made, but that he was a worthy rhetorician in Africa: of whoſe converſion and baptiſm he himſelf, in his firſt book and ſecond epiſtle, writeth a flouriſhing and eloquent hiſtory. Which his converſion unto the chriſtian faith, as Hieronymus affirmeth in his commentary upon Jonas, was, through the grace of God, and the means of Cecilius, a prieſt, whoſe name after he bare, and through the occaſion of hearing the hiſtory of the prophet Jonas. The ſame Hierom moreover teſtifieth how he immediately, upon his converſion, diſtributed among the poor all his ſubſtance; and after that, being ordained a prieſt, was not long after conſtituted biſhop of the congregation of Carthage. But whether he ſucceeded Agrippinus, of whom he often maketh mention, which alſo was the firſt author of re-baptization, or ſome other biſhop of Carthage, it remaineth uncertain. But this is moſt true, he himſelf ſhined in his office and dignity with ſuch good gifts and virtues, that, as Nazianzenus writeth, he had the government of the whole Eaſt church, and church of Spain, and was called the biſhop of the chriſtian men.

And to the further ſetting forth, to the praiſe of God, of his godly virtues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his own works to them that liſt to peruſe the ſame, as alſo deſcribed by other worthy writers: he was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and therewithal ſharp and ſevere in his own office, according as the cauſe required, as appeareth in his firſt book and third epiſtle. Furthermore, he was moſt loving and kind toward his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the martyrs, as appeareth by his letters to the elders and deacons of his biſhoprick, that with all ſtudy and endeavour they ſhould gently entertain and ſhew pleaſure unto the martyrs in his abſence, as partly is touched before.

The third epiſtle of his firſt book doth declare of what ſtomach and godly courage he was in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumſpection, but was adorned with marvellous modeſty, whereby he attempted nothing upon his own head and judgment, but with the conſent of his fellow biſhops and other inferior miniſters: and that chiefly (among others) doth the tenth epiſtle of his third book witneſs. He was of a marvellous liberal diſpoſition towards the poor brethren of other countries: for ſo often as he had cauſe of abſence, he committed the care of thoſe poor men to his fellow-officers, and wrote to them, that of their own proper goods they would help their baniſhed brethren to that which was neceſſary for them, as witneſſeth the twenty fourth epiſtle of his third book. He recited among other gifts wherewith he was endued, as touching the viſions and heavenly admonitions of the perſecutions that ſhould follow, and of other matters touching the government of the church in his firſt book and third epiſtle, and fourth book and fourth epiſtle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the form or manner of a certain viſion, which we have before ſufficiently expreſſed.

He had moreover great ſkill in the foreknowledge of things that ſhould chance, as may be gathered in the ſixth epiſtle of his fourth book. Alſo Auguſtine doth attribute unto him many worthy virtues, who writeth much

much in ſetting forth his gifts of humility in his ſecond book of baptiſm, the fourth chapter, againſt the Donatiſts; and in his ſeventh book and eleventh chapter, of his long-ſufferance and patience; alſo of his courteſy and meekneſs: by which virtues he concealed nothing that he underſtood, but uttered the ſame meekly and patiently. Alſo that he kept the eccleſiaſtical peace and concord with thoſe that were of another opinion than he was of. Laſtly, that he neither circumvented nor did prejudice to any man, but followed that thing which ſeemed good in his judgment, it is manifeſt in St. Auguſtine's firſt book, De baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas.

Neither is this to be paſſed with ſilence, that Hierom writeth, that he was very diligent in reading, eſpecially the works of Tertullian: for he ſaith, that he ſaw a certain old man, whoſe name was Paulus, which told him he ſaw the notary of bleſſed Cyprian, being then an old man, when he himſelf was but a ſpringal in the city of Rome, and told him, That Cyprian was wont never to let one day paſs without ſome reading of Tertullian; and that he was accuſtomed oftentimes to ſay unto him, Give me my maſter, meaning thereby Tertullian.

Now a few words touching his exile and martyrdom. Of his epiſtles, which he wrote back to the congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made above, wherein he ſheweth the virtue beſeeming a faithful paſtor, in that he took no leſs care as well of his own church, as of other biſhops being abſent, than he did being preſent. Wherein alſo he himſelf doth ſignify that voluntarily he abſented himſelf, leſt he ſhould do more hurt than good to the congregation, by reaſon of his preſence, as is likewiſe declared before. Thus from the deſolate places of his baniſhment, wherein he was oftentimes ſought for, he writeth unto his brethren, as in his third book and tenth epiſtle is manifeſt, which thing ſeemeth to be done in the reign of Decius or Gallus.

But after that he had returned again out of exile in the reign of this Valerianus, he was alſo after that the ſecond time baniſhed of Paturnus, the proconſul of Africa, into the city of Thurbin, as the oration of Auguſtine touching Cyprian ſheweth; or elſe, as Pontius the deacon ſaith, into a city named Furabilitana, or Curabilitana.

But when Paternus the proconſul was dead, Galienus Marimus ſucceeded in the room and office of Paternus, who finding Cyprian in a garden, cauſed him to be apprehended by his ſerjeants, and to be brought before the idols to offer ſacrifice. Which when he would not do, then the proconſul breaking forth in theſe words, ſaid, "Long haſt thou lived in a ſacrilegious mind, and haſt gathered together men of a wicked conſpiracy, and haſt ſhewed thyſelf an enemy to the gods of the Romans, and to their holy laws: neither could the ſacred emperors Valerianus and Galienus revoke thee to the ſect of their ceremonies." At length the wicked tyrant condemned him to have his head cut off; he patiently and willingly ſubmitted his neck to the ſtroke of the ſword, as Hieronymus affirmeth. And ſo this bleſſed martyr ended this preſent life in the Lord, Xiſtus then being biſhop of Rome, as Euſebius noteth, in the year of our Lord 259. Sabellicus ſaith, that he was martyred in the reign of Gallus and Voluſianus, Lucius being biſhop of Rome: but that ſeemeth not like.

Now remaineth to ſpeak ſomething, likewiſe, of his works and books left behind him, although all, peradventure that he wrote, do not remain: whereof ſome are miſſing, ſome again, which bear his name and title, are not his: but ſuch as be certainly his, by the ſtile and ſenſe, may ſoon be diſcerned; ſuch is the eloquence of his phraſe, and gravity of his ſentence, vigor of wit, power in perſuaſion, ſo much differing from many others, as he can lightly be imitated but by few. Of the which his books with us extant, as the flouriſhing eloquence is worthily commended, proceeding out of the ſchool of the rhetoricians, ſo is the authority thereof no leſs of reputation, not only among us of this age of the church, but alſo among the ancient fathers. Whereof St. Auguſtine ſpeaking in his commendation, ſaith, He did not repute the books and writings of Cyprian to be equivalent with the holy ſcripture, yet notwithſtanding, next after the holy ſcriptures, he had the ſame in exceeding great admiration.

Vincentius and Laziardus Celeſtinus reciting the names of divers books bearing the title of Cyprian (more perchance than to be truly his) do collect out of them a certain extract of his moſt pithy ſentences, all which here to repeat were too tedious. To give a taſte of the ſpecial, I thought it not impertinent. As where he ſpeaking of the treaſures of a rich man, exhorteth, ſaying,

"Let not it ſleep in thy treaſures, that may profit the poor.

Two things never wax old in man; the heart ever imagining new cogitations, the tongue ever uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.

That which a man muſt needs forego of neceſſity, wiſdom it is for a man to diſtribute ſo, that God may everlaſtingly reward him.

Diſcipline is an inordinate amendment of manners preſent, and a regular obſervation of evils paſt.

There can be no integrity, whereas they which ſhould condemn the wicked, are ever wanting: and they only which are to be condemned, are ever preſent.

A covetous man only poſſeſſeth his goods for this, becauſe another ſhall not poſſeſs them.

Women, that advance themſelves in putting on ſilks and purple, cannot lightly put on Chriſt.

They which colour their locks with red and yellow, begin betime to prognoſticate of what colour their hair ſhall be in hell.

They which love to paint themſelves in this world, otherwiſe than God hath created them: let them fear, leſt when the day cometh of reſurrection, the Creator will not know them.

He that giveth an alms to the poor, ſacrificeth to God an odor of ſweet ſmell.

All injury of evil preſent, is to be neglected, for the good hope of good things to come.

To ſet out virtue in words, and to deſtroy the ſame in facts, is nothing worth.

The more children and greater houſhold thou haſt at home, the more cauſe thou haſt not to hoard up, but to diſperſe abroad, for that many ſins are to be redeemed, many conſciences are to be purged.

Moreover, leſt the papiſts here ſhould take an occaſion by this text, grounded upon Tob. chap. 4. "Alms, ſaith he, delivereth from all ſin and death:" to build up the works of ſatisfaction, the ſaid Cyprian, lib. 4. epiſt. 2. more plainly expoundeth both himſelf, and that place of ſcripture, writing in theſe words; "Alms do deliver from all ſin and from death, Tob. 4. Not from that, ſaith Cyprian, which the blood of Chriſt hath once extinguiſhed, and from which the wholeſome grace of our baptiſm, and of our Redeemer hath delivered us, but from that death which afterward creepeth in by ſin," &c. Cyprian lib. 4. epiſt. 2. By which words it is apparent, that Cyprian meaneth this deliverance, which cometh by alms-giving, from death and ſin, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death everlaſting, from which only the blood of Chriſt doth ſave us; but for temporal or tranſitory puniſhment, which is wont to be inflicted in this body of ſin. For ſo it is nothing repugnant, but that temporal virtues may have their temporal rewards in this life, and likewiſe ſins committed may have temporal puniſhments, both in us, and in our families, our eternal ſalvation ſtanding evermore firm in Chriſt yet notwithſtanding.

The foreſaid Vincentius moreover ſpeaking of another book of Cyprian (although the ſaid book be not numbered

numbered in the catalogue of his works) maketh mention of twelve abuſes, or abſurdities in the life of man, which, in order, be theſe;

1. A wiſe man without good works.
2. An old man without religion.
3. A young man without obedience.
4. A rich man without alms.
5. A woman ſhameleſs.
6. A guide without virtue.
7. A chriſtian man contentious.
8. A poor man proud.
9. A king unrighteous.
10. A biſhop negligent.
11. People without diſcipline.
12. Subjects without law.

As we have hitherto ſet forth the condemnation of Cyprian, this bleſſed martyr; ſo muſt we now take heed again that we do not here incur the old and common danger, which the papiſts are commonly accuſtomed to run into, whoſe fault is always almoſt to be immoderate and exceſſive in their proceedings, making too much almoſt of every thing. So in ſpeaking of the holy ſacraments, they make more of them than do the nature of ſacraments require; not uſing them, but abuſing them; not referring or applying them, but adoring them; not taking them in their kind for things godly, as they are, but taking them for God himſelf, turning religion into ſuperſtition, and the creature to the Creator, the things ſignifying to the things themſelves ſignified, &c.

To the church likewiſe and ceremonies of the church, to general councils, to the bleſſed virgin Mary, mother of Chriſt, to the biſhop of Rome, and to all other in like caſe; not contented to attribute that which is ſufficient, they exceed moreover the bounds of judgment and verity, judging ſo of the church, and general councils, as though they could never, or did never err in any jot. That the bleſſed mother of Chriſt amongſt all women was bleſſed, and a virgin full of grace, the ſcripture and truth doth give: but to ſay that ſhe was born without all original ſin, or to make of her an advocate, or mother of mercy, there they run further than truth will bear. The ceremonies were firſt ordained to ſerve but only for order ſake, unto the which they have attributed ſo much at length, that they have ſet in them a great part of our religion; yea, and alſo of ſalvation. And what thing is there elſe almoſt, wherein the papiſts have not exceeded?

Wherefore, to avoid this common error of the papiſts, we muſt beware in commending the doctors and writers of the church, and ſo commend them, that truth and conſideration go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian, and other bleſſed martyrs were holy men, yet notwithſtanding they were men; that is, ſuch as might have, and had their falls and faults; men, I ſay, and not angels, nor gods; ſaved by God, not ſaviours of men, not patrons of grace. And though they were alſo men of excellent learning, and worthy doctors, yet with their learning they had their errors alſo annexed. And though their books be (as they ought to be) of great authority, yet ought they not to be equal with the ſcriptures. And albeit they ſaid well in moſt things, yet it is not therefore enough that what they ſaid, it muſt ſtand for a truth. That pre-eminence of authority only belongeth to the word of God, and not to the pen of man. For of men and doctors, be they never ſo famous, there is none that is void of this reprehenſion.

In Origen (although in his time the admiration of his learning was ſingular) yet how many things be there, which the church now holdeth not? But examining him by ſcriptures, where he ſaid well, they admit him, where otherwiſe, they leave him.

In Polycarpus, the church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the Eaſter-day after the Jews.

Neither can holy and bleſſed Ignatius be defended in all his ſayings: as where he maketh the faſting upon the Sunday as great an offence, as to kill Chriſt himſelf, Ignat. epiſt. ad Philip. contrary to the ſaying of St. Paul, "Let no man judge you in meat and drink." Alſo where the ſaid Ignatius ſpeaketh De Virginitate, and of other things more.

Ireneus did hold, that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He ſeemeth alſo to defend free will in man, in thoſe things alſo that be ſpiritual. He ſaith that Chriſt ſuffered after he was fifty years old, abuſing this place of the goſpel, Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, &c.

Tertullian, whom St. Cyprian never laid out of his hands almoſt, is noted to be a Chiliaſt. Alſo to have been of Montanus' ſect. The ſame did hold alſo with Juſtin, Cyprian, and others, that the angels fell firſt for the concupiſcence of women, lib. de habitu mulierum. He defendeth free will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining alſo to the error of them, which defend the poſſibility of keeping God's law. Concerning marriage, We know, ſaith he, one marriage, as we know one God; condemning the ſecond marriage, lib. de Monogam. Divers other things of like abſurdity in him be noted.

Juſtinus alſo ſeemeth to have inclined unto the error of the Chiliaſts, of the fall of certain angels by women, of free will of man, of poſſibility of keeping the law, and ſuch others.

Neither was this our Cyprian, the great ſcholar of Tertullian, utterly exempt from the blot of them, who, contrary to the doctrine of the church, did hold with re-baptizing of ſuch as were before baptized of heretics, whereof ſpeaketh St. Auguſtine, miſliking the ſame error of Cyprian, in his ſecond book, Contra Creſſoniam. Upon the which matter there was a great contention between the ſaid Cyprian and Stephen biſhop of Rome, as partly before is noted.

Of Auguſtine himſelf, likewiſe, of Ambroſe, Hierom, Chryſoſtom, the ſame may be ſaid, that none of them all ſo clearly paſſed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpoſe at this preſent to intreat. And thus much concerning the ſtory of Cyprian, the holy learned martyr of Chriſt.

Albeit here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and ſtory of Cyprian, that this Cyprian was not he whom the narration of Nazianzen ſpeaketh of (as is above mentioned), who from art magic was converted to be a chriſtian, which Cyprian was a citizen of Antioch, and afterward biſhop of the ſame city, and was afterward martyred under Diocleſian: whereas this Cyprian was biſhop of Carthage, and died under Valerianus, as is ſaid, &c. By the decrees of Gratian, diſt. 10. quoniam, it appeareth moreover that there was alſo a third Cyprian in the time of Julianus Apoſtata the emperor, long after both theſe afore named: for ſo giveth the title prefixed before the ſaid diſtinction, Cyprianus Juliano Imperatori: the diſtinction beginning: Quoniam idem mediator Dei & hominum, homo Chriſtus Jeus, ſic actibus propriis, dignitatibus diſtinctis, officia poteſtatis utriuſque diſcernit, &c. Upon which diſtinction the gloſs cometh in with theſe words, ſaying, That the popedom and the ſeat imperial have both one beginning of one, that is Chriſt: who was both biſhop and king of kings. And that the ſaid dignities be diſtinct, albeit the pope notwithſtanding hath both the ſwords in his hand, and may exerciſe them both ſometimes. And therefore although they be diſtinct, yet in exerciſe the one ſtandeth lineally unto the other, ſo that the imperial dignity is ſubject unto the papal dignity, as the inferior is ſubject under the

the ſuperior: that as there is one ruler over the whole worſd, which is God: ſo in the church is one monarch, that is, the pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawful right both of the heavenly and terrene dominion. Hæc gloſſa.

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, becauſe this diſtinction is fathered upon Cyprian, which is falſe: for this Cyprian was not in the time of Julian, not by two hundred years, and ſo likewiſe the other Cyprian which died martyr under Diocleſian. Of any Cyprian beſides theſe two we read not; neither is it credible, that if there were any ſuch Cyprian, he would ever have written of any ſuch matter, of the difference and mutual need of chriſtian emperors and chriſtian popes; when as that emperor being an apoſtate, neither regarded Chriſt, nor cared for any pope.

About this time, and under the ſame emperor Valerianus ſuffered alſo Xiſtus, or Sixtus, the ſecond of that name, biſhop of Rome, who, being accuſed of his adverſaries to be a chriſtian, was brought with his ſix deacons to the place of execution, where he with Nemeſius and other his deacons were beheaded and ſuffered martyrdom. Lawrence in the ſame time, being alſo deacon, followed after, complaining to Xiſtus (as one being grieved) that he might not alſo ſuffer with him, but to be ſecluded as the ſon from the father. To whom the biſhop anſwering again, declared that within three days he ſhould follow after. In the mean time he willed him to go home, and to diſtribute his treaſures, if he had any, unto the poor.

The judge, belike, hearing mention to be made of treaſures to be given to the poor, and thinking that Lawrence had great ſtore of treaſure in his cuſtody, commanded him to bring the ſame unto him, according as in the diſcourſe of the ſtory here under written more fully may appear. Which hiſtory, becauſe it is ſet forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambroſe, and other writers, and containeth in it more things worthy to be noted of the reader, we have therefore with the greater diligence here inſerted a more ample deſcription of the ſame, to the further admiration of his patience, and God's glory ſhewed in him.

Now, as order required, let us enter the ſtory of that moſt conſtant and courageous martyr of Chriſt, St. Lawrence, whoſe words and works deſerve to be as freſh and green in chriſtian hearts, as is the flouriſhing laurel-tree. This thirſty heart longing after the water of life, deſirous to paſs unto it through the ſtrait door of bitter death, when on a time he ſaw his vigilant ſhepherd Xiſtus, led as an harmleſs lamb, of harmful tyrants to his death, cried out, with open mouth, and heart invincible, ſaying, "O dear father, whither goeſt thou, without the company of thy dear ſon? whither haſteneſt thou, O reverend prieſt, without thy deacon? never waſt thou wont to offer ſacrifice without thy miniſter. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? haſt thou proved unnatural? now try, ſweet father, whether thou haſt choſen a faithful miniſter or not? denieſt thou unto him the fellowſhip of thy blood, to whom thou haſt committed the diſtribution of the Lord's blood? ſee that thy judgment be not miſtaken, whilſt thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abuſing of the ſcholar is the diſgracing of the maſter. What? have we not learned that worthy maſters have obtained moſt worthy fame by the worthy acts of their diſciples and ſcholars? Finally, Abraham ſacrificed his only begotten Iſaac; ſtoned Stephen, prepared the way to preaching Peter: even ſo, father, declare thy manifold virtues by me thy ſon. Offer thou him that proffereth himſelf; grant that the body of thy ſcholar may be ſacrificed, whoſe mind with good letters thou haſt beautified." Theſe words with tears St. Lawrence uttered, not becauſe his maſter ſhould ſuffer, but for that he might not be ſuffered to taſte of death's cup which he thirſted after.

Then Xiſtus to his ſon made this anſwer: "I forſake thee not, O my ſon; I give thee to wit, that a ſharper conflict remaineth for thee. O feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and eaſier death: but luſty and young thou art, and more luſtily, yea more glorioufly ſhalt thou triumph over this tyrant: thy time approacheth, ceaſe to weep and lament, three days after thou ſhalt follow me: decent it is that this ſpace of time come between the prieſt and the levite. It may not beſeem thee, O ſweet pupil, to triumph under thy maſter, leſt it be ſaid, he wanted an helper. Why craveſt thou to be partaker with me in my paſſion? I bequeath unto thee the whole inheritance. Why requireſt thou to enjoy my preſence? Let weak ſcholars go before, and the ſtronger come after, that thoſe without maſter may get the victory, which have no need by maſter to be governed. So Elias left behind him his beloved Eliſeus. I yield up into thy hands the ſucceſſion of my virtues." Such was their contention, not unmeet for ſo godly a prieſt, and ſo zealous a miniſter; ſtriving with themſelves who ſhould firſt ſuffer for the name of Chriſt Jeſus.

In tragical hiſtories we have it mentioned, that thro' joy and admiration, people clapped their hands, when Pilades named himſelf Oreſtes; Oreſtes (as truth it was) affirmed himſelf to be Oreſtes: Pilades wiſhing to die for Oreſtes, Oreſtes not ſuffering Pilades to loſe his life for his ſake; but neither of them might eſcape death; for both theſe lovers were guilty of blood, the one committing the fact, the other conſenting. But this our Lawrence, the martyr moſt conſtant, was by no means inforced to make this proffer, ſaving only by his ardent zeal and fervent ſpirit, who thirſting after the cup of martyrdom, had it ſhortly after filled to the hard brim.

Now let us draw near to the fire of martyred Lawrence, that our cold hearts may be warmed thereby. The mercileſs tyrant, underſtanding this virtuous levite, not only to be a miniſter of the ſacraments, but a diſtributer alſo of the church riches (whereof mention is made before in the words of Xiſtus), promiſed to himſelf a double prey, by the apprehenſion of one ſilly ſoul. Firſt with the rake of avarice to ſcrape to himſelf the treaſure of poor chriſtians; then with the fiery fork of tyranny, ſo to toſs and turmoil them, that they ſhould wax weary of their profeſſion: with furious face and cruel countenance, this greedy wolf demanded, where this deacon Lawrence had beſtowed the ſubſtance of the church? Who craving three days reſpite, promiſed to declare where the treaſure might be had. In the mean time, he cauſed a good number of poor chriſtians to be congregated. So when the day of his anſwer was come, the perſecutor ſtrictly charged him to ſtand to his promiſe. Then valiant Lawrence ſtretching out his arms over the poor, ſaid: "Theſe are the precious treaſure of the church, theſe are the treaſure indeed, in whom the faith of Chriſt reigneth, in whom Jeſus Chriſt hath his manſion place. What more precious jewels can Chriſt have, than thoſe in whom he hath promiſed to dwell? For ſo it is written, I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat; I was thirſty, and ye gave me to drink; I was harbourleſs, and ye lodged me. And again; Look what ye have done to the leaſt of theſe, the ſame have ye done to me. What greater riches can Chriſt our maſter poſſeſs, than the poor people in whom he loved to be ſeen?" Oh, what tongue is able to expreſs the fury and madneſs of the tyrant's heart! Now he ſtamped, he ſtared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wits: his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a boar foamed, his teeth like a hell-hound grinned. Now not a reaſonable man, but a roaring lion he might be called. "Kindle the fire (he cried) of wood make no ſpare. Hath this villain deluded the emperor? Away with him, away with him: whip him with ſcourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fiſts, brain him with clubs. Jeſteth the traitor

Engraved
for the
PRIMITIVE MARTYRS.

S.t LAURENCE *laid on the* Gridiron *by* Decius *or* Gallienus.

Christians *put into a* Copper *of Boiling* Oil.

I. Smith sculp.

Published as the Act directs, for H. Trapp, Pater-noster Row

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tor with the emperor? Pinch him with fiery tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the ſtrongeſt chains, and the fire-forks, and the grated bed of iron: on the the fire with it, bind the rebel hand and foot; and when the bed is fire hot, on with him: roaſt him, broil him, toſs him, turn him: on pain of our high diſpleaſure, do every man his office, O ye tormentors." The word was no ſooner ſpoken, but all was done.

After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid, I will not ſay on his fiery bed of iron, but on his ſoft bed of down. So mightily God wrought with his martyr Lawrence, ſo miraculouſly God tempered his element the fire; not a bed of conſuming pain, but a pallet of nouriſhing reſt was it unto Lawrence. Not Lawrence, but the emperor, might ſeem to be tormented: the one broiling in the fleſh, the other burning in the heart. When this triumphant martyr had been preſſed down with fire-picks for a great ſpace, in the mighty Spirit of God he ſpake to the vanquiſhed tyrant:

This ſide is now roaſted enough; turn up, O tyrant great:
Aſſay whether roaſted or raw, thou think'ſt the better meat.

O rare and unaccuſtomed patience! O faith invincible! that only not burneſt, but by means unſpeakable doſt recreate, refreſh, ſtabliſh, and ſtrengthen thoſe that are burned, afflicted and troubled. And why ſo mightily comforteſt thou the perſecuted? Becauſe through thee they believe in God's promiſes infallible. By thee this glorious martyr overcometh his torments, vanquiſheth this tyrant, confoundeth his enemies, confirmeth the chriſtians, ſleepeth in peace, and reigneth in glory. The God of mercy grant us grace by the life of Lawrence to learn in Chriſt to live, and by his death to learn for Chriſt to die, Amen.

Such is the wiſdom and providence of God, that the blood of his dear ſaints (like good ſeed) never falleth in vain to the ground, but it bringeth ſome increaſe: ſo it pleaſed the Lord to work at the martyrdom of this holy Lawrence, that by the conſtant confeſſion of this worthy and valiant deacon, a certain ſoldier of Rome being therewith compuncted, and converted to the ſame faith, deſired forthwith to be baptized of him: for the which he, being called for of the judge, was ſcourged, and afterward beheaded. Henr. de Erford.

Under the ſame Valerianus, ſuffered alſo Dionyſius biſhop of Alexandria, much affliction and baniſhment, with certain other brethren: of the which he writeth himſelf, and is alledged in the eccleſiaſtical ſtory of Euſebius, lib. 4. cap. 11. the words whereof tend to this effect: Dionyſius with three of his deacons, to wit, Maximus, Fauſtus and Cheremon, alſo with a certain brother of Rome, came to Emilianus then preſident, who were declared unto them in circumſtance of words, how he had ſignified unto them the clemency of his lords and emperors; who had granted them pardon of life, ſo that they would return unto them, and worſhip the gods and keepers (as they called them) of their empire, aſking them what anſwer they would give thereunto: truſting as he ſaid that they would not ſhew themſelves ungrateful, to the clemency of them which did ſo gently exhort them. To this Dionyſius anſwering, ſaid: All men worſhip not all gods; but divers men, divers gods: ſo as every man hath in himſelf a mind or a phantaſy to worſhip. But we worſhip not many, nor divers gods, but only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and hath committed to our lords, Valerianus and Galienus, the government of their empire, making to him our prayers inceſſantly for their proſperous health and continuance. Then the preſident ſaid: And what hurt is it, ſince that you may both worſhip your God, what God ſoever he be, and theſe our gods alſo? For you are commanded to worſhip ſuch gods, as all men know to be gods. Dionyſius anſwered, We worſhip none other, but as we have ſaid. Emilianus the preſident ſaid; I ſee you are ungrateful men, and conſider not the benignity of the emperor; wherefore you ſhall remain no longer in this city, but ſhall be ſent out to the parts of Libya, unto a town called Cephro: for that place by the commandment of the emperor I have choſen for you. Neither ſhall it be lawful for you to convent your aſſemblies, or to reſort, as ye are wont, to your burial places. And if any of you ſhall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your peril be it. And think not contrary, but ye ſhall be watched well enough. Depart therefore to the place, as is commanded you. And it followeth more in the ſaid Dionyſius, ſpeaking of himſelf: And as for me (ſaid he) although I was ſick, yet he urged me ſo ſtrictly to depart, that he would not give me one day's reſpite. And how (ſaid he, writing to Germanus) could I congregate, or not congregate any aſſemblies? And after a few lines it followeth; And yet neither am I altogether abſent from the corporal ſociety of the Lord's flock, but I have collected them together which were in the city, being abſent, as though I had been preſent; abſent in body, yet preſent in ſpirit. And in the ſame Cephro, a great congregation remained with me, as well of thoſe brethren which followed me out of the city, as alſo of them which were remaining there out of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me the door of his word: although at the firſt entrance I was perſecuted and ſtoned among them, yet afterward a great number fell from their idols, and were converted unto the Lord. And ſo by us the word was preached to them which before were infidels: which miniſtry after we had accompliſhed there, the Lord removed to another place. For Emilianus tranſlated us from thence to more ſharp and ſtricter places of Libya, and commanded us to meet all together at the city Mareota: thinking there to ſeparate us ſeverally into ſundry villages, or thinking rather to take and prevent us by the way. After we were come thither, it was aſſigned me (ſaith Dionyſius) to go to Colluthian, which place I never heard of before: which was the more grief to me; yet ſome ſolace it was to me, that the brethren told me it was near to a city named Paretonium. For as my being at Cephro got me the acquaintance of many brethren of Egypt, ſo my hope was, that the vicinity of that place (where I ſhould be) to the city, might procure the familiarity and concourſe of certain loving brethren, which would reſort and aſſemble with us, and ſo it came to paſs, &c.

Moreover, the ſaid Dionyſius in his epiſtle, Ad Domitium & Dydimum, making mention of them that were afflicted in this perſecution of Valerian, recordeth in theſe words, ſaying: "It were ſuperfluous (ſaith he) here to recite the names, peculiarly of all our brethren ſlain in this perſecution, which both were many, and to me unknown." But this is certain, that there were men, women, young men, maidens, old wives, ſoldiers, ſimple innocents, and of all ſorts and ages of men. Of whom ſome with ſcourgings and fire, ſome with ſword obtained victory, and got the crown. Some continued a great time, and yet have been reſerved. In the which number am I reſerved hitherto, to ſome other opportune time known unto the Lord, which ſaith: "In the time accepted have I heard thee, and in the day of ſalvation I have helped thee," &c. Now as concerning myſelf in what ſtate I am, if thou deſire to know how I and Caius, and Fauſtus, Petrus and Paulus, being apprehended by the centurion, were taken away by certain of the town of Mareota, I have declared to you before. Now I and Caius, and Petrus alone are left here included in a weſt place of Libya, diſtant the ſpace of three days journey from Paretonium, &c. And in proceſs further he addeth: In the city (ſaith he) were certain which privily viſit the brethren: of prieſts, Maximus, Dioſcorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they which were more notable in the world, Fauſtinus and Aquila, do wander abroad in Egypt. Of the deacons, beſides them whom ſickneſs hath confined, Fauſtus, Euſebius and Cheremon are yet alive. Euſebius hath God raiſed and ſtirred up

to minister to the confessors lying in bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the president cease yet to this day, cruelly murdering such as be brought before him, tearing some with torments, imprisoning and keeping some in custody, commanding that no man should come to them, enquiring also who resorted unto them. Yet notwithstanding God with chearfulness, and daily resort of the brethren, doth comfort the afflicted. Hæc Dionysius.

Concerning these deacons above recited, here is to be noted, that Eusebius afterward was made bishop of Laodicea in Syria. Maximus, the priest aforesaid, had the ministration of the church of Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus long after continued in great age, unto the later persecution, where he being a very old man, at length was beheaded, and died a martyr.

As touching Dionysius himself, thus the stories report, that he surviving all these troubles and persecutions, by the providence of God, continued after the death of Valerian, unto the twelfth year of the reign of Galienus, which was about the year of our Lord 268; and so departed in peace in great age, after that he had governed the church of Alexandria the space of seventeen years, and before that had the school of the said city of Alexandria, the term of sixteen years, after whom succeeded Maximus, as is above specified. And thus much touching the full story of Dionysius Alexandrinus, and of other also, martyrs and confessors of Alexandria.

In Cæsarea Palestine suffered also the same time Priscus, Malchus, and Alexander, the which three dwelling in the country, and good men, seeing the valiant courage of the christians, so boldly to venture, and constantly to stand, and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as men being grieved with themselves, began to repent and accuse their so great sluggishness, and cowardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and faint-hearted, in labouring for the crown of christian martyrdom: and first consulting and agreeing with themselves, they came to Cæsarea, and there stepping to the judge, declared themselves what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being given to the wild beasts. After which manner also, and in the same city of Cæsarea, a certain woman, whose name Eusebius expresseth not, who had been before of the sect of Marcion, was brought before the president, and likewise obtained the same martyrdom, Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 12.

Neither was the city of Carthage all this while free from the stroke of this persecution, if credit should be given to the speculative glass of Vincentius, who citing out of Hugo, recordeth of three hundred martyrs, of which the story saith thus, that the president setting before them coals and incense to do sacrifice by a lime-kiln, which was there near at hand, offered unto them this condition, either to set incense to the coals for sacrifice to Jupiter, or else to go into the furnace of lime: whereupon they all together with a general motion suddenly rushed into the kiln, and there with the dusty smoke of the lime were smothered. Vincent. Erford.

In Africa also, in the city of Tuburba, the said Vincentius out of the martyrology inferreth mention of three constant virgins, Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda; who, in the persecution of this Valerian and Galienus, first had given for their drink vinegar and gall; then with scourges were tried, after that upon the gibbet were tormented, and rubbed with lime; then were scorched upon the gridiron; at last were cast to the wild beasts; who, being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded. Vincent. Erford.

In Simela, a city in Italy, under the Alps, one Pontius being there apprehended, by the commandment of Claudius the president, was hanged first upon the rack, then was cast to the wild beasts, of whom he being nothing hurt, was after committed to the fire; and finally, not touched therewith (if the story of Vincentius be true) was beheaded by the river's side, and his body thrown into the flood, where immediately the same hour the aforesaid Claudius, with his assistant Anabius, were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserably vexed, that they bit off their tongues, and died.

Zenon, bishop of Verona, is said also in the same persecution to sustain martyrdom.

Moreover, in the said city of Alexandria aforesaid, Bergomensis in his eighth book, writing of the story of Valerianus emperor, maketh mention of Philippus, bishop of the said see of Alexandria, who (as he saith) was under the said Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approved story, nor standeth it with the truth of time that any such Philip was then bishop of Alexandria, or any other, except only Dionysius. After whom next succeeded Maximus, who remained eighteen years, and after him Theonas, &c. so that, by the ancient records of old writers, it appeareth not that Philippus, or any other of that name, was bishop of Alexandria during this time signified by Bergomensis.

Although in some other later writers, as Equilinus. Antoninus, and Bergomensis, I find a certain history of one Philippus, president of Alexandria about the same time of Valerian and Galienus, elected by the emperor and senate of Rome, to govern those quarters, where he was at length converted to the christian faith, and after made priest or bishop (as they say) of Alexandria: but that not to be so, the testimony of ancient writers doth manifest. The history of this Philippus, witnessed in our later chronicles, is this: Philippus, being promoted to the presidentship of Alexandria, came down with his wife Claudia, and his two sons, Avitus and Sergius, and with his daughter Eugenia, of the which Eugenia a long history, full of strange and prodigious miracles, is written of Antoninus and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the story, leaving to the judgment of the reader the credit of mine authors, as he shall see cause.

This Eugenia, daughter of Philippus, being of singular beauty, and brought up by her parents in the study of science and learning, was, by occasion of hearing christians, reduced and brought up to christianity, with two other eunuchs her school-fellows, called Prothus and Hiacinthus: with whom she taking counsel, upon occasion (whether to avoid the danger of persecution, or refusing to marry with a pagan) unknown to her parents and friends, did flee away; and because the more boldly she might resort to hear the readings of Helenus, then an aged bishop, and of others, she changed herself into man's apparel, and named herself Eugenius, under the which name she was at length admitted into a certain monastery, or a society of christians in the suburbs of Alexandria (although I hardly believe that any monastery of christians was then in the suburbs of Alexandria permitted), where also at the last, for her excellency of learning and virtue, she was made head of the place.

Here by the way I omit the miracles of the foresaid Helenus, bishop (as the story saith) of Hieropolis, how he carried burning coals in his lap, and how he adventured himself to go in the burning fire, to refel wicked Zereas, a pagan, remaining in the same unburned. Here I also omit the careful search of her parents for her, and of the Pithoness again unto them, that she was taken up to heaven among the goddesses. I omit moreover the miracles done by the said Eugenia, in healing the diseases and sicknesses of such as came to her, &c. The story proceedeth thus: Among others which were by this Eugenius cured and restored, there was a certain matron of Alexandria, named Melancia; who, after she had used the help and acquaintance of Eugenius, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate love of her, seeking by all means how to accomplish the lust of her concupiscence. Insomuch, that in her daily visiting

of

of her, at length ſhe began ſecretly to break her mind, and to intice her to her lewdneſs. Eugenius contrarily exhorted her to virtue and honeſty, ſhewing her the miſeries of this life, and the peril of that folly. Melancia ſeeing that by no means ſhe would be allured, nor by force drawn to her deſire, and fearing moreover, that ſhe in detecting of her, would bring her to ſhame, beginning firſt to make an outcry of Eugenius, declaring how that ſhe went about corruptly to deflower her; and ſo preſented her accuſation before Philippus the preſident, as well againſt Eugenius, as alſo againſt the reſt of that company. This matter being heard, and the woman well known, the crime began to ſeem ſuſpicious, and ſo much the more, becauſe it was objected againſt the chriſtians. By reaſon whereof Eugenius with her fellow chriſtians were now not only in great hatred, but alſo in danger of preſent death and deſtruction. Then Eugenius purging herſelf in her honeſty, although with ſufficient probation; yet notwithſtanding, perceiving that whatſoever ſhe ſaid could take no place, and ſeeing no time now to diſſemble any longer, for the danger as well of her own ſelf, as ſpecially of her brethren, which troubled her more: ſhe deſired of the judge place and time to make manifeſt to him the truth, and ſo ſhewed herſelf what ſhe was, and how ſhe was his daughter, the other to be Prothus and Hiacinthus, the two eunuchs, her ſchoolfellows, uttering more to him, and to her brethren, the cauſe of her departing from them. At the narration whereof, Philippus her father, and her two brethren, coming to the knowledge of her, conceived no little joy, in receiving their Eugenia again, whom they thought had been loſt. No leſs gladneſs was among the people, to ſee the evidence of the matter ſo plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falſeneſs of the other. Whereat the malignant accuſer was with double ſhame confounded, firſt, for her diſhoneſty falſly cloaked: ſecondly, for the untruth of her accuſation openly detected. Bergomenſis addeth moreover, that the ſaid accuſer was ſtricken preſently with lightning. Thus Eugenia trying her honeſty to her parents and friends, was not only received of them again, but alſo by the grace of God working with her, in ſpace of time did win them to Chriſt. Whereby Philippus, the father of her by nature, now by grace was begotten of his own daughter to a more perfect life: and whom once he thought to have been loſt, not only he found again, but alſo with her found his own ſoul, and his own life, which before he had loſt indeed. This Philippus (ſaith the ſtory) was made afterward biſhop of Alexandria, and there ſuffered martyrdom. Concerning whoſe martyrdom I deny not but it may be true; but that he was biſhop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before ſufficiently proved out of Euſebius, and other ancient hiſtorians.

Likewiſe it is ſaid, that Eugenia, after the martyrdom of her father, returning to Rome with Prothus and Hiacinthus, by occaſion of converting Baſilla (who ſhould have been married to a pagan huſband, and was then beheaded) to the chriſtian faith, was aſſailed with ſundry kinds of death: firſt, being tied to a great ſtone, and caſt into Tiber, where ſhe was carried up from drowning, then put into the hot baths, which were extinguiſhed, and ſhe preſerved: afterward by famiſhment in priſon, where they ſay ſhe was fed at the hand of our Saviour: all which legendary miracles I leave to the reader to judge of them as ſhall ſeem good unto him. At laſt the ſtory ſaith, ſhe was with the ſword beheaded. Antonin. Bergom. Ado.

And becauſe in this preſent hiſtory mention was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his fellows noteth to be the biſhop of Hieropolis, here is to be underſtood and obſerved by the way, that as Philippus in the foreſaid hiſtory is falſly ſaid to be biſhop of Alexandria; ſo likewiſe untrue it is, that Helenus was biſhop of Hieropolis. For by Euſebius it appeareth, lib. 7. cap. 5. alledging the words of Dionyſius, that he was biſhop of Tarſus, in Cilicia, and had there overſight of that church from the time of our Lord God 254, to the year of our redemption 274.

The ſixth year of Valerianus and Galienus, we read in the hiſtory of Erfordienſis, cited out of Iſuardus, of Victor and Victorinus, who lying in priſon the ſpace of three years with Claudianus and Boſſa his wife, are ſaid to have ſuſtained great torments and martyrdom for the teſtimony and name of Chriſt. Ex Iſuardo. An. 262.

Aurelius Prudentius, in his book, intituled, Periſtephanon, inferreth mention of Fructuoſus biſhop of Tarraconia in Spain, who, with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, ſuffered alſo martyrdom, being burned after ſix days impriſonment under the foreſaid emperors in this perſecution. The cauſe of their puniſhment was for the profeſſion of Chriſt's name; their judge and condemner was Emilianus; their impriſonment endured ſix days; the kind of death miniſtered unto them was fire; wherein they being all together caſt with their arms bound behind them, their bands (as Prudentius writeth) were diſſolved, their hands untouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of the judge unto the biſhop was this, "That he ſhould worſhip the gods whom the emperor Galienus worſhipped." To whom the biſhop Fructuoſus anſwering, "Nay (ſaith he) I worſhip no dumb gods of ſtocks and blocks, whom Galienus doth worſhip, but I worſhip the Lord and Maſter of Galienus, the Father and Creator of all things, and his only Son ſent down to us, of whoſe flock I am here the paſtor and ſhepherd." At this word Emilianus anſwering again, "Nay (ſaith he) ſay not thou art, but ſay thou waſt." And forthwith commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is ſaid) their bands and manacles being looſed by the fire, they lifted up their hands to heaven, praiſing the living God, to the great admiration of them that ſtood by, praying alſo that the element, which ſeemed to fly from them, might work his full force upon them, and ſpeedily diſpatch them; which was after their requeſt obtained. In the mean ſpace, as they were in the fire, there was a certain ſoldier in the houſe of Emilianus, who did ſee the heavens above to open, and theſe foreſaid martyrs to enter into the ſame, which ſoldier likewiſe ſhewed the ſight the ſame time unto the daughter of Emilianus, the preſident, who, beholding the ſame ſight with the ſoldier, was a preſent witneſs of the bleſſedneſs of them whom her cruel father had condemned.

As this godly biſhop was preparing to his death (ſaith Prudentius) the brethren approaching to him, brought him drink, deſiring him with much weeping to receive and drink with them; but that he refuſed to do, requiring them moreover to refrain their tears. With like readineſs the brethren alſo were diligent about him to pluck off his ſhoes and hoſe, as he was addreſſing himſelf to the fire: but neither would he ſuffer any ſervant's help in that wherein he was no leſs willing than able to help himſelf. And thus this bleſſed and fruitful biſhop Fructuoſus, with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, being brought to the fire, witneſſed the conſtant confeſſion of the name of Chriſt with the ſhedding of their blood. Aurelius Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus.

And thus far continued wicked Valerian in his tyranny againſt the ſaints of Chriſt. But as all the tyrants before, and oppreſſors of the chriſtians, had their deſerved reward at the juſt hand of God, "which rendereth to every man according to his works:" ſo this cruel Valerian, after he had reigned with his ſon Galienus the term of ſix or ſeven years, and about two years had afflicted the church of Chriſt, felt the juſt ſtroke of his hand, whoſe indignation before he had provoked, whereof we have to witneſs Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volateranus: for making his expedition againſt the Perſians,

ſians, whether by the fraud and treaſon of ſome about him, or whether by his own raſhneſs, it is doubtful: but this is certain, that he fell into the hands of his enemies, being about the age of fourſcore years; where he led his wretched age in a more wretched captivity. Inſomuch that Sapores, the king of the Perſians, uſed him (and well worthy) not for his riding-fool, but for his riding-block: for whenſoever the king ſhould mount upon his horſe openly in the ſight of the people, Valerian, formerly emperor, was brought forth inſtead of a block for the king to tread upon his back in going to his horſe. And ſo continued this blockiſh butcherly emperor with ſhame and ſport enough unto his final end, as witneſſeth Letus and Aurelius Victor.

Albeit Euſebius, in a certain ſermon to the congregation, declareth a more cruel handling of him, affirming that he was ſlain, writing in theſe words, "And thou Valerian, forſomuch as thou haſt exerciſed the ſame cruelty in murdering of the ſubjects of God, therefore haſt proved unto the righteous judgment of God, in that thyſelf haſt been bound in chains, and carried away for a captive ſlave with thy gorgeous purple, and thy imperial attire, and at length alſo, being commanded of Sapores, king of the Perſians, to be ſlain, and powdered with ſalt, haſt ſet up unto all men a perpetual monument of thine own wretchedneſs," &c. Euſeb.

The like ſeverity of God's terrible judgment is alſo to be noted in Claudius, his preſident, and miniſter of his perſecutions. Of which Claudius Henricus de Erfordia thus writeth, that he was poſſeſſed and vexed of the devil, in ſuch ſort, that he biting off his own tongue in many ſmall pieces, ſo ended his life. Erford.

Neither did Galienus, the ſon of Valerian, after the captivity of his father, utterly eſcape the righteous hand of God: for beſide the miſerable captivity of his father, whom he could not reſcue, ſuch portents ſtrange and out of the courſe of nature, ſuch earthquakes did happen; alſo ſuch tumults, commotions and rebellions did follow, that Trebellio doth reckon up to the number of thirty together, which in ſundry places all at one time took upon them to be tyrants and emperors over the monarchy of Rome, by the means whereof he was not able to ſuccour his father, though he would. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Galienus, being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his father, did remove, at leaſt did moderate the perſecution ſtirred up by the edicts of Valerian his father, directing forth his imperial proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be ſeen in Euſebius, lib. 7. cap. 13. "Emperor and Cæſar, Publius Lucinius, Galienus, Pius, Fortunatus, Auguſtus, unto Dionyſius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian, and to all other the like biſhops. The bountiful benignity of my gift I have willed and commanded to be proclaimed through the whole world, to the intent that ſuch which are detained in baniſhment for diſcipline ſake, may ſafely return home again from whence they came; and for the ſame cauſe I have here ſent to you the example of my reſcript for you to peruſe and to enjoy; ſo that no man be ſo hardy to vex or moleſt you; and this, which you may now lawfully enjoy, hath been long ſince by me granted. And therefore, for your more warrant in the ſame, I have committed the exemplar hereof to the cuſtody of Aurelianus Cirenius my chief ſteward, where you may fetch the copy to ſee at your pleaſure."

This mandate above prefixed did Galienus ſend to Dionyſius Alexandrinus, and other biſhops, as is premiſed. Another reſcript alſo the ſaid emperor ſent to other chriſtian biſhops, permitting to them full liberty to receive again their wonted places where they uſed to aſſociate together, called of them Cœmeteria.

By this it may appear that ſome peace was granted then under this Galienus to the church of Chriſt: albeit not ſo, but that ſome there were which ſuffered, of whom was one Marinus mentioned in Euſebius, lib. 7. This Marinus, being a warrior and a nobleman in Cæſaera, ſtood for the dignity of a certain order, which by all order of courſe was next to fall upon him by right, had not the envious ambition of him that ſhould follow next after him, ſupplanted him both of office and life; for he accuſed him to be a chriſtian, and therefore ſaid that he was not to be admitted unto their offices, which was againſt their religion. Whereupon Achaius, then being judge, examined him of his faith; who finding him to be a chriſtian indeed, and conſtantly to ſtand to his profeſſion, gave him three hours to deliberate and adviſe with himſelf. There was the ſame time in Cæſarea a biſhop named Theotechnus, otherwiſe called Theodiſtus, who perceiving him to ſtand in doubtful deliberation and perplexity in himſelf, took him by the hand and brought him into the houſe or church of the chriſtians, laying before him a ſword (which he had under his cloak for the ſame purpoſe) and a book of the New Teſtament, and ſo willed him to take his free choice which of them both he would prefer. The ſoldier immediately without delay ran to the book of the goſpel, taking that before the ſword. And thus, he being animated by the biſhop, preſented himſelf boldly before the judge, by whoſe ſentence he was beheaded, and died a martyr. Euſebius ibidem.

Whoſe body being dead, one Aſyrius a noble ſenator of Rome, and a man very wealthy among the chief of that order (who in the ſame time was there preſent at his martyrdom) took up and bare upon his ſhoulders, wrapping it in a rich and ſumptuous weed, and ſo honourably committed it to the burial. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Of which Aſyrius the ſaid author writeth moreover this ſtory: How that in the foreſaid city of Cæſarea, the Gentiles uſed thereof an ancient cuſtom to offer up a certain ſacrifice by a fountain ſide, the which ſacrifice by the working of the devil was wont ſuddenly to vaniſh out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the inhabiters by. Aſyrius ſeeing this, and pitying the miſerable error of the ſimple people, lifting up his eyes to heaven, made his prayer to Almighty God in the name of Chriſt, that the people might not be ſeduced of the devil any longer: by the virtue of whoſe prayer the ſacrifice was ſeen to ſwim in the water of the fountain; and ſo the ſtrange wonder of that ſight was taken away, and no ſuch matter could be there wrought any more. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 16.

And becauſe mention is made here of Cæſarea, there followeth in the next chapter of the ſame author, a ſtrange miracle, if it be true, which he there reporteth; how that out of the ſame city was the woman which in the goſpel came to our Saviour, and was healed of her bloody iſſue, her houſe being in the city of Cæſarea. before the door thereof was ſet up a certain pillar of ſtone, and upon the pillar an image was made of braſs, of a woman meekly kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands, as one that had ſome ſuit. Againſt the which there was another image alſo of a man proportioned of the ſame metal, cunningly engraved in a ſhort ſeemly veſture, and ſtretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of which pillar grew up a certain herb of a ſtrange kind, but of a more ſtrange operation, which growing up to the hem of his veſture, and once touching the ſame, is ſaid to have ſuch virtue, that it was able to cure all manner of diſeaſes. This picture of the man (they ſay) repreſented the image of Chriſt. The hiſtory is written in Euſebius, as is ſaid; the credit whereof I refer to the reader, whether he will think it true or falſe. If he think it falſe, yet I have ſhewed him mine author: If he think it true, then muſt he think withal that this miraculous operation of the herb proceeded neither by the virtue of the picture, nor by the prayer of the other, being both dumb pictures, and engraven no doubt at that time by the hand of infidels, but to be wrought by ſome ſecret permiſſion of God's

wiſdom, either to reduce the infidels at that time to the belief of the ſtory, or to admoniſh the chriſtians to conſider with themſelves what ſtrength and health was to be looked for only of Chriſt and no other advocate; ſeeing the dumb picture, engraven in braſs, gave his efficacy to a poor herb to cure ſo many diſeaſes. The picture (ſaith Euſebius) remained alſo to his time, which was under Conſtantinus the Great.

As touching the line and order of the Roman biſhops hitherto intermitted; after the martyrdom of Xiſtus above ſpecified, the government of that church was committed next to one Dionyſius, about the year of our Lord 266: who continued in the ſame the ſpace of nine years and two months. Of his decretal epiſtles, becauſe ſufficient hath been ſaid before concerning that matter, I omit to ſpeak. After whom ſucceeded Felix in the firſt year of Probus the emperor, about the year of our Lord 880, who governed that church five years, and died, as Platina ſaith, a martyr. After him followed Eutychianus, and then Gaius, both martyrs, as the hiſtories of ſome do record.

About the time of theſe biſhops lived Theodorus biſhop of Neocæſarea, who is otherwiſe called Gregorius Magnus, whom alſo Nicephorus for his miracles called Thaumaturgus.

Thus Galienus the foreſaid emperor reigned, as is declared, with his father Valerian ſeven years, after whoſe captivity he ruled the monarchy alone about nine years, with ſome peace and quietneſs granted to the church.

An. 282. The days of this Galienus being expired, followed Claudius a quiet emperor, as moſt ſtories do record. Although Vincentius affirmeth that he was a mover of perſecution againſt the chriſtians, and maketh mention of 262 martyrs, which in his time did ſuffer; but becauſe no ſuch record remaineth to be found in Euſebius, who would not have omitted ſome memorial thereof, if it had been true, therefore I refer the ſame to the free judgment of the reader, to find ſuch credit as it may. This Claudius reigned but two years, after whom came Quintilianus his brother, next emperor, and a quiet prince, who continued but only ſeventeen days, and had to his ſucceſſor Aurelianus; under whom Oroſius in his ſeventh book doth number the ninth perſecution againſt the chriſtians.

The ninth Perſecution.

HItherto from the captivity of Valerian, the church of Chriſt was in ſome quietneſs till the death of Quintilianus, as hath been declared; after whom Aurelianus the next ſucceſſor poſſeſſed the crown; who in the firſt beginning of his reign (after the common manner of all princes) ſhewed himſelf a prince moderate and diſcreet, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a conſtant courſe agreeing to the ſame. Of nature he was ſevere, and rigorous in correcting, and diſſolute in manners; inſomuch as it was ſaid of him in a vulgar proverb, "That he was a good phyſician, ſaving that he gave too bitter medicines." This emperor being ſick, never ſent for a phyſician, but cured himſelf by abſtinence; and as his beginning was not unfruitful to the commonwealth, ſo neither was he any great diſturber of the chriſtians, whom he did not only tolerate in their religion, but alſo their councils; and they being the ſame time aſſembled at Antioch, he ſeemed not to be againſt them. Notwithſtanding in continuance of time, through ſiniſter motion and inſtigation of certain about him (as commonly ſuch are never abſent in all places from the ears of princes), his nature, ſomewhat inclinable to ſeverity, was altered to a plain tyranny; which tyranny firſt he ſhewed, beginning with the death of his own ſiſter's ſon, as witneſſeth Eutropius.

After that he proceeded either to move, or at leaſt to purpoſe perſecution againſt the chriſtians; albeit that wicked purpoſe of the emperor the merciful working of God's hand did ſoon overthrow. For as the edict or proclamation ſhould have been denounced for the perſecuting of the chriſtians, and the emperor now ready to ſubſcribe the edict with his hand, the mighty ſtroke of the hand of the Lord, ſuddenly from above, did ſtop his purpoſe, binding (as a man might ſay) the emperor's hand behind him, declaring (as Euſebius ſaith) to all men, how there is no power to work any violence againſt the ſervants of God, unleſs his permiſſion do ſuffer them, and give them leave. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 30. Eutropius and Vopiſcus affirm, That as the ſaid Aurelianus was purpoſing to raiſe perſecution againſt us, he was ſuddenly terrified with lightning, and ſo ſtopped from his wicked tyranny. Not long after, about the 5th or 6th year of his reign, he was ſlain between Biſance and Hieraclea, in the year of our Lord 278.

Thus Aurelianus rather intended than moved perſecution. Neither is there any more than this found concerning this perſecution in ancient hiſtories and records of the church; wherefore I marvel the more that Vincentius, collecting out of the martyrologies, hath comprehended ſuch a great catalogue of ſo many martyrs, which in France and Italy, ſaith he, ſuffered death and torment under this emperor Aurelianus; whereunto Oroſius alſo ſeemeth to agree in numbering this to be the ninth perſecution under the ſaid Aurelian.

Next after Aurelianus the ſucceſſion of the empire fell to Publius Annius Tacitus, who reigned but ſix months; him ſucceeded his brother Florianus, who reigned but threeſcore days; and after him followed Marcus Aurelius, ſurnamed Probus. Of whom more hereafter (God willing) ſhall appear.

In the mean time, within the compaſs of theſe emperors, falleth a ſtory recorded of Euſebius, and not unworthy here to be noted, whereby to underſtand the faithful diligence of good miniſters, what good it may do in a commonwealth.

Mention is made before of Euſebius the deacon of Dionyſius, whom God ſtirred up to viſit and comfort the ſaints that were in priſon and bands, and to bury the bodies of the bleſſed martyrs departed, not without great peril of his own life, who after was made biſhop, as is ſaid, of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be biſhop there, it chanced, the ſaid Euſebius remaining as yet at Alexandria, the city to be beſieged by the Romans, Pyruchius being their captain. In which ſiege half of the city did hold with the Romans, the other half withſtood them. In that part which went with the Roman captain was Euſebius, being alſo in great favour with the captain for his worthy fidelity and ſervice ſhewed: with the other half that reſiſted the Romans was Anatholius, governor or moderator then of the ſchool of Alexandria, who alſo was biſhop, after the ſaid Euſebius, of Laodicea.

This Anatholius, perceiving the citizens to be in miſerable diſtreſs of famine and deſtruction, by reaſon of penury and lack of ſuſtenance, ſendeth to Euſebius being then with the Romans, and certifieth him of the lamentable penury and peril of the city, inſtructing him moreover what to do in the matter: Euſebius, underſtanding the caſe, repaired to the captain, deſiring of him ſo much favour, that ſo many as would flee out of the city from their enemies, might be licenſed to eſcape and freely paſs, which was to him immediately granted.

As Euſebius was thus labouring with the captain; on the other ſide Anatholius, for his part, laboured with the citizens, moving them to aſſemble together, and perſuading them to give themſelves over, in yielding to the force and might of the Romans. But when the citizens could not abide the hearing thereof; yet (ſaid Anatholius, with this I truſt you will be contented, if I ſhall counſel you in this miſerable lack of things to

avoid out of your city all ſuch ſuperfluous and unneceſſary impediments unto you, as old women, young children, aged men, with ſuch other as be feeble and impotent, and not ſuffer them here to periſh with famine, whoſe preſence can do no ſtead to you if they die, and leſs if they live, for ſpending the victuals which otherwiſe might ſerve them that be more able to defend the city. The ſenate hearing this ſentence, and underſtanding moreover the grant of the captain promiſing them their ſafety, were well conſenting thereunto.

Then Anatholius having ſpecial care of them that belonged to the church of Chriſt, calleth them together with the reſt of the multitude, and perſuading them what they ſhould do, and what had been obtained for them, cauſed them to void the city, and not only them but alſo a great number of other more; who perſuaded by him under that pretence, changing themſelves in womens apparel, or feigning ſome impotency, ſo eſcaped out of the city. At whoſe coming out, Euſebius on the other ſide was ready to receive them, and refreſhed their hungry and pined bodies, whereby not only they, but the whole city of Alexandria was preſerved from deſtruction. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 32.

By this hiſtory of Euſebius and Anatholius, briefly here ſet forth to thee (gentle reader) thou mayſt partly underſtand the practice of the prelates, what it was in thoſe days in the church, which was then only employed in ſaving of life, and ſuccouring the commonweals wherein they lived, as by theſe two godly perſons Euſebius and Anatholius may well appear. Unto the which picture if we compare the practice of our later prelates of the church of Rome, I ſuppoſe no little difference will appear.

The next emperor to Florianus (as is ſaid) was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a prince both wiſe and virtuous, and no leſs valiant in martial affairs, than fortunate in the ſucceſs of the ſame. During his time we read of no perſecution greatly ſtirring in the church, but much quietneſs as well in matters of religion, as alſo in the commonwealth. Inſomuch that, after his great and many victories, ſuch peace enſued, that his ſaying was, "There needed no more ſoldiers, ſeeing there were no more enemies to the commonwealth to fight againſt." It was his ſaying alſo, "That his ſoldiers need not ſpend corn and victual, except they laboured to ſerve the commonwealth." And for the ſame cauſe he cauſed his ſoldiers to be ſet to work about certain mountains of Smyrna and in Meſſia to be planted with vines, and not ſo much as in winter ſuffered them to be at reſt; therefore by them at length he was ſlain, after he had reigned the ſpace of ſix years and four months, in the year of our Lord 284. Eutrop.

Carus, with his two ſons Carinus and Numerianus, ſucceeded next after Probus in the empire: the reign of which emperors continued in all but three years. Of the which three firſt Carus, warring againſt the Perſians, was ſlain with lightning. Of Numerianus his ſon, being with his father in the wars againſt the Perſians, we find much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiſcus, and other writers, which teſtified him to be a valiant warrior, and an eloquent orator, as appeared by his declamations and writings ſent to the ſenate; thirdly, to be an excellent poet. This Numerianus, ſorrowing and lamenting for the death of his father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great ſoreneſs of his eyes; by reaſon whereof he keeping cloſe was ſlain not long after by his father-in-law, named Aper; who, traitoriouſly aſpiring to the empire, diſſembled his death with a falſe excuſe to the people aſking for him, ſaying, "For the pain of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather," till at length by the ſtench of his body being carried about, his death was uttered.

In the life of this emperor Carus aforeſaid, written by Eutropius in the later edition ſet forth by Frobenius, I find (which in other editions of Eutropius doth not appear), that Numerianus, the ſon of this Carus, was he that ſlew Babylas the holy martyr, whoſe hiſtory before we have comprehended. But that ſeemeth not to be like, both by the narration of Chryſoſtom, and alſo for that Urſpergenſis declaring the ſame hiſtory, and in the ſame words as it is in Eutropius, ſaith that it was Cyrillus whom Numerianus killed, the ſtory whereof is this; What time Carus the emperor, in his journey going towards the Perſians, remained at Antioch, Numerianus his ſon would enter into the church of the chriſtians, to view and behold their myſteries. But Cyrillus their biſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer him to enter into the church, ſaying, "That it was not lawful for him to ſee the myſteries of God, who was polluted with ſacrifices of idols." Numerianus, full of indignation at the hearing of theſe words, not ſuffering that repulſe at the hands of Cyrillus, in his fury did ſlay the godly martyr. And therefore juſtly (as it ſeemed) was he himſelf ſlain afterward by the hands of Aper.

Thus Carus with his ſon Numerianus being ſlain in the Eaſt parts, as is declared, Carinus the other ſon reigned alone in Italy; where he overcame Sabinus ſtriving for the empire, and reigned there with much wickedneſs, till the returning home of the army again from the Perſians, who then ſet up Diocleſian to be emperor; by whom the foreſaid Carinus for the wickedneſs of his life, being forſaken of his hoſt, was overcome, and at length ſlain with the hand of the tribune, whoſe wife before he had deflowered. Thus Carus with his two ſons, Numerianus and Carinus, ended their lives, whoſe reign continued not above three years.

All this mean ſpace we read of no great perſecution ſtirring in the church of Chriſt, but it was in mean quiet ſtate and tranquillity unto the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocleſian; ſo that in counting the time from the latter end of Valerian unto this aforeſaid year of Diocleſian, the peace of the church, which God gave to his people, ſeemeth to continue above four and forty years. During the which time of peace and tranquillity, the church of our Lord did mightily increaſe and flouriſh, ſo that the more bodies it loſt by perſecution, the more honour and reverence was won daily among the Gentiles in all quarters, both Greeks and barbarous; inſomuch that (as Euſebius in his ſeventh book deſcribeth) amongſt the emperors themſelves, divers there were which not only bare ſingular good will and favour to them of our profeſſion, but alſo did commit unto them offices and government over countries and nations, ſo well were they affected to our doctrine, that they privileged the ſame with liberty and indemnity. What needeth to ſpeak of them which not only lived under the emperors in liberty; but alſo were familiar in the court with the princes themſelves, entertained with great honour and ſpecial favour, beyond the other ſervitors of the court? as was Dorotheus, with his wife, children, and whole family, highly accepted and advanced in the palace of the emperor; alſo Gorgonius in like manner with divers others more, who, for their doctrine and learning which they profeſſed, were with their princes in great eſtimation. In like reverence alſo were the biſhops of cities and dioceſes with the preſidents and rulers where they lived, who not only ſuffered them to live in peace, but alſo had them in great price and regard, ſo long as they kept themſelves upright, and continued in God his favour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and congregations aſſembling together in every city, and the notable concourſes of ſuch as daily flocked to the common oratories to pray? For the which cauſe they, being not able to be contained in their old houſes, had large and great churches, new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent together. In ſuch increaſement (ſaith Euſebius) by proceſs of time did the church of Chriſt grow and ſhoot up daily more and more, profiting and ſpreading through all quarters, which neither envy of

men could infringe, nor devil could inchant, neither the crafty policy of man's wit could ſupplant, ſo long as the protection of God his heavenly arm went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of chriſtian life.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of itſelf unruly and untoward, always ſeeketh and deſireth proſperity, and yet can never well uſe proſperity; always would have peace, and yet having peace, always abuſeth the ſame: ſo here likewiſe it happened with theſe men, which thro' this ſo great liberty and proſperity of life began to degenerate and languiſh unto idleneſs and delicacy, and one to work ſpite and contumely againſt another, ſtriving and contending amongſt themſelves, on every occaſion, with railing words after moſt deſpiteful manner; biſhops againſt biſhops, and people againſt people, moving hatred and ſedition one againſt another, beſides alſo curſed hypocriſy and diſſimulation with all extremity increaſing more and more. By reaſon whereof the judgment of God after his wonted manner (whilſt yet the congregation began to multiply) began by little and little to viſit our men with perſecution, falling firſt upon our brethren which were abroad in warfare; but when that touched the other nothing or very little, neither did they ſeek to appeaſe God's wrath and call for mercy; but wickedly thinking with ourſelves, that God neither regarded nor would viſit our tranſgreſſions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one upon another; and they which ſeemed to be our paſtors, refuſing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions one againſt another. And thus whilſt they were given only to the ſtudy of contentions, threatenings, emulations, mutual hatred and diſcord, every man ſeeking his own ambition, and perſecuting one another after the manner of tyranny: then, then, ſay I, the Lord, according to the voice of Jeremy, took away the beauty of the daughter of Sion, and the glory of Iſrael fell down from heaven, neither did he remember the foot-ſtool of his feet in the day of his wrath. And the Lord overturned all the comely ornaments of Iſrael, and deſtroyed all her gorgeous buildings, and, according to the ſaying of the pſalmiſt, ſubverted and extinguiſhed the teſtament of his ſervant, and prophaned his ſanctuary in the deſtruction of his churches, and in laying waſte the buildings thereof, ſo that all paſſengers ſpoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquy to all the dwellers about. For he exalted the ſtrength of his enemies, and turned away the help of his ſword from her, nor aided her in the battle, but ceaſed from the purging of her and her ſeat. He ſtruck down to the ground, and diminiſhed her days, and over all this poured upon her confuſion. All theſe things were fulfilled upon us, when we ſaw the temples razed from the top to the ground, and the ſacred ſcriptures to be burnt in the open market place, and the paſtors of the church to hide themſelves, ſome here, ſome there; ſome other taken priſoners with great ſhame, were mocked of their enemies, when alſo according to the ſaying of the prophet in another place, Contempt was poured out upon the princes, and they cauſed to go out of the way, and not to keep the ſtreight path.

The tenth Perſecution.

BY reaſon whereof (the wrath of God being kindled againſt his church) enſued the tenth and laſt perſecution againſt the chriſtians, ſo horrible and grievous, that it maketh the pen almoſt to tremble to write upon it; ſo tedious, that never was any perſecution before or ſince comparable to it for the time it continued, laſting the ſpace of ten years together. This perſecution, although it paſſed through the hands of divers tyrants and workers more than one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Diocleſian, who was emperor, as is above noted, next after Carus and Numerianus. This Diocleſian, ever having an ambitious mind, aſpired greatly to be emperor. To whom Druas his concubine ſaid, That firſt he ſhould kill a wild boar, before he ſhould be emperor. He, taking effect at theſe words, uſed much with hands to kill wild boars: but ſeeing no ſucceſs to come thereof, he uſed this proverb, "I kill the boars, but others do eat the fleſh." At length the ſaid Diocleſian being nominated to be emperor, and ſeeing Aper (who had killed Numerianus the emperor) ſtanding thereby, ſware to the ſoldiers, that Numerianus was wrongfully killed, and forthwith running upon Aper with his ſword ſlew him: Vopiſc. After this he being eſtabliſhed in the empire, and ſeeing on every ſide divers and ſundry commotions riſing up againſt him, which he was not well able himſelf to ſuſtain, in the firſt beginning of his reign he choſe for his collegue Maximianus, ſurnamed Herculius, father of Maxentius. Which two emperors, becauſe of divers wars that roſe in many provinces, choſe to them two other noblemen, Galerius and Conſtantius, whom they called Cæſars. Of whom Galerius was ſent into the eaſt parts againſt the Perſians. Conſtantius was ſent over to Britain, to this our country of England, to recover the tribute, where he took to wife Helena the daughter of king Coill, which was a maiden excelling in beauty, and no leſs famouſly brought up in the ſtudy of learning, of whom was born Conſtantinus the Great. Anno 290.

All this while hitherto no perſecution was yet ſtirred of theſe four princes againſt the church of Chriſt, but quietly and moderately they governed the commonwealth; wherefore accordingly God proſpered their doings and affairs, and gave them great victories: Diocleſian in Egypt, Maximian in Afric and in France, Galerius in Perſia, Conſtantius in England and in France alſo. By reaſon of which victories, Diocleſian and Maximian, puft up in pride, ordained a ſolemn triumph at Rome; after which triumph Diocleſian gave commands that he ſhould be worſhipped as God, ſaying that he was brother to the ſun and moon, and adorning his feet with gold and precious ſtones, commanded the people to kiſs his feet.

And not long after by the judgment of God, for certain enormities, uſed in the church above touched, began the great and grievous perſecution of the chriſtians, moved by the outrageous cruelty of Diocleſian, which was about the nineteenth year of his reign, who in the month of March, when the feaſt of Eaſter was nigh at hand, commanded all the churches of the chriſtians to be ſpoiled and caſt to the earth, and the books of the holy ſcripture to be burned. Anno 308.

Thus moſt violent edicts and proclamations were ſet forth for the overthrowing, as is ſaid, of the chriſtians temples throughout all the Roman empire. Neither did there want in the officers any cruel execution of the ſame proclamations. For their temples were defaced, even when they celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter, Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 2. And this was the firſt edict. given out by Diocleſian. The next proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the books of the holy ſcripture; which thing was done in the open market-place as before: then next unto that were edicts given forth for the diſplacing of ſuch as were magiſtrates, and that with great ignominy, and all other whoſoever bare any office, impriſoning ſuch as were of the common ſort, if they would not abjure chriſtianity, and ſubſcribe to the heathen religion: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonaras alſo in his ſecond tome. And theſe were the beginnings of the chriſtian evils.

It was not long after but that new edicts were ſent forth, nothing for their cruelty inferior to the firſt: for the caſting of the elders and biſhops into priſon, and then conſtraining them with ſundry kinds of puniſhments to offer unto their idols. By reaſon whereof enſued a great perſecution

perſecution amongſt the governors of the church, amongſt whom many ſtood manfully, paſſing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were overcome therewith, being tormented and examined divers of them diverſly, ſome ſcourged all their bodies over with whips and ſcourges, ſome with racks and raiſing of the fleſh intolerable were crucified, ſome one way, ſome another way put to death. Some again were drawn to the unpure ſacrifice, and as though they had ſacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let go. Other ſome neither coming at all to their altars, nor touching any piece of their ſacrifices, yet were borne in hand of them that ſtood by, that they had ſacrificed, and ſo ſuffering that falſe information of their enemies, quietly went away. Other, as dead men, were carried and caſt away being but half dead. Some they caſt down upon the pavement, and trailing them a great ſpace by the legs, made the people believe that they had ſacrificed. Furthermore, other there were that ſtoutly withſtood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no ſuch ſacrifice. Of whom ſome ſaid they were chriſtians, and gloried in the profeſſion of that name: ſome cried, ſaying, that neither they had, nor would ever be partakers of that idolatry: and thoſe being buffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the ſoldiers, were made to hold their peace, and ſo thruſt out with violence. And if the ſaints did ſeem ever ſo little to do what the enemies would have them, they were made much of: albeit all this purpoſe of the adverſary did nothing prevail againſt the holy and conſtant ſervants of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding, of the weak ſort innumerable there were, which for fear and infirmity fell and gave over, even at the firſt brunt.

At the firſt coming down of theſe edicts into Nicomedia, there chanced a deed to be done much worthy of memory, of a chriſtian, being a nobleman born; which moved by the zeal of God, after the prolamation made at Nicomedia was ſet up, and by-and-by ran and took down the ſame, and openly and tore rent in pieces, not fearing the preſence of the two emperors, then being in the city. For which act he was put to a moſt bitter death, which death he with faith and conſtancy endured, even to the laſt gaſp. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 3 and 5.

After this, the furious rage of the malignant emperors, being let looſe againſt the ſaints of Chriſt, proceeded more and more, making havock of God's people throughout all quarters of the world. Firſt Diocleſian (which had purpoſed with himſelf to ſubvert the whole chriſtian religion) executed his tyranny in the eaſt, and Maximianus in the weſt. But wily Diocleſian began very ſubtilly; for he put the matter firſt in practice in his own camp, among whom the marſhal of the field (as Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 4. affirmeth) put the chriſtian ſoldiers to this choice, whether they would obey the emperor's commandment in that manner of ſacrifice he commanded, and ſo both to keep their offices, and lead their bands or elſe to lay away from them their armour and weapons. Whereunto the chriſtian men courageouſly anſwered, that they were not only ready to lay down their armour and weapons, but alſo to ſuffer death, if it ſhould with tyranny be enforced upon them, rather than they would obey the wicked decrees and commandments of the emperor.

There might a man have ſeen very many which were deſirous to live a ſimple and poor life, and which regarded on eſtimation and honour in compariſon of true godlineſs. And this was no more but a ſubtil and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at their own liberty, whether they would willingly abjure their profeſſion or not; as alſo this was another, that in the beginning of the perſecution, there were but a few tormented with puniſhment, but afterward by little and little he began more manifeſtly to burſt out into perſecution. It can hardly be expreſſed with words what number of martyrs, and what blood was ſhed throughout all cities and regions for the name of Chriſt. Euſebius, in his eighth book and ſeventh chapter, ſaith, that he himſelf knew the worthy martyrs that were in Paleſtina. But in Tyre of Phœnicia, he declareth, in the ſame, a marvellous martyrdom made, where certain chriſtians being given to moſt cruel wild beaſts, were preſerved without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders; and thoſe lions, bears, and leopards (kept hungry for that purpoſe) had no deſire to devour them: which notwithſtanding moſt vehemently raged againſt thoſe by whom they were brought into the ſtage, who ſtanding as they thought without danger of them, were firſt devoured. But the chriſtian martyrs, becauſe they could not be hurt of the beaſts, being ſlain with the ſword, were afterward thrown into the ſea. At that time was martyred the biſhop of Sidon. But Sylvanus the biſhop of Gazenſis, with nine and thirty others, were ſlain in the metal mines of Phœnicia. Pamphilus the elder of Cæſarea, being the glory of that congregation, died a moſt worthy martyr; whoſe life and moſt commendable martyrdom, Euſebius oftentimes declareth in his eighth book, and thirteenth chapter, inſomuch that he hath written the ſame in a book by itſelf. In Syria all the chief teachers of the congregation were firſt committed to priſon as a moſt heavy and cruel ſpectacle to behold; as alſo the biſhops, elders, and deacons, which all were eſteemed as men-killers, and perpetrators of moſt wicked facts. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6. After that we read of another whoſe name was Tirannion, who was made meat for the fiſhes of the ſea; and of Zenobius, a very good phyſician, who alſo was ſlain of brickbats in the ſame place. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Furthermore he maketh mention in the ſame place of others which were not tormented to death, but every day terrified and frighted without ceaſing: of ſome others that were brought to the ſacrifices, and commanded to do ſacrifice, which would rather thruſt their right hand into the fire, than touch the profane or wicked ſacrifice; alſo of ſome others, that before they were apprehended, would caſt down themſelves from ſteep places, leſt that being taken they ſhould commit any thing againſt their profeſſion. Alſo of two virgins very fair and proper, with their mother alſo, who had ſtudiouſly brought them up, even from their infancy in all godlineſs, being long ſought for, and at the laſt found, and ſtrictly kept by their keepers; who, whilſt they made their excuſe to do that which nature required, threw themſelves down headlong into a river: alſo of other two young maidens being ſiſters, and of a worſhipful ſtock, endued with many goodly virtues, which were caſt of perſecutors into the ſea; and theſe things were done at Antioch, as Euſebius, in his eighth book and thirteenth chapter, affirmeth. But Sylvanus the biſhop of Emiſſa, the notable martyr, together with certain others, were thrown to the wild beaſts. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Divers and ſundry torments were the chriſtians in Meſopotamia moleſted with; where they were hanged up by the feet, and their heads downwards, and with the ſmoke of a ſmall fire ſtrangled; and alſo in Cappadocia, where the martyrs had their legs broken. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12.

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the martyrs of Tarſus in Cilicia, as Tharatus, Probus, and Andronicus: but yet the martyrs in the region of Pontus ſuffered far more paſſing and ſharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention, Euſebius, ibid. So outrageous was the beginning of the perſecution which the emperor made in Nicomedia in Bythinia, as before is ſaid, that he refrained not from the ſlaughter of the children of emperors, neither yet from the ſlaughter of the moſt chief princes of the court, whom a little before he made as much of, as if they had been his own children. Such another was Peter, which among divers and ſundry torments (among whom he being naked, was lifted up, his whole body being ſo beaten with whips and torn, that a man might ſee the bare bones; and after they had mingled

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Flaying *them alive.* | *Cutting out the* Tongues *of* CHRISTIANS.

Roasting a Christian, *pouring* Vinegar *and* Salt *on his* Members.

T. Smith sculp.

Published as the Act directs, for H. Trapp Pater-noster Row.

gled vinegar and ſalt together, they poured it upon the moſt tender parts of his body, and laſtly roaſted him at a ſoft fire, as a man would roaſt fleſh to eat) as a victorious martyr ended his life. Dorotheus and Gorgonius being in great authority and office under the emperor, after divers torments were ſtrangled with a halter: both which being of the privy chamber to him, when they ſaw and beheld the grievous puniſhment of Peter, their houſhold companion, Wherefore (ſay they) O emperor, do you puniſh in Peter that opinion which is in all us? Why is this counted in him an offence, that we all confeſs? We are of that faith, religion, and judgment, that he is of. Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almoſt with like pains to be tormented as Peter was, and afterwards hanged. Euſeb. Ruffin. lib. 8. cap. 6. After whom Anthimus, the biſhop of Nicomedia, after he had made a notable confeſſion, bringing with him a great company of martyrs, was beheaded. Theſe men being thus diſpatched, the emperor vainly thought that he might cauſe the reſt to do whatever him liſted. To this end came Lucianus, the elder of the congregation of Antioch, and was martyred, after he had made his apology before the emperor. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Hermanus alſo, that monſter, cauſed Serena, the wife of Diocleſian the emperor, to be martyred for the chriſtian religion: ſo much did the rage of perſecution utterly forget all natural affection. Other martyrs of Nicomedia doth Nicephorus in his ſeventh book, and fourteenth chapter, recite, as Eulampius and Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia, and Anaſtaſia, who under Illyricus, chief officer, were bound hand and foot to a poſt, and burnt. Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 66. and alſo Euſebius, lib. 8. cap. 6. mentioneth another like matter full of horror and grief. There aſſembled together in their temple many chriſtian men to celebrate the memory of the nativity of Chriſt, of every age and ſort ſome. There Maximianus thinking to have been given a very fit occaſion to execute his tyranny upon the poor chriſtians, ſent thither ſuch as ſhould burn the temple; the doors being ſhut and cloſed round about, thither come they with fire, but firſt they commanded the cryer with a loud voice to cry, That whoſoever would have life ſhould come out of the temple, and do ſacrifice upon the next altar of Jupiter they came to; and unleſs they would do this, they ſhould be burnt with the temple. Then one ſtepping up in the temple, anſwered in the name of all the reſt with great courage and boldneſs of mind, that they were all chriſtians, and believed that Chriſt was their only God and King, and that they would do ſacrifice to him, with his Father, and the Holy Ghoſt; and that they were now all ready to offer unto him. With theſe words the fire was kindled, and compaſſed about the temple, and there were burnt of men, women, and children, certain thouſands. There were alſo in Arabia very many martyrs ſlain with axes, as Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12. There was in Phrygia a city, unto which the emperor ſent his edicts, that they ſhould do ſacrifice to the gods, and worſhip idols; all which citizens, the mayor himſelf, the quæſtor, and chief captain, confeſſed that they were all chriſtians. The city upon this was beſieged, and ſet on fire, and all the people. Euſebius, lib. 8. cap. 11. In Melitina, a region of Armenia, the biſhops and elders were caſt in priſon. Euſeb. eodem cap. 6. In Arabrace, a region near adjoining to Armenia, Euſtratius was martyred, as Nicephorus declareth, lib. 7. cap. 14. This Euſtratius was that countryman born, and very ſkilful in the Greek tongue, executing by the emperor's commandment the ſheriff's office at Licia in the eaſt, which alſo did execution there upon the chriſtians, and was a ſcribe of great eſtimation, called Ordinis Ducalis. This man, beholding the marvellous conſtancy of the martyrs, thirſted with the deſire of martyrdom, for that he had privily learned the chriſtian religion. Therefore he not abiding for other accuſers, lig[illegible] de[illegible]fected himſelf, and worthily profeſſed that he was a

chriſtian, openly execrating the madneſs and vanity of the wicked heathens. He therefore being carried away, was tied up, being firſt moſt bitterly beaten. After that he was parched with fire being put unto his bowels, and then baſted with ſalt and vinegar, and laſtly ſo ſcorched and bemangled with the ſhards of ſharp and cutting ſheds, that his whole body ſeemed to be all one continued wound; howbeit, by God's great goodneſs, afterward it was reſtored to the firſt integrity. After this he was carried away to Sebaſtia, where with his companion Oreſtes he was burnt. At that time alſo ſuffered Eugenius, Aurentius, Mardarius. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 14. And in no leſs wiſe raged this perſecution throughout all Egypt, where Euſebius, lib. 8. cap. 13. maketh mention of Peleus and Nilus, martyrs and biſhops in Egypt. But at Alexandria eſpecially were declared moſt notable conflicts of chriſtian and true conſtant martyrs that ſuffered; which Phileas, the biſhop of Thumitan, deſcribeth, as after (God willing) ſhall be declared. In this perſecution of Alexandria, the principal that then ſuffered were, Peter, the biſhop of Alexandria, with the elders of the ſame, moſt worthy martyrs: as Fauſtus, Didius, and Ammonius, alſo Phileas, Heſychius, Pachiminus, and Theodorus; which were alſo biſhops of the congregations within Egypt, and beſides them many other both famous and ſingular men. The whole legion of chriſtian ſoldiers which lay at Thebes in Egypt, under the chriſtian captain Mauritius, when they would not obey the emperor's commandment touching the worſhipping of images, were tythed to death once, and then again: and at laſt, through the exhortation of Mauritius, died all together like conſtant martyrs. Vincentius in Speculo, lib. 13. cap. 2. Likewiſe at Antonio divers chriſtian ſoldiers, notwithſtanding they were ſeriouſly diſſuaded, ſuffered death together, among whom were Aſcla, Philemon, and Apollonius. Ibidem, cap. 50. And alſo in the other parts of Africa and Mauritania, was great perſecution, as declareth Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6. Alſo in Samnium, of which place Chronicon maketh mention; and Sicilia, where were ſeventy-nine martyrs ſlain for the profeſſion of Chriſt. Henr. de Erfordia.

Now let us come unto Europe. Nicephorus, in his ſeventh book, and fourteenth chapter, ſaith, that at Nicopolis in Thracia the martyrs were in moſt miſerable and pitiful wiſe handled, where Lyſias had the execution thereof. In Chalcedon ſuffered Euphemia under Priſcus the proconſul. Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 77.

Henricus de Erfordia ſaith, that at Rome, Joannes and Criſpus, being prieſts, had the execution of martyrs. And at Bohemia, Agricola and Vitalis. Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 49. And at Aquileia, the emperor commanded every man to kill the chriſtians. Vincent. lib. eodem, cap. 58. And among thoſe martyrs he maketh mention of Felices and Fortunatus. Reginus alſo writeth, that in other places of Italy the perſecution became great, as at Florentina, Pergamus, Naples, Campania, Beneventus, at Venuſa in Apulia, and in Thuſcia. Henricus de Erfordia ſaith, alſo at Verona. In France doubtleſs Rectionarus appointed to that office, played the cruel hell-hound, of whoſe great cruelty againſt the chriſtians many hiſtories are full. At Mediolanus ſuffered Victor. And at Maſſilia, Maximianus ſet forth his decree, that either they ſhould all do ſacrifice unto the gods of the gentiles, or elſe be all ſlain with divers kinds of torments. Therefore many martyrs there died for the glory of Chriſt. Antoninus & Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 2. In Beluacus ſuffered Lucian.

Vincentius and Reginus write of many places in Spain, where was great perſecution, as at Emerita, where ſuffered Eulalia, of whom more followeth hereafter; and Adula, where alſo ſuffered Vincentius, Sabina, and Chriſtina. At Toletum ſuffered Lucadia the virgin; at Cæſarea Auguſta, where were put to death eighteen, beſides a great number of other martyrs which ſuffered under Deci[illegible]nus the governor, which afflicted with perſecution

all the coaſts of Spain, as ſaith Vincent. lib. 13. cap. 123, 124, 128, 130, 134. The foreſaid Rectorianus made ſuch perſecution at Treves, near the river of Moſelle, that the blood of the chriſtian men that were ſlain ran like ſmall brooks, and coloured great and main rivers. Neither yet did this ſuffice him, but from thence he ſent certain horſemen with his letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all ſuch as had taken and apprehended any chriſtians, that they ſhould immediately put them to death. Vincentius, lib. 13. cap. 136.

Alſo Henricus de Erfordia and Reginus make mention of great perſecution to be at Colonia, where Agrippina and Auguſta were martyred, as alſo in the province of Rhetia.

Bede alſo ſaith, that this perſecution reached even unto the Britons, in his book, De ratione temporum. And the Chronicle of Martinus, and the Noſegay of Time, do declare, that all the chriſtians in Britany were utterly deſtroyed. Furthermore, that the kinds of death and puniſhment were ſo great and horrible, as no man's tongue is able to expreſs. In the beginning, when the emperor by his ſubtilty and wilineſs rather dallied than ſhewed his rigour, he threatened them with bands and impriſonment; but within a while, when he began to work the matter in good earneſt, he deviſed innumerable ſorts of torments and puniſhments, as whippings and ſcourgings, rackings, horrible ſcrapings, ſword, fire, and ſhip-boats, wherein a great number being put, were ſunk and drowned in the bottom of the ſea. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6, & 7. Alſo hanging them upon croſſes, binding them to the bodies of dead trees, with their heads downward, hanging them by the middles upon gallows, till they died for hunger; throwing them alive to ſuch kind of wild beaſts as would devour them; as lions, bears, leopards, and wild bulls. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 8. Pricking and thruſting them with bodkins and talons of beaſts, till they were almoſt dead; lifting them up on high with their head downward, even as in Thebaide they did unto the women, being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tied and lifted on high, and ſo hanging down with their bodies, which thing to ſee was very pitiful; with other deviſed ſorts of puniſhments moſt tragical, or rather tyrannical and pitiful to deſcribe: As firſt, the binding of them to trees, and to the boughs thereof; the pulling and tearing aſunder of their members and joints, being tied to the boughs and arms of trees, Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 9. The mangling of them with axes, the choaking of them with ſmoke by ſmall and ſoft fires, the diſmembering of their hands, ears, and feet, with other joints; as the holy martyrs of Alexandria ſuffered the ſcorching and broiling of them with coals, not unto death, but every day renewed. With ſuch kind of torments the martyrs at Antioch were afflicted. But in Pontus other horrible puniſhments, and fearful to be heard, did the martyrs of Chriſt ſuffer; of which ſome had their fingers ends under the nails thruſt in with ſharp bodkins; ſome alſo ſo beſprinkled with boiling lead, having their moſt neceſſary members cut from them; ſome other ſuffering moſt filthy, intolerable and undurable torments and pains in their bowels and privy members. Euſeb. eodem cap. 12.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the perſecution which reigned in Alexandria was, and with how many and ſundry kinds of new deviſed puniſhments the martyrs were afflicted, Phileas, the biſhop of the Thumitans, a man ſingularly well learned, hath deſcribed in his epiſtle to the Thumitans, the copy whereof Euſebius hath, lib. 8. cap. 10. out of which we mean here to recite ſomewhat. "Becauſe (ſaith he) every man might torment the holy martyrs as they liſted themſelves, ſome beat them with cudgels, ſome with rods, ſome with whips, ſome with thongs, and ſome with cords; and this example of beating was in ſundrywiſe executed, and with much cruelty. For ſome of them having their hands bound behind their backs, were lifted up upon timber logs, and with certain inſtruments their members and joints were ſtretched forth, whereupon their whole bodies hanging, were ſubject to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments, and not on their ſides only (like as homicides were), but upon their bellies, thighs and legs, they ſcratched them with the talons and claws of wild beaſts. Some others were ſeen to hang by one hand upon the engine, whereby they might feel the more grievous pulling out of the reſt of their joints and members. Some others were in ſuch ſort bound unto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, having no ſtay under their feet, and were violently weighed down with the poiſe of their bodies, that by reaſon of their ſtrict binding they being drawn out might be more grievouſly tormented. And this ſuffered they, not only during the time of their examination, and while the ſheriff had to do with them, but alſo the whole day long. And whilſt the judge went thus from the one to the other, he by his authority appointed certain officers to attend upon thoſe he left, that they might not be let down, until either through the intolerableneſs of the pain, or by the extremity of cold, they being near the point of death ſhould be let down; and ſo were they haled upon the ground. And further they were commanded that they ſhould ſhew not ſo much as one ſpark of mercy or compaſſion upon us, but ſo extremely and furiouſly did they deal with us, as though our ſouls and bodies ſhould have died together. And therefore yet another torment our adverſaries deviſed, to augment our former plagues. After that they had moſt lamentably beaten them, they deviſed moreover a new kind of rack, wherein they lying upright, were ſtretched by both the feet above the fourth ſtop or hole with ſharp ſhells or ſhares ſtrewed under them, after a ſtrange kind of engine to us here unknown. Other ſome were caſt down upon the pavement, where they were oppreſſed ſo thick and ſo grievouſly with torments, that it is not almoſt to be thought what afflictions they ſuffered.

Thus they lying in pains and torments, ſome died therewith, not a little ſhaming and confounding their enemies by their ſingular patience. Some half dead and half alive were thruſt into priſon, where ſhortly after by pains and wounds of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some again being cured of their wounds by their endurance in priſon, were more confirmed, who being put to the choice whether they would come to their curſed ſacrifice, and enjoy their wicked liberty, or elſe ſuſtain the ſentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremity, remembering with themſelves what is written in the ſcriptures: "He that ſacrificeth (ſaith he) to ſtrange gods, ſhall be exterminated, &c. Item, Thou ſhalt have no ſtrange gods beſides me," &c. Thus much wrote Phileas to the congregation where he was biſhop, before he received the ſentence of death, being yet in bands; and in the ſame he exhorteth his brethren conſtantly to perſiſt, after his death, in the truth of Chriſt profeſſed. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Sabellicus, in his ſeventh Enead, and eighth book, ſaith, that chriſtened man which tore and pulled down the wicked edict of the emperor in Nicomedia, being ſtript and beaten that the bones appeared, and after waſhed in ſalt and vinegar, was then ſlain with this cruel kind of torment. But Platina writeth that Dorotheus and Gorgonius exhorted him to die ſo conſtantly.

But as all their torments were for their horribleneſs marvellous and notable, and therewithal ſo ſtudiouſly deviſed, and no leſs grievous and ſharp; ſo notwithſtanding, therewith were theſe martyrs neither diſmayed nor overcome, but rather thereby confirmed and ſtrengthened; ſo merrily and joyfully ſuſtained they whatſoever was put unto them. Euſebius ſaith, that he himſelf beheld and ſaw the huge and great perſecution that was done in Thebaide; inſomuch that the very ſwords of the har[illegible]

Engraved
for the
PRIMITIVE MARTYRS.

Variety of Tortures *exercised on* Christians.

Christians *cruelly thrust through.*

Christians *thrust under the Nails with* Thorns.

T. Smith sculp.

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hangmen and perſecutors being blunt with the great and often ſlaughter, they themſelves for wearineſs ſat down to reſt them, and others were fain to take their places. And yet all this notwithſtanding the murdered chriſtians ſhewed their marvellous readineſs, willingneſs and divine fortitude, which they were endued with; with ſtout courage, joy, and ſmiling, receiving the ſentence of death pronounced upon them, and ſung even unto the laſt gaſp hymns and pſalms to God. So did alſo the martyrs of Alexandria, as witneſſeth Phileas above-mentioned. The holy martyrs (ſaith he) keeping Chriſt in their minds, being led with the love of better rewards, ſuſtained not only at one time whatſoever labour and deviſed puniſhments they had to lay upon them; but now alſo the ſecond time have done the ſame, and have borne all the menaces of the cruel ſoldiers, not only in words wherewith they threatened them, but alſo whatſoever in deed and work they could deviſe to their deſtruction, and that with moſt manly ſtomachs, excluding all fear, with the perfection of their unſpeakable love toward Chriſt, whoſe great ſtrength and fortitude cannot by words be expreſſed. And Sulpitius ſaith in the ſecond book of his ſacred hiſtory, that then the chriſtians with more greedy deſire preſſed and ſought for martyrdom, than now they do deſire biſhopricks.

Altho' ſome there were alſo, as I have ſaid, that with fear and threatenings, and by their own infirmities, were overcome and went back, Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 4. among whom Socrates nameth Miletius, lib. 1. cap. 6. and Athanaſius, in his ſecond apology, nameth the biſhop of Licus, a city in Little Egypt, whom Peter the biſhop of Alexandria excommunicated, for that in this perſecution he ſacrificed unto the gentile gods. Of the fall of Marcellinus, the biſhop of Rome, I will ſpeak afterwards; for he being perſuaded by others, and eſpecially of the emperor Diocleſian himſelf, did ſacrifice, whereupon he was excommunicated; but afterwards he repenting the ſame, was again received into the congregation, and made martyr, as Platina, and the compiler of the book of the general councils affirm. The number of the martyrs increaſed daily, ſometimes ten, ſometimes twenty, were ſlain at once; ſome whiles thirty, and oftentimes threeſcore, and other whiles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by divers kinds of death. Euſebius, lib. 8. cap. 9. Alſo Damaſus, Beda, Oroſius, Honorius, and others, do witneſs, that there were ſlain in this perſecution by the names of martyrs, within the ſpace of thirty days, ſeventeen thouſand perſons, beſides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the metal-mines and quarries with like cruelty.

At Alexandria with Peter the biſhop, of whom I have made mention before, were ſlain with axes three hundred and above, as Sabellicus declareth. Gereon was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with three hundred of his fellows, as ſaith Henricus de Erfordia, Mauritius the captain, of chriſtian religion, with his fellows, ſix thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and ſix. Victor in the city of Troy, now called Xanthus, with his fellows, three hundred and threeſcore were ſlain, as ſaith Otto Phriſingenſis, lib. 2. cap. 45. Reginus reciteth the names of many other martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twenty.

And forſomuch as mention here hath been made of Mauritius and Victor, the particular deſcription of the ſame hiſtory I thought here to inſert, taken out of Ado, and other ſtory-writers, as enſueth.

Mauritius came out of Syria into France and Italy, being captain of the band of the Theban ſoldiers, to the number of ſix thouſand ſix hundred and threeſcore, being ſent for of Maximianus, to go againſt the rebellious Bangandes; but rather, as it ſhould ſeem, by the reaſon of the tyrant, which thought he might better in theſe quarters uſe his tyranny upon the chriſtians, than in the eaſt part. Theſe Thebans, with Mauritius their captain, after that they had entered into Rome, were there of Marcellus, the bleſſed biſhop, confirmed in the faith, promiſing by oath, that they would rather be ſlain of their enemies, than forſake that faith which they had received; who followed the emperor's hoſt even into France. At that time the Cæſareans were encamped not far from the town called Ottodor, where Maximianus offered ſacrifice to his devils, and called all the ſoldiers of the eaſt and weſt to the ſame, ſtrictly charging them by the altars of his gods, that they would fight againſt thoſe rebels the Bangandes, and perſecute the chriſtian enemies of the emperor's gods: which his commandment was ſhewed to the Theban hoſt, which were alſo encamped about the river of Rode, and in a place that was named Agawne; but to Ottodor they would in no wiſe come, for that every man did certainly appoint and perſuade with himſelf, rather in that place to die, than either to ſacrifice to the gods, or bear armour againſt the chriſtians. Which thing, indeed, very ſtoutly and valiantly they affirmed, upon their oath before taken to Maximianns, when he ſent for them. Wherewith the tyrant, being wrathful and all moved, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the ſword, whereto ſtrivingly and with great rejoicing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and great force of faith, Mauritius himſelf was a great encourager, who by and by with a moſt grave oration, exhorted and animated his ſoldiers both to fortitude and conſtancy. Which, being again called of the emperor, anſwered in this wiſe, ſaying, "We are, O emperor, your ſoldiers, but yet alſo, to ſpeak freely, the ſervants of God. We owe to thee ſervice of war, to him innocency: of thee we receive of our travail, wages: of him, the beginning of life. But in this we may in no wiſe obey thee, O emperor, to deny God our Author and Lord, and not only ours, but your Lord likewiſe, will ye, nill ye. If we be not ſo extremely enforced that we offend him, doubtleſs, as we have hitherto before, we will not obey you: but otherwiſe we will rather obey him than you. We offer here our hands againſt any other enemies: but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that we may not do. Theſe right hands of ours have ſkill to fight againſt the wicked and true enemies: but to ſpoil and murder the godly and citizens, they have no ſkill at all. We have in remembrance how we took armour in hand, for the defence of the citizens, and not againſt them. We fought always for juſtice ſake, piety, and for the health of innocents. Theſe have been always the rewards of our perils and travail. We have fought in the quarrel of faith, which in no wiſe we can keep to you, if we do not ſhew the ſame to our God. We firſt ſware upon the ſacraments of our God, then afterward to the king: and do you think the ſecond will avail us, if we break the firſt? by us you would plague the chriſtians, to do which feat we are only commanded by you. We are here ready to confeſs God the author of all things, and believe in his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. We ſee before our eyes our fellows, and partakers of our labours and travails, to be put to the ſword, and we ſprinkled with their blood: of which our moſt bleſſed companions and brethren the end and death we have not bewailed nor mourned, but rather have been glad, and have rejoiced thereat, for that they have been counted worthy to ſuffer for the Lord their God. The extreme neceſſity of death cannot move us againſt your majeſty, neither yet any deſperation, O emperor, which is wont in virtuous affairs to do much, ſhall arm us againſt you. Behold, here we caſt down our weapons and reſiſt not, for that we had rather to be killed, than kill; and guiltleſs to die, than guilty to live. Whatſoever more ye will command, appoint and enjoin us, we are here ready to ſuffer, yea, both fire and ſword, and whatſoever other torments. We confeſs ourſelves to be chriſtians, we cannot perſecute chriſtians, nor will do ſacrifice to your deviliſh idols.

With

With which their anſwer the king, being altogether incenſed and moved, commanded the ſecond time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like caſe murdered. That cruelty alſo being accompliſhed, at length, when the chriſtian ſoldiers would in no wiſe condeſcend unto his mind, he ſet upon them with his whole hoſt, both footmen and alſo horſemen, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force ſet upon them; they making no reſiſtance, but throwing down their armour, yielding their lives to the perſecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies.

Victor at the ſame time was not of that band, nor yet then any ſoldier; but being an old ſoldier, was diſmiſſed for his age. At which time he coming ſuddenly upon them as they were banqueting and making merry with the ſpoils of the holy martyrs, was bidden to ſit down with them: who firſt aſking the cauſe of that their ſo great rejoicing, and underſtanding the truth thereof, deteſted the gueſts, and refuſed to eat with them. And then being demanded of them if haply he were a chriſtian or no? openly confeſſed, and denied not but that he was a chriſtian, and ever would be. And thereupon they ruſhed upon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdom and honour.

Beda in his hiſtory writeth, that this perſecution, being under Diocleſian, endured unto the ſeventh year of Conſtantinus. And Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6. ſaith, that it laſted until the tenth year of Conſtantinus. It was not yet one year from the day in which Diocleſian and Maximinian, joining themſelves together, began their perſecution, when that they ſaw the number of the chriſtians rather to increaſe than to diminiſh, notwithſtanding all the cruelty that ever they could ſhew, and now were out of all hope for the utter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cauſe of their firſt enterpriſe; and having now even their fill of blood, and loathing, as it were, the ſhedding thereof, they ceaſed at the laſt of their own accord to put any more chriſtians to death. But yet of a great multitude they did thruſt out their right eyes, and maimed their left legs at the ham with a ſearing iron, condemning them to the mines, not ſo much for the uſe of their labour, as for the deſire of afflicting them. And this was the clemency and releaſe of the cruelty of thoſe princes, which ſaid that it was not meet that the cities ſhould be defiled with the blood of citizens, and to make the emperor's highneſs to be diſdained with the name of cruelty, but to ſhew his princely beneficence and liberality to all men. Euſebius, lib. 8. cap. 10.

When Diocleſian and Maximinian had reigned together emperors one and twenty years (Nicephorus ſaith, two and twenty years), at length Diocleſian put himſelf from his imperial dignity at Nicomedia, and lived at Salona; Maximinian at Mediolanum; and led both a private life in the 309th year after Chriſt. This ſtrange and marvellous alteration gave occaſion (and ſo it came to paſs), that within ſhort ſpace after there were in the commonwealth many emperors at one time.

In the beginning of this perſecution you heard how Diocleſian, being made emperor, took to him Maximinian; alſo how theſe two, governing as emperors together, choſe out other two Cæſars under them, to wit, Galerius Maximinus, and Conſtantius, the father of Conſtantine the Great. Thus then Diocleſian reigning with Maximinian, in the nineteenth year of his reign began his furious perſecution againſt the chriſtians, whoſe reign after the ſame continued not long. For ſo it pleaſed God to put ſuch a ſnaffle in the tyrant's mouth, that within two years after he cauſed him and Maximinian (for what cauſe he knoweth) to give over their imperial function, and ſo to remain not as emperors any more, but as private perſons. So that they being now diſplaced and diſpoſſeſſed, the imperial dominion remained with Conſtantius and Galerius Maximinus, which two divided the whole monarchy between them: ſo that Maximinus ſhould govern the eaſt countries, and Conſtantius the weſt part. But Conſtantius, as a modeſt prince, only contented with the imperial title, refuſed Italy and Afric, contenting himſelf only with France, Spain, and Britain.

Wherefore Galerius Maximinus choſe to him his two ſons, Maximinus and Severus. Likewiſe Conſtantius took Conſtantinus his ſon Cæſar unto him. In the mean time, while Maximinus with his two Cæſars were in Aſia, the Roman ſoldiers ſet up for their emperor Maxentius, the ſon of Maximinian, who had before depoſed himſelf.

Againſt whom Maximinus, the emperor of the eaſt, ſent his ſon Severus, which Severus was ſlain in the ſame voyage of Maxentius, in whoſe place then Maximinus took Licinius. And theſe were the emperors and Cæſars, which ſucceeding after Diocleſian and Maximinian, proſecuted the reſt of that perſecution, which Diocleſian and Maximinian before began, during near the ſpace of ſeven or eight years, which was to the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen; ſave only that Conſtantius, with his ſon Conſtantius, was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and ſupporter of the chriſtians. Which Conſtantius, ſurnamed Clorus for his paleneſs, was the ſon of Eutropius, a man of great nobility of the Roman nation, as Letus affirmeth. He came of the line of Eneas and Claudia the daughter of Claudius Auguſtus.

This man had not the deſire of great and mighty dominions, and therefore parted he the empire with Galerius, and would rule France, Britain and Spain, but he refuſed the other kingdoms for the troubleſome and difficult government of the ſame. Otherwiſe he was a prince, as Eutropius maketh deſcription of him, very excellent, civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and deſirous to do good unto thoſe that had any private authority under him. And as Cyrus once ſaid, that he got treaſure enough, when he made his friends rich: even ſo it is ſaid that Conſtantius would oftentimes ſay, that it were better that his ſubjects had treaſure, than he to have it in his treaſure-houſe. Alſo he was by nature ſufficed with a little, inſomuch that he uſed to eat and drink in earthen veſſels (which thing was counted by Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation), and if at any time cauſe required to garniſh his table, he would ſend for plate and other furniture to his friends. To theſe virtues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, devotion, love, and affection towards the word of God, as Euſebius in his eighth book and thirteenth chapter affirmeth: after which virtues enſued great peace and tranquillity in all his provinces. By which word he being guided, neither levied any wars contrary to piety and chriſtian religion, neither aided he any other that did the ſame, neither deſtroyed he the churches, but commanded that the chriſtians ſhould be preſerved and defended, and kept them ſafe from all contumelious injuries.

And when that in the other juriſdictions of the empire, the congregation were moleſted with perſecution, as Sozomenus declareth in his firſt book and ſixth chapter, he only gave licence to the chriſtians to live after their accuſtomed manner. This wonderful act of his following, beſides others, do ſhew that he was a ſincere worſhipper, and of the chriſtian religion.

Thoſe which bear the chief offices amongſt the heathen drove out of the emperors courts all the godly chriſtians: whereupon this enſued, that the emperors themſelves, at the laſt, were deſtitute of help when ſuch were driven away, which dwelling in their courts, and living a godly life, poured out their prayers unto God for the proſperous eſtate and health both of the empire and emperor. Conſtantius therefore, minding at a certain time to try what good and ſincere chriſtians he had yet in his court, called together all his officers and ſervants in the ſame, feigning himſelf to do ſacrifice to devils, and that thoſe only ſhould dwell there and keep their offices, and that thoſe which refuſed to do the ſame,

ſhould

ſhould be thruſt out and baniſhed the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers divided themſelves into companies: the emperor marked which were the conſtanteſt and godlieſt from the reſt. And when ſome ſaid they would willingly do ſacrifice, other ſome openly and boldly denied to do the ſame; then the emperor ſharply rebuked thoſe which were ſo ready to do ſacrifice, and judged them as falſe traitors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his court, which were ſuch traitors to God; and forthwith commanded that they only ſhould be baniſhed the ſame. But greatly he commended them that refuſed to do ſacrifice, and confeſſed God; affirming that they only were worthy to be about a prince; forthwith commanding that thenceforth they ſhould be the truſty counſellors and defenders both of his perſon and kingdom: ſaying thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in offices, whom he might make account of as his aſſured friends, and that he meant to have them in more eſtimation, than the ſubſtance he had in his treaſury. Euſebius maketh mention hereof in his firſt book of the life of Conſtantius, and alſo Sozomenus in his firſt book and ſixth chapter.

With this Conſtantius was joined (as hath been afore ſaid) Galerius Maximinus, a man, as Eutropius affirmeth, very civil, and a paſſing good ſoldier: furthermore, a favourer of wiſe and learned men, of quiet diſpoſition, not rigorous, but in his drunkenneſs, whereof he would ſoon after repent him, as Victor writeth; whether he meaneth Maximinus the father, or Maximinus his ſon, it is uncertain. But Euſebius far otherwiſe deſcribeth the conditions of him in his eighth book and firſt chapter. For he ſaith he was of a tyrannical diſpoſition; the fearfulleſt man that might be, and curious in all magical ſuperſtition; inſomuch that without the divinations and anſwers of devils, he durſt do nothing at all, and therefore he gave great offices and dignities to inchanters. Furthermore, that he was an exactor and extortioner on the citizens, liberal to thoſe that were flatterers, given to ſurfeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drunkenneſs moſt like a mad-man, a ribaud, and adulterer, which came to no city, but he raviſhed virgins, and defiled mens wives. To conclude, he was ſo great an idolater, that he built up temples in every city, and repaired thoſe that were fallen in great decay: and he choſe out the moſt worthy of his political magiſtrates to be the idols prieſts, and deviſed that they ſhould execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and alſo with warlike pomp. But unto chriſtian piety and religion he was moſt incenſive, and in the eaſt churches exerciſed cruel perſecution; and uſed as executioners of the ſame, Pencetius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus, beſides others.

Notwithſtanding he was at length revoked from his cruelty by the juſt judgment and puniſhment of God. For he was ſuddenly vexed with a fatal diſeaſe moſt filthy and deſperate, which diſeaſe to deſcribe was very ſtrange, taking the firſt beginning in his fleſh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his body. For in the privy members of his body there happened unto him a ſudden putrefaction, and after in the bottom of the ſame a botchy corrupt bile, with a fiſtula conſuming and eating up his intrails, out of the which came ſwarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with ſuch a peſtiferous ſtink, that no man could abide him: and ſo much more, for that all the groſſneſs of his body by abundance of meat before he fell ſick, was turned alſo into fat; which fat putrified and ſtinking, was ſo noiſome and horrible, that none that came to him could abide the ſight thereof. By reaſon whereof, the phyſicians which had him in cure, not able to abide the intolerable ſtink, ſome of them were commanded to be ſlain. Other ſome, becauſe they could not heal him, being ſwoln and paſt hope of cure, were alſo cruelly put to death. At length, being put in remembrance that this diſeaſe was ſent of God, he began to forethink the wickedneſs that he had done againſt the ſaints of God, and ſo coming again to himſelf, firſt confeſſed to God all his offences, then calling them unto him which were about him, forthwith commanded all men to ceaſe from the perſecutions of the chriſtians: requiring moreover that they ſhould ſet up his imperial proclamations, for the reſtoring and the re-edifying of their temples, and that they would obtain of the chriſtians in their aſſemblies (which without all fear and doubt they might be bold to make) that they would devoutly pray to their God for the emperor. Then forthwith was the perſecution ſtayed, and the imperial proclamations in every city were ſet up, containing the retractation or countermand of thoſe things which againſt the chriſtians were before decreed, the copy whereof enſueth.

"Amongſt other things, which for the benefit and commodity of the commonweal we eſtabliſhed, we commanded to reform all things according to the ancient laws and public diſcipline of the Romans, and alſo to uſe this policy, that the chriſtians who had forſaken the religion of their forefathers, ſhould be brought again to the right way. For ſuch fantaſtical ſingularity was amongſt them, that thoſe things which their elders had received and allowed, they rejected and diſallowed, deviſing every man ſuch laws as they thought good, and obſerved the ſame, aſſembling in divers places great multitudes of people.

Therefore, when our foreſaid decree was proclaimed, many there were that ſuffered many kinds of death. And becauſe we ſee yet that there be many which perſevere in the ſame, which neither give due worſhip unto the celeſtial gods, neither receive the God of the chriſtians, we have reſpect to our accuſtomed benignity, wherewith we are wont to ſhew favour unto all men, think good in this cauſe alſo to extend our clemency, that the chriſtians may be again tolerated, and appoint them places where again they may meet together, ſo that they do nothing contrary to the public order or diſcipline. By another epiſtle we mean to preſcribe unto the judges, what ſhall be convenient for them to do. Wherefore according as this our bountiful clemency deſerveth, let them make interceſſion to God for our health, commonweal, and for themſelves; that in all places the ſtate of the commonweal may be preſerved, and that they themſelves may be able ſafely to live within their bounds." Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. ult.

The governors therefore of every province, ſuppoſing this to be the determinate pleaſure of the emperor, did firſt advertiſe thereof the ruſtical and pagan multitude: after that they releaſed and ſet at liberty all ſuch priſoners as were condemned to the mines, and to perpetual impriſonment for their faith, thinking thereby (where indeed they were deceived) that the doing thereof would pleaſe the emperor. This therefore ſeemed to them as unlooked for, and as light to travellers in a dark night. They gather themſelves together in every city, they call their ſynods and councils, and much marvel at the ſudden change and alteration. The infidels themſelves extol the only and true God of the chriſtians. The chriſtians receive again all their former liberties; and ſuch as fell away before in the time of perſecution repent themſelves, and after penance done, they returned again to the congregation. Now the chriſtians rejoiced in every city, praiſing God with hymns and pſalms. This was a marvellous ſudden alteration of the church, from a moſt unhappy ſtate into a better: but ſcarce ſuffered Maximinus the tyrant the ſame ſix months unviolated to continue. For whatſoever ſeemed to make for the ſubverſion of the ſame peace (yet ſcarcely hatched) that did he only meditate. And firſt of all he took from the chriſtians all liberty and leave for them to aſſemble and congregate in church-yards under a certain colour. After that he ſent certain miſcreants unto the Athenians, to ſolicit them againſt the chriſtians, and to provoke them to aſk of him, as a recompence and great

reward, that he would not ſuffer any chriſtian to inhabit in their country. Maximinus appointed and inſtituted high prieſts and biſhops in every city to offer ſacrifice unto idols, and inveigled all thoſe that were in great offices under him, that they ſhould not only ceaſe to pleaſure them and to do for them, but alſo that they ſhould with new deviſed accuſations againſt them, at their pleaſure, put as many to death as by any means they might. They alſo did counterfeit certain practices of Pilate againſt our Saviour Chriſt, full of blaſphemy, and ſent the ſame into all the empire of Maximinus by their letters, commanding that the ſame ſhould be publiſhed and ſet up in every city and ſuburbs of the ſame, and that they ſhould be delivered to the ſchoolmaſter, to cauſe their ſcholars to learn by rote the ſame.

Thus came it to paſs that at the length perſecution was as great as ever it was, and the magiſtrates of every province were very diſdainful againſt the chriſtians, which condemned ſome to death, and ſome to exile. Among whom they condemned three chriſtians at Emiſa in Phœnicia, with whom Sylvanus the biſhop, a very old man, being forty years in the eccleſiaſtical function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia Lucianus the elder of Antioch, brought thither, after he had exhibited to the emperor his apology concerning the doctrine of the chriſtians, was caſt into priſon, and after put to death. In Amaſea, a city of Cappadocia, Bringes, the lieutenant of Maximinus, had at that time the executing of that perſecution. At Alexandria, Petrus, a moſt worthy biſhop, was beheaded, with whom many other Egyptian biſhops alſo died. Quirinus the biſhop of Sceſcanus, having a hand-mill tied about his neck, was thrown headlong from the bridge into the flood, and there a long while floated above the water, and when he opened his mouth to ſpeak to the lookers on, that they ſhould not be diſmayed with that his puniſhment, was with much ado drowned. At Rome died Marcellus the biſhop, as ſaith Platina, alſo Timotheus the elder, with many other biſhops and prieſts were martyred. Euſebius rehearſeth theſe kind of torments and puniſhments; that is to ſay, fire, wild beaſts, the ſword, crucifyings, the bottom of the ſea, the cutting and burning of members, the thruſting out of eyes, diſmembering of the whole body, hunger, impriſonment, and whatſoever other cruelty the magiſtrates could deviſe. All which notwithſtanding, the godly ones, rather than that they would do ſacrifice, as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind them. For they, being enticed to the filthy uſe of their bodies, rather ſuffered baniſhment, or willingly killed themſelves. Neither yet could the chriſtians live ſafely in the wilderneſs, but were fetched even from thence to death and torments, inſomuch that this was a more grievous perſecution under Maximinus the tyrant, than was the former cruel perſecution under Maximianus the prince.

Now let us return to Maxentius again, who all this while reigned at Rome with tyranny and wickedneſs intolerable, much like to another Pharaoh or Nero. For he ſlew the moſt part of his noblemen, and took from them their goods. And ſometimes in his rage he would deſtroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his ſoldiers, as Euſebius declareth, lib. 8. cap. 14. Alſo he left no miſchievous or laſcivious act unattempted, but was the utter enemy of all womanly chaſtity, which uſed to ſend the honeſt wives, whom he had adulterated, with ſhame and diſhoneſty, unto their huſbands (being worthy ſenators) after that he had raviſhed them.

He was alſo much addicted to the art magical, which to execute, he was more fit than for the imperial dignity. Alſo ſometimes he would rip women when they were in labour, and would ſearch the place where the infant lay, being born a little before. Often he would invocate devils in a ſecret manner, and by the anſwers of them he ſought to break the wars, which he knew Conſtantinus and Licinius prepared againſt him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrate his miſchievous and wicked attempts, which in his ungracious mind he had conceived, according to his purpoſe, in the beginning of his reign he feigned himſelf to be a favourer of the chriſtians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome his friends, he commanded that they ſhould ceaſe from perſecuting the chriſtians. And he himſelf in the mean ſeaſon abſtained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at the laſt to ſhew himſelf an open perſecutor of them: at which time he moſt cruelly raged againſt the chriſtians thereabouts, vexing them with all manner of injuries.

Thus by the grievous tyranny and unſpeakable wickedneſs of this Maxentius, the citizens and ſenators of Rome, being much grieved and oppreſſed, ſent their complaints with letters unto Conſtantinus, with much ſuit and moſt hearty petitions, deſiring him to help and releaſe their country and city of Rome: who hearing and underſtanding their miſerable and pitiful ſtate, and grieved therewith not a little, firſt ſendeth by letters to Maxentius, deſiring and exhorting him to reſtrain his corrupt doings, and great cruelty. But when no letters or exhortations would prevail, at length pitying the woful caſe of the Romans, gathered together his army in Britain and France, therewith to repreſs the violent rage of that tyrant: thus Conſtantinus ſufficiently appointed with ſtrength of men, but eſpecially with ſtrength of God, entered his journey coming towards Italy, which was about the laſt year of the perſecution 318. Maxentius underſtanding of the coming of Conſtantinus, and truſting more to his deviliſh art of magic, than to the good will of his ſubjects, which he little deſerved, durſt not ſhew himſelf out of the city, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with privy garriſons laid in wait for him by the way, in ſundry ſtraits as he ſhould come. With whom Conſtantinus had divers ſkirmiſhes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquiſh them and put them to flight. Notwithſtanding yet Conſtantinus was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approaching now near unto Rome) for the magical charms and ſorceries of Maxentius, wherewith he had vanquiſhed before Severus ſent by Galerius againſt him. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexity in himſelf, and revolving many things in his mind, what help he might have againſt the operations of his charms, in his journey drawing toward the city, and caſting up his eyes many times to heaven, in the ſouth part, about the going down of the ſun, ſaw a great brightneſs in heaven, appearing in the ſimilitude of a croſs, with certain ſtars of equal bigneſs, giving this inſcription like Latin letters, "IN HOC VINCE," that is, "In this overcome." This miraculous viſion to be true, for the more credit, Euſebius Pamphilus in his book De vita Conſtantini, doth witneſs; moreover, that he had heard the ſaid Conſtantinus himſelf oftentimes report, and alſo to ſwear this to be true and certain, which he did ſee with his own eyes in heaven, and alſo his own ſoldiers about him. At the ſight whereof when he was greatly aſtoniſhed, and conſulting with his men upon the meaning thereof, behold in the night ſeaſon in his ſleep, Chriſt appeared to him with the ſign of the ſame croſs which he had ſeen before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carry it in his wars before him, and ſo ſhould he have the victory.

The next day following after this night's viſion, Conſtantinus cauſed a croſs after the ſame figuration to be made of gold and precious ſtone, and to be borne before him inſtead of his ſtandard, and ſo with much hope of victory, and great confidence, as one armed from heaven, ſpeedeth himſelf towards his enemy. Againſt whom Maxentius being conſtrained perforce to iſſue out of the city, ſendeth all his power to join with him in the field beyond the river of Tyber, where Maxentius craftily breaking down the bridge Pons Milvius, cauſed another deceitful bridge to be made of boats and wherries, being joined

joined together and covered over with boards and planks, in manner of a bridge, thinking therewith to take Conſtantine as in a trap. But after the two armies did meet, Maxentius being not able to ſuſtain the force of Conſtantine fighting under the croſs of Chriſt againſt him, was put to ſuch a flight, and driven to ſuch an exigent, that in retiring back, for haſte thinking to get to the city upon the ſame bridge that he did lay for Conſtantine, was overturned by the fall of his horſe into the bottom of the flood, and there with the weight of his armour, he with a great part of his beaten men, were drowned. Repreſenting unto us the like example of Pharaoh and his hoſt drowned in the Red ſea, who not unaptly ſeemeth to bear a prophetical figuration of this Maxentius.

In hiſtories we read of many victories and great conqueſts gotten: yet we never read, nor ever ſhall, of any victory ſo wholeſome, ſo commodious, ſo opportune to mankind as this was, which made an end of ſo much bloodſhed, and obtained ſo much liberty and life to the poſterity of ſo many generations. For albeit that ſome perſecution was yet ſtirring in the eaſt countries by Maximinus and Licinius, as ſhall be declared; yet in Rome, and in all the weſt parts, no martyr died after this heavenly victory gotten. And alſo in the eaſt parts the ſaid Conſtantinus with the ſaid croſs borne before him, conſequently upon the ſame, ſo vanquiſhed the tyrants, and ſo eſtabliſhed the peace of the church, that for the ſpace of a thouſand years after that, we read of no ſet perſecution againſt the chriſtians, unto the time of John Wickliffe, when the biſhops of Rome began with fire to perſecute the true members of Chriſt, as in further proceſs of this hiſtory (Chriſt granting) ſhall appear. So happy, ſo glorious (as I ſaid) was this victory of Conſtantine, ſurnamed the Great, who with his fellow Licinius, being now eſtabliſhed in their dominion, immediately ſet forth their general proclamation or edict, not conſtraining therein any man to any religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the chriſtians to perſiſt in their profeſſion without any danger, and for other men freely to adjoin with them, whoſoever pleaſed.

By theſe hiſtories I doubt not (good reader) but thou doſt right well conſider and behold with thyſelf the marvellous working of God's mighty power; to ſee ſo many emperors at one time conſpired and confederate together againſt the Lord and Chriſt his Anointed, whoſe names before we have recited, as Diocleſian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximinus, Severus, Licinius, who having the ſubjection of the whole world under their dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and devices to extirpate the name of Chriſt, and of all chriſtians. Wherein if the power of man could have prevailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have ſerved, what policy was there lacking? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be invented, which was not attempted? If laws, edicts, proclamations, written not only in tables, but engraven in braſs, could have ſtood, all this was practiſed againſt the weak chriſtians. And yet notwithſtanding, to ſee how no counſel can ſtand againſt the Lord, note here how all theſe be gone, and yet Chriſt and his church doth ſtand. Only Maximinus now in the eaſt part remained alive, who bare a deadly hatred againſt the chriſtians, and no leſs expreſſed the ſame with mortal perſecution, to whom Conſtantine and Licinius cauſed the conſtitution, for the eſtabliſhment of the chriſtian religion, to be delivered. At the ſight whereof although he was ſomewhat appalled, and defeated of his purpoſe: yet forſomuch as he ſaw himſelf too weak to reſiſt the authority of Conſtantinus and Licinius the ſuperior princes, he diſſembled his counterfeit piety, as though he himſelf had tendered the quiet of the chriſtians. Howbeit ſhortly after, he making wars, and fighting a battle with Licinius, wherein he loſt the victory, coming home again, took great indignation againſt the prieſts and prophets of his gods, whom before that time he had great regard unto, and honoured: upon whoſe anſwers he truſting, and depending upon their inchantments, began his war againſt Licinius. But after that he perceived himſelf to be deceived by them, as by wicked inchanters and deceivers, and ſuch as had betrayed his ſafety and perſon, put them to death. And he ſhortly after, oppreſſed with a certain diſeaſe, glorified the God of the chriſtians, and made a moſt abſolute law for the ſafety and preſervation of them, with franchiſe and liberty.

Maximinus then being conquered of Licinius, and alſo plagued with an incurable diſeaſe in the guts, ſent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and adverſity to confeſs the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write this edict in the favour of thoſe chriſtians whom before he did perſecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they never ſo ſtern and ſtout, at length to ſtoop, and maugre their hearts to confeſs him, as this Maximinus here did, who not long after, by the vehemency of his diſeaſe, ended his life. Whereby no tyrants now were left alive, to trouble the church, but only Licinius. Of which Licinius and of his perſecutions, ſtirred up in the eaſt part againſt the ſaints of God, now remaineth in order of ſtory to proſecute. Anno 319.

There was between him and Conſtantinus in the beginning great familiarity, and ſuch agreement, that Conſtantinus gave unto him his ſiſter Conſtantia in matrimony. Neither would any man have thought him to have been of any other religion than Conſtantinus was of, he ſeemed in all things ſo well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a decree with Conſtantinus, in the behalf of the chriſtians, as we have ſhewed. And ſuch was Licinius in the beginning; but after arming himſelf with tyranny, began to conſpire againſt the perſon of Conſtantinus, of whom he had received ſo great benefits; neither favourable to the law of nature, nor mindful of his oaths, his blood, nor promiſes. But when he conſidered that in his conſpiracies he nothing prevailed, for that he ſaw Conſtantinus was preſerved and ſafely defended of God: and partly being puffed up with the victory againſt Maximinus, he began vehemently to hate him, and not only to reject the chriſtian religion, but alſo deadly to hate the ſame. He ſaid he would become an enemy to the chriſtians, for that in their aſſemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Conſtantinus. Therefore firſt by little and little, and that ſecretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the chriſtians, and baniſhed them his court, which never were by any means prejudicial to his kingdom. Then he commanded that all thoſe ſhould be deprived which were knights of the honourable order, unleſs they would do ſacrifice to devils. The ſame perſecution afterward ſtretched he from his court, into all his provinces, which with moſt wicked and deviſed laws he ſet forth. Firſt, that for no cauſe the biſhops ſhould in any matter communicate together: neither that any man ſhould come at the churches next unto them, or to call any aſſemblies, and conſult for the neceſſary matters and utility of the church.

After that, the men and women together ſhould not come in companies to pray, nor that the women ſhould come in thoſe places where they uſed to preach and read the Word of God, neither that they ſhould be after that inſtructed any more of the biſhop, but ſhould chooſe out ſuch women amongſt them as ſhould inſtruct them. The third moſt cruel and wickedeſt of all was, that none ſhould help and ſucconr thoſe that were caſt in priſon, nor ſhould beſtow any alms or charity upon them, tho' they ſhould die for hunger; and they which ſhewed any compaſſion upon thoſe that were condemned to death, ſhould be as greatly puniſhed, as they to whom they ſhewed the ſame ſhould be. Theſe were the moſt horrible

horrible conſtitutions of Licinius, which paſſed the bounds of nature.

After this, he uſed violence againſt the biſhops, but yet not openly, for fear of Conſtantinus, but privily and by conſpiracy, by which meaus he ſlew thoſe that were the worthieſt men amongſt the doctors and prelates. And about Amaſea and other cities of Pontus, he razed the churches even with the ground. Other ſome he ſhut up, that no man ſhould come after their accuſtomed manner to pray and worſhip God; and therefore, as we ſaid before, his conſcience accuſing him, all this he did, for that he ſuſpected they prayed for Conſtantinus, and not at all for him. And from this place in the eaſt parts to the Lybians, which bordered upon the Egyptians, the chriſtians durſt not aſſemble and come together for the diſpleaſure of Licinius, which he had conceived againſt them.

Furthermore, the flattering officers that were under him, thinking by this means to pleaſe him, ſlew and made out of the way many biſhops, and without any cauſe put them to death, as though they had been homicides and heinous offenders; and ſuch rigorouſneſs uſed they towards ſome of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and ſmall pieces in manner of a butcher, and after that threw them into the ſea to feed the fiſhes. What ſhall we ſpeak of the exiles and confiſcations of good and virtuous men? For he took by violence every man's ſubſtance, and cared not by what means he came by the ſame; but threatened them with death, unleſs they would forego the ſame. He baniſhed thoſe which had committed none evil at all. He commanded, that both gentlemen and men of honour ſhould be made out of the way; neither yet herewith content, but gave their daughters that were unmarried to varlets and wicked ones to be deflowered. And Licinius himſelf (although that by reaſon of his years his body was ſpent) yet ſhamefully did he vitiate many women, mens wives aud maids. Which cruel outrage of him cauſed many godly men of their own accord to forſake their houſes; and it was alſo ſeen, that the woods, fields, deſert places, and mountains, were fain to be the habitations and reſting-places of the poor and miſerable chriſtians. Of thoſe worthy men and famous martyrs which in this perſecution found the way to heaven, Nicephorus firſt ſpeaketh of Theodorus, who firſt being hanged upon the croſs, had nails thruſt into his arm-pits, and after that, his head ſtricken off. Alſo of another Theodorus, being the biſhop of Tyre; the third was a man of Perga; Baſilius alſo the biſhop of Amaſenus, Nicholaus the biſhop of Mirorus, Gregorius of Armenia the Great; after that Paul of Neocæſarea, which, by the impious commandment of Licinius, had both his hands cut off with a ſearing-iron. Beſides theſe were in the city of Sebaſtina forty worthy men, and chriſtian ſoldiers, in the vehement cold time of winter drowned in a horſe-pond, when Locias as yet, and Agricolaus executing the ſheriff's office under Licinius in the eaſt parts, were alive, and were in great eſtimation, for inventing of new and ſtrange torments againſt the chriſtians. The wives of thoſe forty good men were carried to Heraclea, a city in Thracia, and there, with a certain deacon, whoſe name was Amones, were (after innumerable torments by them moſt conſtantly endured) ſlain with the ſword. Alſo Sozomenus in his ninth book and ſecond chapter maketh mention of the ſame martyrs. And Baſilius in a certain oration ſeemeth to intreat of their hiſtory, ſaving that in the circumſtances he ſomewhat varieth. And ſurely Licinius was determined, for that the firſt face of this perſecution fell out according to his deſire, to have over-run all the chriſtians, to which thing neither counſel, nor goodwill, nor yet opportunity, perchance wanted, unleſs God had brought Conſtantinus into thoſe parts where he governed, where, in the wars which he himſelf began (knowing right well that Conſtantinus had intelligence of his conſpiracy and treaſon) joining battle with him, he was overcome.

Divers battles between them were fought; the firſt fought in Hungary, where Licinius was overthrown; then he fled into Macedonia, and repairing his army, was again diſcomfited. Finally, being vanquiſhed both by ſea and land, he laſtly at Nicomedia yielded himſelf to Conſtantine, and was commanded to live a private life in Theſſalia, where at length he was ſlain by the ſoldiers.

Now remaineth after the end of theſe perſecutors thus deſcribed, to gather up the names and ſtories of certain particular martyrs, which now are to be ſet forth worthy of ſpecial memory, for their ſingular conſtancy and fortitude, ſhewed in their ſufferings and cruel torments. The names of all which that ſuffered in this foreſaid tenth perſecution, being in number infinite, in virtue moſt excellent, it is impoſſible here to comprehend; but the moſt notable, and in moſt approved authors expreſſed, we thought here to inſert, for the more edification of other chriſtians, which may and ought to look upon their examples, firſt beginning with Albanus, the firſt martyr that ever in England ſuffered death for the name of Chriſt.

At what time Diocleſian and Maximinian, the pagan emperors, had directed out their letters with all ſeverity for the perſecuting of the chriſtians; Alban, being then an infidel, received into his houſe a certain clerk, flying from the perſecutors hands, whom when Alban beheld continually both day and night to perſevere in watching and prayer, ſuddenly by the great mercy of God he began to imitate the example of his faith and virtuous life; whereupon by little and little he being inſtructed by his wholeſome exhortations, and leaving the blindneſs of his idolatry, became at length a perfect chriſtian. And when the forenamed clerk had lodged with him a certain time, it was informed the wicked prince, that this good man and confeſſor of Chriſt (not yet condemned to death) was harboured in Alban's houſe, or very near unto him. Whereupon immediately he gave in charge to the ſoldiers to make more diligent inquiſition of the matter. Who, as ſoon as they came to the houſe of Alban the martyr, he by and by putting on the apparel wherewith his gueſt and maſter was apparelled, offered himſelf in the ſtead of the other to the ſoldiers; who binding him, brought him forthwith to the judge. It fortuned that at that inſtant when bleſſed Alban was brought unto the judge, they found the ſame judge at the altars offering ſacrifice unto devils, who, as ſoon as he ſaw Alban, was ſtraitways in a great rage, for that he would preſume of his own voluntary will to offer himſelf to peril, and give himſelf a priſoner to the ſoldiers, for ſafeguard of his gueſt whom he harboured, and commanded him to be brought before the images of the devils whom he worſhipped, ſaying, "For that thou hadſt rather hide and convey away a rebel, than to deliver him to the officers, and that (as a contemner of our gods) he ſhould not ſuffer puniſhment and merit of his blaſphemy; look what puniſhment he ſhould have had, thou for him ſhalt ſuffer the ſame, if I perceive thee any whit to revolt from our manner of worſhipping." But bleſſed Alban, who of his own accord had bewrayed to the perſecutors that he was a chriſtian, feared not all the menaces of the prince, but being armed with the ſpiritual armour, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then ſaid the judge, "Of what ſtock or kindred art thou come?" Alban anſwered, "What is that to you? of what ſtock ſoever I came of, if you deſire to hear the verity of my religion, I do ye to wit, that I am a chriſtian, and apply myſelf altogether to that calling." Then ſaid the judge, "I would know thy name, and ſee thou tell the ſame without delay." Then ſaid he, "My parents named me Alban, and I worſhip the true and living God, which hath created all the world." Then ſaid the judge, fraught with fury, "If thou wilt enjoy the felicity of this preſent life, do ſacrifice (and that out of hand) to theſe mighty gods." Alban replieth, "Theſe ſacrifices which ye offer unto devils, can neither help them that offer

offer the ſame, neither yet can they accompliſh the deſires and prayers of their ſuppliants; but rather ſhall they, whatſoever they be, that offer ſacrifice to theſe idols, receive for their reward everlaſting pains of hell-fire." The judge, when he heard theſe words, was paſſing angry, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confeſſor of God, endeavouring to overcome the conſtancy of his heart with ſtripes, which had prevailed nothing with words. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet ſuffered he the ſame patiently, nay, rather joyfully, for the Lord's ſake. Then when the judge ſaw that he would not with torments be overcome, nor be reduced from the worſhip of chriſtian religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

As touching the name of the clerk mentioned in this ſtory, whom Alban received into his houſe, I find in the Engliſh ſtories to be Amphibalus, although the Latin authors name him not, who the ſame time flying into Wales, was alſo fetch'd from thence again to the ſame town of Verolamium, otherwiſe called Verlancaſter, where he was martyred, having his belly opened, and made to run about a ſtake, while all his bowels were drawn out, then thruſt in with ſwords and daggers; and at laſt was ſtoned to death.

Moreover at the ſame time with Alban ſuffered alſo two citizens of the aforeſaid city of Verlancaſter, whoſe names were Aaron and Julius; beſides others, whereof a great number the ſame time no doubt did ſuffer, altho' our chronicles of their names do make no rehearſal.

The time of martyrdom of this bleſſed Alban and the other, ſeemeth to be about the ſecond or third year of this tenth perſecution, under the tyranny of Diocleſian, and Maximinianus Herculius, bearing then the rule in England, about the year of our Lord 301, before the coming of Conſtantius to his government. Where by the way it is to be noted, that this realm of Britain being ſo chriſtened before, yet never was touched with any other of the nine perſecutions, before this tenth perſecution of Diocleſian and Maximinian. In which perſecution our ſtories and polychronicon do record, that all chriſtianity almoſt in the whole iſland was deſtroyed, the churches ſubverted, all books of the ſcripture burned, many of the faithful, both men and women, were ſlain; among whom the firſt and chief ring-leader (as hath been ſaid) was Albanus. And thus much touching the martyrs of Britain.

Now from England to return again unto other countries, where this perſecution did more vehemently rage, we will add thereunto the ſtories of others, whoſe ſingular conſtancy in their ſtrong torments are chiefly renowned in later hiſtories; beginning firſt with Romanus, the notable and admirable ſoldier and true ſervant of Chriſt, whoſe hiſtory, ſet forth in Prudentius, doth thus proceed; ſo lamentably by him deſcribed, that it will be hard for any man almoſt with dry cheeks to hear it.

Pitileſs Galerius, with his grand captain Aſclepiades, violently invaded the city of Antioch, intending by force of arms to drive all chriſtians to renounce utterly their pure religion. The chriſtians, as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom Romanus haſtily ran, declaring, that the wolves were at hand, which would devour the chriſtian flock; "But fear not, ſaid he, neither let this imminent peril diſturb you, my brethren." Brought was it to paſs, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that old men and matrons, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens, were all of one will and mind, moſt ready to ſhed their blood in defence of their chriſtian profeſſion. Word was brought unto the captain, that the band of armed ſoldiers was not able to wreſt the ſtaff of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reaſon that one Romanus ſo mightily did encourage them, that they ſtick not to offer their naked throats, wiſhing glorioufly to die for the name of their Chriſt. "Seek out that rebel (quoth the captain), and bring him to me, that he may anſwer for the whole ſect." Apprehended he was, and bound as a ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter-houſe, was preſented to the emperor, who with wrathful countenance beholding them, ſaid, "What! Art thou the author of this ſedition? Art thou the cauſe why ſo many ſhall loſe their lives? By the gods, I ſwear thou ſhalt ſmart for it, and firſt in thy fleſh ſhalt thou ſuffer the pains, whereunto thou haſt encouraged the hearts of thy fellows." Romanus anſwered, "Thy ſentence, O emperor, I joyfully embrace, I refuſe not to be ſacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruel means as thou mayeſt invent: and whereas thy ſoldiers were repelled from the chriſtian congregation, that ſo happened, becauſe it lay not in idolaters and worſhippers of devils to enter into the holy houſe of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer." Then Aſclepiades, wholly inflamed with this ſtout anſwer, commanded him to be truſſed up, and his bowels drawn out. The executioners themſelves, more pitiful in heart than the captain, ſaid, "Not ſo, Sir, this man is of noble parentage, unlawful it is to put a nobleman to ſo unnoble a death." Scourge him then with whips (quoth the captain), with knaps of lead at the ends." Inſtead of tears, ſighs and groans, Romanus ſung pſalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for nobility-ſake; "Not the blood of my progenitors (ſaid he), but chriſtian profeſſion, maketh me noble." Then with great power of ſpirit he inveighed againſt the captain, laughing to ſcorn the falſe gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worſhipping of them, affirming the God of the chriſtians to be the true God, that created heaven and earth, before whoſe judicial ſeat all nations ſhall appear. But the wholeſome words of the martyr were as oil to the fire of the captain's fury. The more the martyr ſpake, the madder was he, inſomuch that he commanded the martyr's ſides to be lanced with knives, until the bones appeared white again. "Sorry am I, O captain (quoth the martyr), not for that my fleſh ſhall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cauſe I am ſorrowful, who being corrupted with damnable errors, ſeduceſt others." The ſecond time he preached at large the living God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his well-beloved Son, eternal life through faith in his blood, expreſſing therewith the abomination of idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worſhip and adore the living God. At theſe words Aſclepiades commanded the tormentors to ſtrike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being ſtricken out, his pronunciation at leaſt wiſe might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face buffeted, his eyelids torn with their nails, his cheeks ſcorched with knives, the ſkin of his beard was plucked by little and little from the fleſh; finally, his ſeemly face was wholly defaced. The meek martyr ſaid, "I thank thee, O captain, that thou haſt opened unto me many mouths, wherein I may preach my Lord and Saviour Chriſt. Look, how many wounds I have, ſo many mouths I have lauding and praiſing God." The captain, aſtoniſhed with this ſingular conſtancy, commanded them to ceaſe from the tortures. He threateneth cruel fire, he revileth the noble martyr, he blaſphemeth God, ſaying, "Thy crucified Chriſt is but a yeſterday's God, the gods of the gentiles are of moſt antiquity."

Here again Romanus taking good occaſion, made a long oration of the eternity of Chriſt, of his human nature, of the death and ſatisfaction of Chriſt for all mankind. Which done, he ſaid, "Give me a child, O captain, but ſeven years of age, which age is free from malice and other vices, wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou ſhalt hear what he will ſay." His requeſt was granted. A pretty boy was called out of the multitude, and ſet before him, "Tell me, my babe (quoth the martyr), whether you think it reaſon that we worſhip one Chriſt, and in Chriſt one Father, or elſe that we worſhip infinite gods?" Unto whom the babe anſwered, "That certainly, whatſoever it be that men affirm to

be God, muſt needs be one; which with one, is one and the ſame; and in aſmuch as this one is Chriſt, of neceſſity Chriſt muſt be the true God; for that there be many gods, we children cannot believe." The captain, hereat clean amazed, ſaid, "Thou young villain and traitor, where, and of whom learnedſt thou this leſſon?" Of my mother (quoth the child), with whoſe milk I ſucked in this leſſon, that I muſt believe in Chriſt." The mother was called, and ſhe gladly appeared. The captain commanded the child to be horſed up, and ſcourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitileſs act could not refrain themſelves from tears; the joyful and glad mother alone ſtood by with dry cheeks: yea, ſhe rebuked her ſweet babe for craving a draught of cold water; ſhe charged him to thirſt after the cup that the infants of Bethlehem once drank of, forgetting their mothers milk and paps; ſhe willed him to remember little Iſaac, who beholding the ſword wherewith, and the altar whereon he ſhould be ſacrificed, willingly proffered his tender neck to the dint of his father's ſword. Whilſt this counſel was in giving, the butcherly tormentor plucked the ſkin from the crown of his head, hair and all. The mother cried, "Suffer, my child, anon thou ſhalt paſs to him that will adorn thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory." The mother counſelleth, the child is counſelled; the mother encourageth, the babe is encouraged, and receiveth the ſtripes with a ſmiling countenance. The captain, perceiving the child invincible, and himſelf vanquiſhed, committeth the ſilly ſoul, the bleſſed babe, the child uncheriſhed, to the ſtinking priſon, commanding the torments of Romanus to be renewed and increaſed, as chief author of this evil.

Thus was Romanus brought forth again to new ſtripes, the puniſhments to be received and renewed upon his old ſores, inſomuch as the bare bones appeared, the fleſh all torn away; wherein no pity was ſhewed, but the raging tyrant puffing out of his blaſphemous mouth, like a mad man, theſe words, cried out to the tormentors, ſaying;

"Where is (quoth the captain) where is your might?
What! are you not able one body to ſpill?
Scant may it, ſo weak is it, ſtand upright:
And yet in ſpite of us, ſhall it live ſtill?

The griph with talon, the dog with his tooth,
Could ſoon, ye daſtards, this corps rent and tear:
He ſcorneth our gods in all that he doth,
Cut, prick, and pounce him, no longer forbear."

Yea, no longer could the tyrant forbear, but needs he muſt draw nearer to the ſentence of death. "Is it painful to thee (ſaith he) to tarry ſo long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, ſhall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow of rebellion, ſhall be conſumed into aſhes." Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on Romanus, he looked back, ſaying, "I appeal from this thy tyranny, O judge unjuſt, unto the righteous throne of Chriſt, that upright judge: not becauſe I fear thy cruel torments and mercileſs handlings, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel and bloody." Now when they were come to the place, the tormentors required the child of the mother, for ſhe had taken it up in her arms; and ſhe only kiſſing it, delivered the babe; "Farewel, ſhe ſaid, my ſweet child." And as the hangman applied the ſword to the babe's neck, ſhe ſang on this manner:

"All laud and praiſe with heart and voice,
O Lord, we yield to thee:
To whom the death of all thy ſaints
We know moſt dear to be."

The innocent's head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it on her breaſt. On the other ſide a mighty fire was made, whereinto Romanus was caſt, who ſaid that he ſhould not burn: wherewith a great ſtorm aroſe (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The captain gave in commandment that his tongue ſhould be cut out. Out was it plucked by the hard roots, and cut off: nevertheleſs he ſpake, ſaying, "He that ſpeaketh Chriſt, ſhall never want a tongue: think not that the voice that uttereth Chriſt, hath need of the tongue to be the miniſter." The captain at this, half out of his wits, bare in hand that the hangman deceived the ſight of the people by ſome ſubtil ſleight and crafty conveyance. "Not ſo (quoth the hangman), if you ſuſpect my deed, open his mouth, and diligently ſearch the roots of his tongue." The captain at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the martyr, ſtraitly commanded him to be brought back into the priſon, and there to be ſtrangled. Where his ſorrowful life and pains being ended, he now enjoyeth quiet reſt in the Lord, with perpetual hope of his miſerable body to be reſtored again, with his ſoul, into a better life, where no tyrant ſhall have any power.

Gordius was a citizen of Cæſarea, a worthy ſoldier and captain of an hundred men. He in the time of extreme perſecution, refuſing any longer to execute his charge, did chooſe of his own accord willing exile, and lived in the deſert many years a religious and a ſolitary life. But upon a certain day, when a ſolemn feaſt of Mars was celebrated in the city of Cæſarea. and much people were aſſembled in the theatre to behold the games, he left the deſert, and got him up into the chief place of the theatre, and with a loud voice uttered this ſaying of the apoſtle, "Behold, I am found of them that ſought me not, and to thoſe which aſked not for me have I openly appeared." By which words he let it to be underſtood, that of his own accord he came unto thoſe games. At this noiſe the multitude little regarding the fights, looked about to ſee who it was that made ſuch exclamation. As ſoon as it was known to be Gordius, and that the crier had commanded ſilence, he was brought unto the ſheriff, who at that inſtant was preſent, and ordained the games. When he was aſked the queſtion who he was, from whence, and for what occaſion he came thither, he telleth the truth of every thing as it was: "I am come, ſaith he, to publiſh, that I ſet nothing by your decrees againſt the chriſtian religion, but that I profeſs Jeſus Chriſt to be my hope and ſafety; and when I underſtood with what cruelty he handled other men, I took this as a fit time to accompliſh my deſire." The ſheriff with theſe words was greatly moved, and revengeth all his diſpleaſure upon poor Gordius, commanding the executioners to be brought out with ſcourges, while gibbet and whatſoever torments elſe might be deviſed. Whereunto Gordius anſwered, ſaying, "That it ſhould be to him an hindrance and damage, if he could not ſuffer and endure divers torments and puniſhments for Chriſt his cauſe." The ſheriff, being more offended with his boldneſs, commanded him to feel as many torments as there were. With all which Gordius notwithſtanding could not be maſtered or overcome: but lifting up his eyes unto heaven, ſinging this ſaying out of the pſalms, "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear the thing that man can do to me:" and alſo this ſaying, "I will fear none evil, becauſe thou, Lord, art with me."

After this, he againſt himſelf provoketh the extremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they favour him any thing at all. When the ſheriff ſaw that hereby he could win but little, he goeth about by gentleneſs and inticing words to turn the ſtout and valiant mind of Gordius. He promiſeth to him great and large offers if he will deny Chriſt; as to make him a captain of as many men as any other is, to give him riches, treaſure, and what other thing ſoever he deſireth. But in vain (as the proverb is) pipeth the minſtrel to him that hath no ears to hear; for he, deriding the fooliſh madneſs of the magiſtrate, ſaith, "That it lieth not in him to place any in authority, which be worthy to have a place in heaven."

heaven." The magiſtrate with theſe words thoroughly angered and vexed, prepared himſelf for his condemnation. Whom after that he had condemned, he cauſed to be had out of the city to be burnt. There ran out of the city great multitudes by heaps to ſee him put to execution, ſome taking in their arms, and lovingly kiſs him, perſuading him to take a better way, and ſave himſelf, and that with weeping tears. To whom Gordianus anſwered, "Weep not, I pray you, for me, but rather for the enemies of God, which always make war againſt the chriſtians; weep, I ſay, for them which prepare for us a fire, purchaſing hell fire for themſelves in the day of vengeance; and ceaſe off further, I pray you, to moleſt and diſquiet my ſettled mind. Truly (ſaith he) I am ready for the name of Chriſt to ſuffer and endure a thouſand deaths, if need were." Some other came unto him, which perſuaded him to deny Chriſt with his mouth, and to keep his conſcience to himſelf. "My tongue (ſaith he) which by the goodneſs of God I have, cannot be brought to deny the author and giver of the ſame; for with the heart we believe unto righteouſneſs, and with the tongue we confeſs unto ſalvation," Many more ſuch like words he ſpake; but eſpecially uttering to them ſuch matter, whereby he might perſuade the beholders unto death, and to the deſire of martyrdom. After all which, with a merry and glad countenance, never changing ſo much as his colour, he willingly gave himſelf up to be burnt.

Not much unlike to the ſtory of Gordius is the ſtory alſo of Menas, an Egyptian, who being likewiſe a ſoldier by his profeſſion, in this perſecution of Diocleſian, forſook all, and went into the deſert, where a long time he gave himſelf to abſtinence, watching, and meditation of the ſcriptures. At length returning again to the city of Cotis, there in the open theatre, as the people were occupied upon their ſpectacles or paſtimes, he with a loud voice openly proclaimed himſelf to be a chriſtian, and upon the ſame was brought to Pyrrhus the preſident; of whom he being demanded of his faith, made this anſwer, "Convenient it is that I ſhould (ſaith he) confeſs God, in whom is light, and no darkneſs; forſomuch as Paul doth teach, that with heart we believe to righteouſneſs, with mouth confeſſion is given to ſalvation." After this the innocent martyr was moſt painfully pinched and tormented with ſundry puniſhments. In all which notwithſtanding he declared a conſtant heart, and faith invincible, having theſe words in his mouth in the midſt of his torments: "There is nothing in my mind that can be compared to the kingdom of heaven; neither is all the world, if it were weighed in balance, able to be conferred with the price of one ſoul; and ſaid, who is able to ſeparate us from the love of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord? ſhall affliction, or anguiſh? Moreover, ſaid he, I have thus learned of my Lord and my king, not to fear them which kill the body, and have no power to kill the ſoul; but to fear him rather who hath power to deſtroy both body and ſoul in hell-fire."

To make the ſtory ſhort; after manifold torments borne of him, and ſuffered, when the laſt ſentence of death was upon him pronounced, which was, to be beheaded: Menas being then had to the place of execution, ſaid, "I give thee thanks, my Lord God, which haſt ſo accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and haſt not given me to be devoured of my fierce enemies, but haſt made me to remain conſtant in thy pure faith unto this my latter end." And ſo this bleſſed ſoldier fighting valiantly under the banner of Chriſt, loſt his head, and won his ſoul.

Baſilius in a certain ſermon of forty martyrs rehearſeth this ſtory, not unworthy to be noted: "There came, ſaith he, into a certain place (of which place he maketh no mention) the emperor's marſhal, or officer, with the edict which the emperor had ſet out againſt the chriſtians, that whoſoever confeſſed Chriſt, ſhould after many torments ſuffer death."

And firſt they did privily ſuborn certain which ſhould detect and accuſe the chriſtians whom they had found out, or laid wait for.

Upon this, the ſword, the gibbet, the wheel, and the whips were brought forth; at the terrible ſight whereof, the hearts of all the beholders did ſhake and tremble. Some for fear did flee, ſome did ſtand in doubt what to do; certain were ſo terrified at the beholding of theſe engines, and tormenting inſtruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of martyrdom, but vanquiſhed at length, by the intolerable pain of their torments, made ſhipwreck of their conſciences, and loſt the glory of their confeſſion.

Among others, forty there were at this time young gentlemen, all ſoldiers, which, after the marſhal had ſhewed the emperor's edict, and required of all men the obedience of the ſame, freely and boldly of their own accord confeſſed themſelves to be chriſtians, and declared to him their names. The marſhal, ſomewhat amazed at their boldneſs of ſpeech, ſtandeth in doubt what was beſt to do. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with fair words, advertiſing them to conſider their youth, neither that they ſhould change a ſweet and pleaſant life for a cruel and untimely death: after that he promiſeth them money and honourable offices in the emperor's name. But they little eſteeming all theſe things, brake forth into a long and bold oration, affirming that they did neither deſire life, dignity, nor money, but only the celeſtial kingdom of Chriſt, ſaying further, that they are ready, for the love and faith they have in God, to endure the affliction of the wheel, the croſs, and the fire. The rude marſhal being herewith offended, deviſed a new kind of puniſhment.

He ſpied out of the middle of the city a certain great pond, which lay full upon the cold northern wind, for it was in the winter-time, wherein he cauſed them to be put all that night; but they being merry, and comforting one another, received this their appointed puniſhment, and ſaid, as they were putting off their cloaths: "We put off (ſaid they) now not our cloaths, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiſcence; we give thee thanks (O Lord) that with this our apparel we may alſo put off by thy grace the ſinful man; for by means of the ſerpent we once put him on, and by the means of Jeſus Chriſt we now put him off." When they had thus ſaid, they were brought naked into the place where they felt moſt vehement cold; inſomuch that all the parts of their bodies were ſtark and ſtiff therewith. As ſoon as it was day, they yet having breath, were brought into the fire, wherein they were conſumed, and their aſhes thrown into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more lively, and not ſo near dead as the reſt, of whom the executioners taking pity, ſaid unto his mother ſtanding by, that they would ſave his life. But ſhe, with her own hands taking up her ſon, brought him to the pile of wood, where the reſidue of his fellows (crooked for cold) did lie ready to be burnt, and admoniſhed him to accompliſh the bleſſed journey he had taken in hand with his companions.

In this fellowſhip and company of martyrs cannot be left out and forgot the ſtory of Cyrus. This Cyrus was a phyſician born in Alexandria, which fleeing into Egypt, in the perſecution of Diocleſian and Maximinian, led a ſolitary life in Arabia, being much ſpoken of for his learning and miracles, unto whoſe company after a certain time did Joannes born in the city of Edeſſa, beyond the River Euphrates, join himſelf, leaving the ſoldier's life which before that time he had exerciſed. But whilſt as yet the ſame perſecution raged in a city in Egypt called Canope, there was caſt into priſon, for the confeſſion of their faith, a certain godly chriſtian woman, called Athanaſia, and her three daughters, Theoctiſte, Theodota and Eudoxia; with whom Cyrus was well acquainted;

acquainted: at whoſe infirmities he much fearing, accompanied with his brother John, came and viſited them for their better confirmation; at which time Lirianus was chief captaia and lieutenant of Egypt; of whoſe wickedneſs and cruelty, eſpecially againſt women and maidens, Athanaſius maketh mention in his apologies, and in his epiſtle to thoſe that lead a ſolitary life. This Cyrus therefore and Joannes, being accuſed and apprehended of the heathen men, as by whoſe perſuaſions the maidens and daughters of Athanaſia contumelioufly deſpiſed the gods and the emperor's religion, and could by no means be brought to do ſacrifice, were after the publication of their conſtant confeſſion put to death by the ſword: Athanaſia alſo and her three daughters being condemned to death.

Sebaſtian being born in the part of France called Gallia Narbonenſis, was a chriſtian, and was lieutenant general of the vaward of Diocleſian the emperor, who alſo encouraged many martyrs of Chriſt by his exhortations unto conſtancy, and kept them in the faith. He being therefore accuſed to the emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he ſhould be brought into the open field, where of his own ſoldiers he was thruſt through the body with innumerable arrows, and after that his body was thrown into a jakes or ſink.

Baſilius in another ſermon alſo maketh mention of one Barlaam, being a noble and famous martyr, which abode all the torments of the executioners, even to the point of death; which thing when the tormentors ſaw, they brought him and laid him upon the altar, where they did uſe to offer ſacrifices to their idols, and put fire and frankincenſe into his right-hand, wherein he had yet ſome ſtrength, thinking that the ſame his right-hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would have ſcattered the burning incenſe upon the altar, and ſo have ſacrificed. But of that their hope, the peſtiferous tormentors were diſappointed: for the flame ate round about his hand, and the ſame endured as though it had been covered with hot embers, when as Barlaam recited out of the Pſalms this ſaying, "Bleſſed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight."

To this narration of Baſilius, touching the martyrdom of Barlaam, we will annex conſequently another ſtory of Ambroſe.

He making a certain exhortation to certain virgins, in the ſame oration commendeth the martyrdoms of Agricola and Vitalis, who ſuffered alſo in the ſame perſecution under Diocleſian and Maximinian (as they affirm) at Bononny.

This Vitalis was ſervant to Agricola, who both together had made a compact to give their lives, with other martyrs, for the name of Chriſt. Whereupon Vitalis being ſent before of his maſter to offer himſelf to martyrdom, fell firſt into the hands of perſecutors, who laboured about him by all means to cauſe him to deny Chriſt: which when he would in no caſe do, but ſtoutly perſiſted in the confeſſion of his faith, they began to exerciſe him with all kinds of torments, ſo unmercifully, that there was no whole ſkin left on all his body. So Vitalis, in the midſt of the agony and painful torments, after that he had in a ſhort prayer commended himſelf to God, gave up his life.

After him the tormentors ſet upon Agricola his maſter, whoſe virtues, manners, and gentle conditions, becauſe they were ſingularly well liked, and known to the enemies, his ſuffering therefore was the longer deferred. But Agricola not abiding the long delay and driving off, and provoking moreover the adverſaries to quicker ſpeed, at length was faſtened unto the croſs, and ſo finiſhed his martyrdom which he ſo long deſired.

No leſs worthy of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdom of Vincentius, whoſe hiſtory here followeth: this Vincentius was a Spaniard, and a Levite, moſt godly and virtuous, who at this time ſuffered martyrdom at Valence under Dacianus the preſident, as we may gather by Prudentius in his hymn.

Bergomenſis in his ſupplement reciteth theſe words concerning his martyrdom out of a certain ſermon of St. Auguſtine. Our heart conceived not a vain and fruitleſs fight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies), but certainly a great fight and marvellous, and there with ſingular pleaſure recited it, when the painful paſſion of victorious Vincentius was read unto us. Is there any ſo heavy hearted, that will not be moved in the contemplation of this immoveable martyr, ſo manly, or rather ſo godly, fighting againſt the craft and ſubtilty of the ſerpent, againſt the tyranny of Dacianus, againſt the horrors of death, and by the mighty Spirit of God conquering all? But let us in few words rehearſe the degrees of his torments, though the pains thereof in many words cannot be expreſſed.

Firſt, Dacianus cauſed the martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the joints of his body to be diſtended and racked out, until they cracked again. This being done in a moſt extreme and cruel manner, all the members of his painful and pitiful body were grievouſly indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly, that his dolors and griefs might be augmented, they miſerably vexed his fleſh with iron combs ſharply filed. And to the end the tormentors might pour out all their vengeance on the meek and mild martyr's fleſh, the tormentors themſelves alſo were vilely ſcourged at the preſident's command. And leſt his paſſions through want of pains might ſeem imperfect, or elſe too eaſy, they laid his body, being all out of joint, on a grate of iron, which when they had opened with iron hooks, they ſeared it with fiery plates, with hot burning ſalt ſprinkling the ſame. Laſt of all, into a vile dungeon was this mighty martyr drawn, the floor whereof firſt was thick ſpread with the ſharpeſt ſhells that might be gotten, his feet then being faſt locked in the ſtocks, there he was left alone without any worldly comfort: but the Lord his God was with him, the Holy Spirit of God (whoſe office is to comfort the godly afflicted) filled his heart with joy and gladneſs. Haſt thou prepared a terrible rack, O cruel tyrant, O devouring lion, for the martyr's bed? The Lord ſhall make that bed ſoft and ſweet unto him. Racked thou his bones and joints all aſunder? His bones, his joints his hairs are all numbered. Tormenteſt thou his fleſh with mortal wounds? The Lord ſhall pour abundantly into all his ſores of his oil of gladneſs. Thy ſcraping combs, thy ſharp fleſh-hooks, thine hot ſearing-irons, thy parched ſalt, thy ſtinking priſon, thy cutting ſhells, thy pinching ſtocks, ſhall turn to this patient martyr to the beſt. All together ſhall work contrary to thine expectation, great plenty of joy ſhall he reap into the barn of his ſoul, out of this mighty harveſt of pains that thou haſt brought him into. Yea, thou ſhalt prove him Vincentius indeed; that is, a vanquiſher, a triumpher, a conqueror, ſubduing thy madneſs by his meekneſs, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold means of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully enriched.

In this catalogue, or company of ſuch holy martyrs, as ſuffered in this foreſaid tenth perſecution, many more, and almoſt innumerable, there be expreſſed in authors, beſides them whom we have hitherto comprehended, as Philoromus, a man of noble birth, and great poſſeſſions in Alexandria, who being perſuaded by his friends to favour himſelf, to reſpect his wife, to conſider his children and family, did not only reject the counſels of them, but alſo neglected the threats and torments of the judge, to keep the confeſſion of Chriſt inviolate unto the death, and loſing of his head, Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 9. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 9. of whom Euſebius beareth witneſs that he was there preſent himſelf.

Of like eſtate and dignity was alſo Procopius in Paleſtina, who after his converſion brake his images of ſilver and gold, and diſtributed the ſame to the poor, and

after all kind of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his fleſh, of goring of ſtabbing in, of firing, at length had his head alſo ſmitten off.

To this may be alſo joined Georgius, a young man of Cappadocia, who ſtoutly inveighing againſt the impious idolatry of the emperors, was apprehended and caſt into priſon, then torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, ſtretched with cords, after that his hands and feet with other members of his body being cut off, at laſt with a ſword had his head cut off.

No leſs admirable than wonderful was the conſtancy alſo of women and maidens, who in the ſame perſecution gave their bodies to the torments, and their lives for the teſtimony of Chriſt, with no leſs boldneſs of ſpirit than did the men themſelves above ſpecified, to whom how much more inferior they were of bodily ſtrength, ſo much more worthy of praiſe they be, for their conſtant ſtanding. Of whom ſome examples here we mind (Chriſt willing) to infer, ſuch as in our ſtories and chronicles ſeem moſt notable, firſt beginning with Eulalia, whoſe ſtory we have taken out of Prudentius, as followeth.

In the weſt part of Spain, called Portugal, is a city great and populous, named Emerita, wherein dwelt and was brought up, a virgin, born of noble parentage, whoſe name was Eulalia, which Emerita, although for the ſituation thereof was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renown thereof, by the martyrdom, blood, and ſepulchre of this bleſſed virgin Eulalia.

Twelve years of age was ſhe, and not much above, when ſhe refuſed great and honourable offers in marriage, as one not ſkilful, nor yet delighting in courtly dalliance, neither yet taking pleaſure in purple and gorgeous apparel, or elſe in precious balms, or coſtly ornaments and jewels: but forſaking and deſpiſing all theſe and ſuch like pompous allurements, then ſhewed ſhe herſelf moſt buſy in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance, and heavenly patronage. Which Eulalia, as ſhe was modeſt and diſcreet in behaviour, ſage and ſober in conditions, ſo was ſhe alſo witty and ſharp in anſwering her enemies. But when the furious rage of perſecution inforced her to join herſelf amongſt God's children in the houſhold of faith, and when the chriſtians were commanded to offer incenſe and ſacrifice to devils or dead gods: then began the bleſſed ſpirit of Eulalia to kindle, and being of a prompt and ready wit, thought forthwith (as a courageous captain) to give a charge upon this ſo great and diſordered a battle: and ſo ſhe, ſilly woman, pouring out the bowels of her innocent heart before God, more provoketh thereby the force and rage of her enemies againſt her. But the godly care of her parents, fearing leſt the willing mind of this damſel, ſo ready to die for Chriſt's cauſe, might make her guilty of her own death, hid her and kept her cloſe at their houſe in the country, being a great way out of the city. She yet miſliking that quiet life, and alſo deteſting to make ſuch delay, ſoftly ſtealeth out of the doors (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great haſte leaving the common way, openeth the hedge gaps, and with weary feet (God knoweth) paſſed through the thorny and briery places, accompanied yet with ſpiritual guard: and although dark and dreadful was the ſilent night, yet had ſhe with her the Lord and guider of light. And as the children of Iſrael coming out of Egypt, had, by the mighty power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guide in the day, and a flame in the night; ſo had this godly virgin, travelling in this dark night, when ſhe flying and forſaking the place where all filthy idolatry abounded, and haſtened her heavenly journey, was not oppreſſed with the dreadful darkneſs of the night: but yet ſhe, before the day appeared in this her ſpeedy journey, with herſelf conſidered and muſed on a thouſand matters and more.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage ſhe goeth unto the tribunal or judgment-ſeat, and in the midſt of them all with a loud voice crying out, ſaid: "I pray you what a ſhame is it for you thus raſhly and without adviſement to deſtroy and kill mens ſouls, and throw their bodies alive againſt the rocks, and cauſe them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know (O you unfortunate) what I am? Behold, I am one of the chriſtians, an enemy to your deviliſh ſacrifices, I ſpurn your idols under my feet, I confeſs God omnipotent with my heart and mouth. Iſis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Maximinus himſelf, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the works of mens hands; the other but a caſtaway, becauſe he worſhippeth the ſame work. Therefore frivolous are they both, and both not worthy to be ſet by: Maximinius is a lord of ſubſtance, and yet he himſelf falleth down before a ſtone, and voweth the honour of his dignity to thoſe that are much inferior to his vaſſals. Why then doth he oppreſs ſo tyrannically, more worthy ſtomachs and courages than himſelf? He muſt needs be a good guide and an upright judge, that feedeth upon innocents blood, and breathing in the bodies of godly men, doth rent and tear their bowels, and what more is, hath his delight in deſtroying and ſubverting the faith.

Go to therefore, thou hangman, burn, cut, and mangle thou theſe earthly members. It is an eaſy matter to break a brittle ſubſtance, but the inward mind ſhalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canſt do." The prætor then or judge, with theſe words of hers, ſet in a great rage, ſaith, "Hangman, take her and pull her out by the hair of her head, and torment her to the uttermoſt, let her feel the power of our country gods, and let her know what the imperial government of a prince is. But yet, O thou ſturdy girl, fain would I have thee (if it were poſſible) before thou die, to revoke this thy wickedneſs. Behold, what pleaſures thou mayſt enjoy by the honourable houſe thou cameſt of, thy fallen houſe and progeny followeth thee to death with lamentable tears, and the heavy nobility of thy kindred maketh doleful lamentation for thee. What meaneſt thou? Wilt thou kill thyſelf, ſo young a flower, and ſo near theſe honourable marriages, and great dowries thou mayſt enjoy? Doth not the glittering and golden pomp of the bridebed move thee? Doth not the reverend piety of thine anceſtors prick thee? Whom is it not, but that this thy raſhneſs and weakneſs grieveth? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death: either ſhalt thou be beheaded with this ſword, or elſe with theſe wild beaſts ſhalt thou be pulled in pieces, or elſe thou being caſt into the fiery flames, ſhalt be (although lamentably bewailed of thy friends and kinsfolks) conſumed to aſhes. What great matter is it for thee, I pray thee, to eſcape all this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little ſalt and incenſe into the cenſers, thou ſhalt be delivered from all theſe puniſhments." To this Eulalia made no anſwer, but being in a great fury, ſhe ſpitteth in the tyrant's face, ſhe throweth down the idols, and ſpurneth abroad with her feet the heap of incenſe prepared for the cenſer. Then without further delay the hangmen with both their ſtrengths took her, and pulled one joint from another, and with the talons of wild beaſts ſcotched her ſides to the hard bone: ſhe all this while ſinging and praiſing God in this wiſe; Behold, O Lord, I will not forget thee: what a pleaſure is it for them, O Chriſt, that remember thy triumphant victories, to attain unto theſe high dignities? and ſtill calleth upon thy holy name, all ſtained and imbrued with her own blood. This ſang ſhe with a bold ſtomach, neither lamentingly, nor yet weepingly, but being glad and merry, abandoning from her mind all heavineſs and grief, when, as out of a warm fountain, her mangled members with freſh blood bathed her white and fair

ſkin. Then proceed they to the laſt and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her mangled body with the iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her fleſh, but burned on every ſide with flaming torches, her tormented breaſts and ſides: her hair hanging about her ſhoulders in two parts divided (wherewith her ſhamefaced chaſtity and virginity was covered) reaching down to the ground. But when the crackling flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her hair, and reacheth the crown of her head: when ſhe deſiring ſwift death, opened her mouth and ſwallowed the flame, and ſo reſted ſhe in peace.

As ye have heard now the chriſtian life and conſtant death of Eulalia, much worthy of praiſe and commendation: ſo no leſs commendation is worthy to be given to bleſſed Agnes, that conſtant damſel and martyr of God, who as ſhe was in Rome of honourable parents begotten, ſo lieth ſhe there as honourably intombed and buried. Which Agnes for her unſpotted and undefiled virginity, deſerved no leſs praiſe and commendation, than for her willing death and martyrdom. She was young and not marriageable, when firſt ſhe being dedicated to Chriſt, boldly reſiſted the wicked edicts of the emperor; leſt that through idolatry ſhe might have denied and forſaken the holy faith; but yet firſt proved by divers and ſundry policies to induce her to the ſame (as now with the flattering and enticing words of the judge, now with the threatenings of the ſtorming executioner) ſhe ſtood notwithſtanding ſtedfaſt in all courageous ſtrength: and willingly offered her body to hard and painful torments, not refuſing (as ſhe ſaid) to ſuffer whatſoever it ſhould be, yea though it were death itſelf. Then ſaid the cruel tyrant, "If to ſuffer pain and torment be ſo eaſy a matter and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accounteſt thy life nothing worthy, yet the ſhame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded, I know, and eſteemed of thee. Wherefore this is determined, that unleſs thou wilt make obeiſance to the altar of Minerva, and aſk forgiveneſs of her for thy arrogancy, thou ſhalt be ſent or abandoned to the common ſtews or brothel-houſe." Agnes the virgin, with more ſpirit than vehemency, inveigheth againſt both Minerva and her virginity: the youth in crouds flock and run together, and crave that they may have Agnes their ludibrious prey. "Then ſaith Agnes, Chriſt is not forgetful of thoſe that be his, that he will ſuffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chaſtity, neither will he leave them ſo deſtitute of help: he is always at hand and ready to fight for ſuch as are ſhamefaced and chaſte virgins, neither ſuffereth he his gifts of holy integrity or chaſtity to be polluted. Thou ſhalt, ſaith ſhe, willingly bathe thy ſword in my blood if thou wilt, but thou ſhalt not defile my body with filthy luſt for any thing thou canſt do." She had ho ſooner ſpoken theſe words, but he commanded that ſhe ſhould be ſet naked at the corner of ſome ſtree (which place, at that time, ſuch as were ſtrumpets commonly uſed), the greater part of the multitude ſorrowing and ſhaming to ſee ſo ſhameleſs a ſight, went their ways, ſome turning their heads, ſome hiding their faces. But one amongſt the reſt, with uncircumciſed eyes beholding the damſel, and that in ſuch opprobrious wiſe; behold a flame of fire, like unto a flaſh of lightning falleth upon him, and ſtriketh his eyes out of his head: whereupon he for dead falling unto the ground, ſprawleth in the kennel-dirt; whoſe companions taking him up, and carrying him away, bewailed him as a dead man: but the virgin for this her miraculous delivery from the danger and ſhame of that place, ſingeth praiſes to God and Chriſt.

There be, ſaith Prudentius, that report, how that ſhe being deſired to pray unto Chriſt for the party, that a little before with fire from heaven for his incontinency was ſtricken, was reſtored by her prayer, buth unto his perfect health and ſight. But bleſſed Agnes, after that ſhe had climbed this her firſt ſtep unto the heavenly palace, forthwith began to climb another: for fury ingendering now the mortal wrath of her bloody euemy, wringing his hands, he crieth out, ſaying, "I am undone, O thou the executioner, draw out thy ſword, and do thine office that the emperor hath appointed thee."

And when Agnes ſaw a ſturdy and cruel fellow to behold, ſtanding behind her, or approaching near to her, with a naked ſword in his hand; "I am now gladder, ſaith ſhe, and rejoice, that ſuch a one as thou, being a ſtout, fierce, ſtrong, and ſturdy ſoldier, art come, than one more feeble, weak, and faint, ſhould come, or elſe any other young man ſweetly embalmed, and wearing gay apparel, that might deſtroy me with funeral ſhame. This, even this is he, I now confeſs that I do love. I will make haſte to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing deſire. I will willingly receive into my paps the length of his ſword, and into my breaſt will draw the force thereof, even unto the hilts, that thus I being married unto Chriſt, my ſpouſe, may ſurmount and eſcape all the darkneſs of this world, that reacheth even unto the ſkies. O eternal Governor, vouchſafe to open the gates of heaven, once ſhut up againſt all the inhabitants of the earth, and receive, O Chriſt, my ſoul that ſeeketh thee."

Thus ſpeaking, and kneeling upon her knees, ſhe prayeth unto Chriſt above in heaven, that her neck might be the readier for the ſword, now hanging over the ſame.

The executioner then with his bloody hand finiſhed her hope, and at one ſtroke cutteth off her head, and by ſuch ſhort and ſwift death doth he prevent her of the pain thereof.

Among the works of Baſil a certain oration is extant concerning Julitta the martyr, who came to her martyrdom, as he witneſſeth, by this occaſion. A certain avaricious and greedy perſon, of great authority, and (as it may appear) the emperor's deputy, or other like officer (who abuſed the decrees and laws of the emperor againſt the chriſtians, to his own lucre and gain), violently took from this Julitta all her goods, lands, chattels and ſervants, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pitiful complaint to the judges: a day was appointed when the cauſe ſhould be heard. The ſpoiled woman, and the ſpoiling extortioner ſtood forth together: the woman lamentably declareth her cauſe; the man frowningly beholdeth her face. When ſhe had proved that of good right the goods were her own, and that wrongfully he had dealt with her: the wicked and blood-thirſty wretch preferring vile worldly ſubſtance before the precious ſubſtance of a chriſtian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that ſhe was an outlaw in not obſerving the emperor's gods ſince her chriſtian faith hath been firſt abjured. His allegation was allowed as good and reaſonable. Whereupon incenſe and fire were prepared for her to worſhip the gods, which unleſs ſhe would do, neither the emperor's protection, nor laws, nor judgment, nor life, ſhould ſhe enjoy in that commonweal. When this handmaid of the Lord heard theſe words, ſhe ſaid, "Farewel life, welcome death: farewel riches, welcome poverty. All that I have, if it were a thouſand times more, would I rather loſe, than to ſpeak one wicked and blaſphemous word againſt God my creator. I yield thee thanks moſt hearty, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I can contemn and deſpiſe this frail and tranſitory world, eſteeming chriſtian profeſſion above all treaſures." Henceforth, when any queſtion was demanded, her anſwer was, I am the ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt.

Her kindred and acquaintance, flocking to her, adverſiſed her to change her mind. But that vehemently ſhe refuſed, with deteſtation of their idolatry. Forthwith the judge with the ſharp ſword of ſentence, not only cutteth off all her goods and poſſeſſions, but judgeth her alſo to the fire moſt cruelly. The joyful martyr embraceth the ſentence as a thing moſt ſweet and delectable. She addreſſeth herſelf to the flames, in countenance, geſture, and words,

words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with ſingular conſtancy.

To the women beholding her, ſententiouſly ſhe ſpake, "Stick not, O my ſiſters, to labour and travail after true piety and godlineſs. Ceaſe to accuſe the fragility of feminine nature. What! are we not created of the ſame matter that men are? Yea, after God's image and ſimilitude are we made, as lively as they. Not fleſh only God uſed in the creation of the woman, in ſign and token of her infirmity and weakneſs, but bone of bones is ſhe, in token that ſhe muſt be ſtrong in the true and living God, all falſe gods forſaken; conſtant in faith, all infidelity renounced; patient in adverſity, all worldly eaſe refuſed. Wax weary, my dear ſiſters, of your lives led in darkneſs, and be in love with my Chriſt, my God, my Redeemer, my Comforter, which is the true light of the world. Perſuade yourſelves, or rather the Spirit of the living God perſuade you, that there is a world to come, wherein the worſhippers of the idols and devils ſhall be tormented perpetually; the ſervants of the moſt high God ſhall be crowned eternally." With theſe words ſhe embraced the fire, and ſweetly ſlept in the Lord,

In the country of Perſia about this time ſuffered under Sapores the king divers valiant and conſtant martyrs; as Acindimus, Pegaſius, Anempodiſtus, Epidephorus; alſo Simeon, archbiſhop of Seleucia, with Cteſiphon, another biſhop of Perſia, with other miniſters and devout men of that religion, to the number of one hundred twenty eight. Of this Simeon and Cteſiphon, thus writeth Sozomen. That the idolatrous magicians in Perſia, taking counſel together againſt the chriſtians, accuſed Simeon and Cteſiphon to Sapores the king, for that they were grateful and accepted unto the Roman emperor, and bewrayed to him ſuch things as were done in the land of Perſia. Whereupon Sapores, being moved, took great diſpleaſure againſt the chriſtians, oppreſſing them with taxes and tributes unto their utter impoveriſhing, killing all their prieſts with the ſword; after that calleth for Simeon, the archbiſhop, and a valiant captain of Chriſt's church. For when Sapores had commanded him to be led to ſuffer torments, he neither ſhrunk for any fear, nor ſhewed any great humble ſuit of ſubmiſſion for any pardon: whereat the king partly marvelling, partly offended, aſked, "Why he did not kneel down as he was wont to do?" Simeon to this anſwered, "For that, ſaith he, before this time I was not brought unto you in bonds to betray the true God, as I am now; and ſo long I refuſed not to accompliſh that which the order and cuſtom of the realm of me required; but now it is not lawful for me ſo to do, for now I come to ſtand in defence of our religion and true doctrine." When Simeon thus had anſwered, the king perſiſting in his purpoſe, offereth to him the choice either to worſhip with him after his manner (promiſing to him many great gifts, if he would ſo do), or if he would not, threateneth to him, and to all the other chriſtians within his land, deſtruction. But Simeon, neither allured with his promiſes, nor terrified with his threatenings, continued conſtant in his doctrine profeſſed, ſo as neither he could be induced to idolatrous worſhip, nor yet to betray the truth of his religion. For the which cauſe he was committed into bonds, and there commanded to be kept, till the king's pleaſure ſhould be further known.

It befel in the way as he was going to the priſon, there was ſitting at the king's gate a certain eunuch, an old tutor or ſchool-maſter of the king's, named Uſthazares, who had been once a chriſtian, and afterwards falling from his profeſſion, fell with the heatheniſh multitude to their idolatry. This Uſthazares ſitting at the door of the king's palace, and ſeeing Simeon paſſing by led to the priſon, roſe up, and reverenced the biſhop. Simeon again with ſharp words (as the time would ſuffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out againſt him, which being once a chriſtian, would ſo cowardly revolt from his profeſſion, and return again to the heatheniſh idolatry. At the hearing of theſe words the eunuch forthwith burſting out into tears, laying away his courtly apparel, which was ſumptuous and coſtly, and putting upon him a black and mourning weed, ſitteth before the court gates weeping and bewailing, thus ſaying with himſelf, "Woe is me, with what hope, with what face ſhall I look hereafter for my God, which have denied my God, when as this Simeon, my familiar acquaintance, thus paſſing by me, ſo much diſdaineth me, that he refuſeth with one gentle word to ſalute me?"

Theſe words being brought to the ears of the king (as ſuch tale-carriers never lack in princes' courts) procured againſt him no little indignation. Whereupon Sapores the king ſending for him, firſt with gentle words and courtly promiſes began to ſpeak him fair, aſking him, "What cauſe he had ſo to mourn, and whether there was any thing in his houſe which was denied him, or which he had not at his own will and aſking?" Whereunto Uſthazares anſwering again, ſaid, "That there was nothing in that earthly houſe, which was to him lacking, or whereunto his deſire ſtood. Yea, would God (ſaid he) O king, any other grief or calamity in all the world, whatſoever it were, had happened to me rather than this, for the which I do moſt juſtly mourn and ſorrow! for this ſorroweth me, that I am this day alive, who ſhould rather have died long ſince, and that I ſee this ſun, which againſt my heart and mind, for your pleaſure diſſemblingly I appeared to worſhip; for which cauſe double-wiſe I am worthy of death; firſt, for that I have denied Chriſt; ſecondly, becauſe I did diſſemble with you.

And incontinent upon theſe words, ſwearing by him that made both heaven and earth, affirmed moſt certainly, that altho' he had played the fool before, he would never be ſo mad again, as, inſtead of the creator and maker of all things, to worſhip the things which he had made and created.

Sapores the king being aſtoniſhed at the ſo ſudden alteration of this man, and doubting with himſelf whether to be angry with thoſe inchanters, or with him; whether to intreat him with gentleneſs or with rigour: at length in this mood commanded the ſaid Uſthazares, his ancient ſervant, and firſt tutor and bringer up of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded.

As he was going to the place of execution, he deſired of the executioners a little to ſtay, while he might ſend a meſſage unto the king; which was this (ſent in by certain of the king's moſt truſty eunuchs) deſiring him, that for all the old and faithful ſervice he had done to his father, and to him, he would now requite him with this one office again, to cauſe to be cried openly by a public crier in theſe words following, "That Uſthazares was beheaded, not for any treachery or crime committed againſt the king or the realm, but only for that he was a chriſtian, and would not at the king's pleaſure deny his God." And ſo according unto his requeſt it was performed and granted.

For this cauſe did Uſthazares ſo much deſire the cauſe of his death to be publiſhed: becauſe that as his ſhrinking back from Chriſt, was a great occaſion to many chriſtians to do the like; ſo now the ſame, hearing that Uſthazares died for no other cauſe but only for the religion of Chriſt, ſhould learn likewiſe by his example to be fervent and conſtant in that which they profeſs. And thus the bleſſed eunuch did conſummate his martyrdom.

Of the which his ſaid martyrdom, Simeon, being in priſon, hearing, was very joyful, and gave God thanks: who in the next day following, being brought forth before the king, and conſtantly refuſing to condeſcend unto the king's requeſt, to worſhip viſible creatures, was likewiſe by the commandment of the king beheaded, with a great number more, which the ſame day alſo did ſuffer, to the number (as is ſaid) of an hundred and more; all

which were put to death before Simeon, he ſtanding by, and exhorting them with comforted words, admoniſhing them to ſtand firm and ſtedfaſt in the Lord; preaching and teaching them concerning death, reſurrection, and true piety; and by the ſcriptures that to be true which he had ſaid, declaring moreover that to be true life indeed, ſo to die; and that to be death indeed, to deny or betray God for fear of puniſhment.

And added further, there was no man alive, but needs once muſt die; "Forſomuch as to all men is appointed neceſſarily here to have an end. But thoſe things which after this life follow hereafter, to be eternal, which neither ſhall come to all men after one ſort. But as the condition and trade of life in divers men doth differ, and is not in all men alike: So the time ſhall come, when all men in a moment ſhall render and receive according to their doings in this preſent life, immortal rewards: ſuch as have here done well, of life and glory; ſuch as have done contrary, of perpetual puniſhment. As touching thereof, our well doing, here is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and virtuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed, than if a man here loſe his life for his Lord God."

With theſe words of comfortable exhortation the holy martyrs being prepared, willingly yielded up their lives to death. After whom at laſt followed Simeon, with two other prieſts or miniſters of his church: Abedecalaas and Ananias, which alſo with him were partakers of the ſame martyrdom.

At the ſuffering of thoſe above-mentioned, it happened that Puſices, one of the king's officers, and overſeers of his artificers, was there preſent, who ſeeing Ananias, being an aged old father, ſomewhat to ſhake and tremble at the ſight of them that ſuffered: "O father (ſaid he) a little moment ſhut thine eyes, and be ſtrong, and ſhortly thou ſhalt ſee the ſight of God." Upon theſe words thus ſpoken, Puſices immediately was apprehended, and brought unto the king, who there confeſſing himſelf conſtantly to be a chriſtian, and for that he was very bold and hardy before the king in this cauſe of Chriſt's faith, was extremely and moſt cruelly handled in the execution of his martyrdom. For in the upper part of his neck they made a hole to thruſt in their hand, and plucked his tongue out of his mouth, and ſo he was put to death. At the which time alſo the daughter of Puſices, a godly virgin, by the malicious accuſation of the wicked, was apprehended, and put to death.

The next year following, upon the ſame day, when the chriſtians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lord's paſſion, which we call Good-Friday before Eaſter (as witneſſeth the ſaid Sozomenus) Sapores the king directed out a cruel and ſharp edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them whoſoever confeſſed themſelves to be chriſtians. By reaſon whereof an innumerable multitude of chriſtians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant magicians, ſuffered the ſame time by the ſword, both in city and in town: ſome being ſought for, ſome offering themſelves willingly, leſt they ſhould ſeem by their ſilence to deny Chriſt. Thus all the chriſtians that could be found without pity were ſlain, and divers alſo of the king's own court and houſhold. Amongſt whom was alſo Azades an eunuch, one whom the king did intirely love and favour: which Azades, after that the king underſtood to be put to death, being greatly moved with the ſorrow thereof, commanded after that no chriſtians ſhould be ſlain, but them only which were the doctors and teachers of chriſtian religion.

In the ſame time it happened that the queen fell into a certain diſeaſe; upon the occaſion whereof, the cruel Jews, with the wicked magicians, falſly and maliciouſly accuſed Trabula, the ſiſter of Simeon the martyr, a godly virgin, with another ſiſter alſo of hers, that they had wrought privy charms to hurt the queen, for the revenging of the death of Simeon. This accuſation being received and believed, innocent Trabula, with the others, were condemned, and with a ſaw cut in ſunder by the middle: whoſe quarters were then hanged upon ſtakes, the queen going between them, thinking thereby to be delivered of her ſickneſs. This Trabula was a maid of right comely beauty, and very amiable, to whom one of the magicians caſt great love, much deſiring and labouring by gifts and rewards, ſent into the priſon, to win her to his pleaſure; promiſing that if ſhe would apply to his requeſt, ſhe ſhould be delivered, and ſet at liberty. But ſhe utterly refuſing to conſent unto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did chuſe rather to die, than to betray either the religion of her mind, or the virginity of her body. Sozom.

Now forſomuch as the king had commanded that no chriſtians ſhould be put to death, but only ſuch as were the teachers and leaders of the flock; the magicians and archmagicians left no diligence untried to ſet forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and perſecution was among the biſhops and teachers of the church, which in all places went to ſlaughter, eſpecially in the country of Diobenor; for that part of Perſia, above all other, was moſt chriſtian: where Acepſimas the biſhop, with a great number of his flock and clergy, were apprehended and taken. Upon the apprehenſion of whom, the magicians, to ſatisfy the king's commandment, diſmiſſed all the reſt, only depriving them of their living and goods. Only Acepſimas the biſhop they retained, with whom one Jacobus, a miniſter or prieſt of his church, was alſo joined; not of any compulſion, but only as himſelf ſo deſired and obtained of thoſe magicians that he might follow him, and be coupled in the ſame bonds to ſerve the aged biſhop, and to relieve (ſo much as he might) his calamities, and heal his wounds. For he had been ſore ſcourged before of the magicians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worſhip the ſun: which thing becauſe he would not do, they caſt him into priſon again, where this Jacobus was waiting upon him. At the ſame time likewiſe Athalas, a prieſt or miniſter; alſo Azadanes and Abdieſus, deacons, were impriſoned, and miſerably ſcourged for the teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus. After this the Archimagus, eſpying his time, complaineth unto the king of them, having authority and commiſſion given him (unleſs they would worſhip the ſun) to puniſh them as he pleaſed. This commandment received of the king, the maſter Magus doth declare to them in priſon. But they anſwered again plainly, that they would never be either betrayers of Chriſt, or worſhippers of the ſun; whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments; where Acepſimas ſtrongly perſiſting in the confeſſion of Chriſt, endured to death. The other being no leſs rent and wounded with ſcourges, yet continued marvellouſly alive; and becauſe they would in no caſe turn from their conſtant ſentence, were turned again into priſon. Of whom Athalas, in the time of his whipping, was ſo drawn and rack'd with pulling, that both his arms being looſed out of the joints, hanged down from his body: which he ſo carried about without uſe of any hand to feed himſelf, but as he was fed of others.

Of other troubles and perſecutions we read, which happened afterward in the ſaid country of Perſia, under Iſdigerdes the king, but theſe followed long after about the time of the emperor Theodoſius. At which time ſuffered Andas their biſhop, and Hormiſda, a great nobleman's ſon, and of great reputation among the Perſians; whom when the king underſtood to be a chriſtian, and to deny to turn from his religion, condemned him to keep his elephants naked. In proceſs of time, the king looking out, and ſeeing him all ſwarted and tanned in the ſun, commanded him to have a ſhirt put on, and to be brought before him; whom then the king aſked, if he would deny Chriſt. Hormiſda hearing this, tore off his ſhirt from his body and caſt it from him, ſaying, "If ye think that I will deny my faith to Chriſt for a ſhirt, have

have here your gift again," &c. and ſo was upon that expelled the country. Theodor. lib. 5.

Another there was that ſame time, named Suenes, which had under him an hundred ſervants. The king taking diſpleaſure with him for that he would not alter from his religion and godly truth, aſked who was the worſt of all his ſervants, and him the king made ruler of all the reſt, and coupling him with his maſter's wife, brought alſo Suenes under his ſubjection, thinking thereby to ſubdue alſo the faith of Suenes: but it was builded upon a ſure foundation.

Of Benjamin the deacon, thus writeth the ſaid Theodoret in his firſt book, that after two years of his impriſonment, at the requeſt of the Roman legate he was delivered; who afterward contrary to the king's commandment preached and taught the goſpel of Chriſt, and was moſt miſerably excarnificate, having twenty ſharp pricks of reeds thruſt under his nails; but when he did laugh at that, then in his privy yard he had a ſharp reed thruſt in with horrible pain; after that a certain long ſtalk ragged and thorny, being thruſt into his body by the nether part, was forced into him; with the horribleneſs of the pain whereof, the valiant and invincible ſoldier of the Lord gave over his life.

Likewiſe under Julian the apoſtate, certain there were which conſtantly ſuffered martyrdom by the heathen idolaters: as Emilianus, who was burned in Thracia; and Domitius, which was ſlain in his cave. Theodorus alſo for ſinging of a pſalm at the removing of the body of Babilas, being apprehended, was ſo examined with exquiſite torments, and ſo cruelly excruciate from morning almoſt till noon, that hardly he eſcaped with life. Who being aſked afteeward of his friends, how he could abide ſuch ſharp torments, ſaid, "That at the firſt beginning he felt ſome pain, but afterward there ſtood by him a young man, who as he was ſweating, wiped away the ſweat, and refreſhed him with cold water oft-times: wherewith he was ſo delighted, that when he was let down from the engine, it grieved him more than before.

Artemius alſo, the captain of the Egyptian ſoldiers, the ſame time loſt his head for his religion indeed: although other cauſes be pretended againſt him.

Add unto theſe moreover Euſebius and Neſtabus, two brethren, with Neſtor alſo, who for their chriſtianity were dragged through the ſtreets and murdered of the idolatrous people of Gaza.

But eſpecially the cruelty of the Arethuſians, a people of Syria, exceeded againſt the chriſtian virgins, whom they ſet out naked before the multitude to be ſcorned; after that being ſhaven, they covered them with ſwill and draffe wont to be given to their hogs, and ſo cauſed their bowels and fleſh to be devoured of the hungry ſwine. This rage and fury of the wicked Arethuſians, Sozomenus ſuppoſeth to come of this, becauſe that Conſtantius before had broken them from their country manner of ſetting forth and expoſing their virgins filthily to whomſoever luſted, and deſtroyed the temple of Venus in Heliopolis, reſtraining the people there from their filthineſs and vile whoredom.

Of the lamentable ſtory, or rather tragedy of Marcus Arethuſius their biſhop, thus writeth the ſaid Sozomenus, and alſo Theodoretus in his third book, in theſe words as follow.

This tragedy (ſaith he) of Marcus Arethuſius, doth require the eloquence and worthineſs of Æſchylus and Sophocles, which may, as the matter deſerveth, ſet forth and beautify his great afflictions. This man at the commandment of Conſtantius, pulled down a certain temple dedicated to idols, and inſtead thereof built up a church where the chriſtians might congregate. The Arethuſians, remembering the little good-will that Julianus bare unto him, accuſed him as a traitor and enemy unto him. At the firſt, according as the ſcripture teacheth, he prepared himſelf to fly: but when he perceived that there were certain of his kinſmen or friends appre-

hended in his ſtead, returning again of his own accord, he offered himſelf to thoſe that thirſted for his blood. Whom when they had gotten, as men neither pitying his old age and worn years, nor abaſhed at his virtuous converſation, being a man ſo adorned both with doctrine and manners, firſt ſtript him naked, and pitifully beat him: then within a little while after, they caſt him into a foul filthy ſink, and from thence being brought, they cauſed boys to thruſt him in with ſharpened ſticks made for the purpoſe to provoke his pain the more. Laſtly, they put him in a baſket, and being anointed with honey and broth, they hung him abroad in the heat of the ſun, as meat for waſps and flies to feed upon. And all this extremity they ſhewed unto him, for that they would inforce him to do one of theſe things; that is, either to build up the temple which he had deſtroyed, or elſe to give ſo much money as ſhould pay for the building of the ſame: but even as he purpoſed with himſelf to ſuffer and abide their grievous torments, ſo refuſed he to do that they demanded of him. At length they taking him to be but a poor man, and not able to pay ſuch a ſum of money, promiſed to forgive him the one half, ſo that he would be contented to pay the other half. But he hanging in the baſket wounded pitifully with the ſharpened ſticks of boys and children, and all to be bitten with waſps and flies, did not only conceal his pain and grief, but alſo derided thoſe wicked ones, and called them baſe, low, and terrene people, and he himſelf to be exalted and ſet on high. At length they demanding of him but a ſmall ſum of money, he anſwered thus; "It is as great wickedneſs to confer one half-penny in caſe of impiety, as if a man ſhould beſtow the whole." Thus they being not able to prevail againſt him, let him down, and leaving him, went their way, ſo that every man might learn at his mouth the example of true piety and faithfulneſs.

Although the tractation of theſe aforeſaid ſtories and perſecutions in Perſia, above premiſed, do ſtray ſomewhat out of the order and courſe of time and place, as which came neither in the time of Conſtantine, nor be pertinent to the monarchy of Rome: yet becauſe in this preſent hiſtory we are in hand with the holy martyrs and ſaints of Chriſt; forſomuch as theſe alſo gave a faithful teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus with their blood, I thought therefore not to paſs them over without ſome teſtimony in this our catalogue of holy martyrs. And here an end of theſe perſecutions of the primitive church.

John Wickliff.

IT now remaineth conſequently, following the courſe of years, orderly to enter into the ſtory and tractation of John Wickliff our countryman, and other more of his time, and ſame country, whom the Lord (with the like zeal and power of ſpirit) raiſed up here in England, to detect more fully and amply the poiſon of the pope's doctrine, and falſe religion ſet up by the friars. In whoſe opinions and aſſertions, albeit ſome blemiſhes perhaps may be noted; yet ſuch blemiſhes they be, which rather declare him to be a man that might err, than which directly did fight againſt Chriſt our Saviour, as the pope's proceedings and friars did. And what doctor or learned man hath been from the prime age of the church ſo perfect, ſo abſolutely ſure, in whom no opinion hath ſometime ſwerved awry? And yet be the ſaid articles of his neither in number ſo many, nor yet ſo groſs in themſelves and ſo cardinal, as thoſe cardinal enemies if Chriſt perchance do give them out to be; if his books, which they aboliſhed, were remaining to be conferred with theſe blemiſhes, which they have wreſted to the worſt, as evil-will never ſaid the beſt.

This is certain and cannot be denied, but that he, being the public reader of divinity in the univerſity of Oxford, was, for the rude time in which he lived, famouſly reputed for a great clerk, a deep ſchool-man,

and no leſs expert in all kind of philoſophy. The which doth not only appear by his moſt famous and learned writings and monuments, but alſo by the confeſſion of Walden his moſt cruel and bitter enemy: who in a certain epiſtle written unto pope Martin the fifth, ſaith, "That he was wonderfully aſtoniſhed at his moſt ſtrong arguments, with the places of authority which he gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reaſons," &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by ſuch as have obſerved the order and courſe of times, that this Wickliff flouriſhed about the year of our Lord 1371, Edward the third reigning in England: for thus we do find in the chronicles of Caxton: "In the year of our Lord 1371. (ſaith he) Edward the third, king of England, in his parliament was againſt the pope's clergy: he willingly hearkened and gave ear to the voices and tales of heretics with certain of his council: conceiving and following ſiniſter opinions againſt the clergy. Wherefore (afterward) he taſted and ſuffered much adverſity and trouble. And not long after in the year of our Lord (ſaith he) 1372, he wrote unto the biſhop of Rome, that he ſhould by no means intermeddle any more within his kingdom, as touching reſervation or diſtribution of benefices, and that all ſuch biſhops as were under his dominion ſhould enjoy their former and ancient liberty, and be confirmed of their metropolitans, as hath been accuſtomed in times paſt," &c. Thus much writeth Caxton. But as touching the juſt number of the year and time, we will not be very curious or careful about it at this preſent. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in moſt deſperate and vile eſtate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darkneſs of God his truth had overſhadowed the whole earth, this man ſtepped out like a valiant champion, unto whom it may juſtly be applied that is ſpoken in Eccleſiaſticus, of one Simon the ſon of Onias: "Even as the morning ſtar being in the midſt of a cloud, and as the moon being full in her courſe, and as the bright beams of the ſun; ſo doth he ſhine and glitter in the temple and church of God."

Thus in theſe ſo great and troublous times and horrible darkneſs of ignorance, what time there ſeemed in a manner to be no one ſo little a ſpark of pure doctrine left or remaining; this aforeſaid Wickliff by God's providence ſprang and roſe up: through whom the Lord would firſt waken and raiſe up again the world, which was overmuch drowned and whelmed in the deep ſtreams of human traditions. Thus you have here the time of Wickliff's original.

Which Wickliff, after he had now a long time profeſſed divinity in the univerſity of Oxford, and perceiving the true doctrine of Chriſt's goſpel to be adulterate and defiled with ſo many filthy inventions of biſhops, ſects of monks, and dark errors: and that he after long debating and deliberating with himſelf (with many ſecret ſighs, and bewailing in his mind the general ignorance of the whole world) could no longer ſuffer or abide the ſame; he at the laſt determined with himſelf to help and remedy ſuch things as he ſaw to be wide and out of the way. But foraſmuch as he ſaw that this dangerous meddling could not be attempted or ſtirred without great trouble, neither that theſe things, which had been ſo long time with uſe and cuſtom rooted and grafted in mens minds, could be ſuddenly plucked up or taken away, he thought with himſelf that this matter ſhould be done by little and little. Wherefore he taking his original at ſmall occaſions, thereby opened himſelf a way or mean to greater matters. And firſt he aſſailed his adverſaries in logical and metaphyſical queſtions, diſputing with them of the firſt form and faſhion of things, of the increaſe of time, and of the intelligible ſubſtance of a creature, with other ſuch like ſophiſms of no great effect: but yet notwithſtanding, it did not a little help and furniſh him, which minded to diſpute of greater matters. So in theſe matters firſt began Keningham (a Carmelite) to diſpute and argue againſt John Wickliff.

By theſe originals, the way was made unto greater points, ſo that at the length he came to touch the matters of the ſacraments, and other abuſes of the church. Touching which things this holy man took great pains, proteſting (as they ſaid) openly in the ſchools, That it was his chief and principal purpoſe and intent to revoke and call back the church from her idolatry to ſome better amendment; eſpecially in the matter of the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt. But this bile or ſore could not be touched without the great grief and pain of the whole world. For firſt of all, the whole glut of monks and begging friars were ſet on a rage and madneſs, which (even as hornets with their ſharp ſtings) did aſſail this good man on every ſide; fighting (as is ſaid) for their altars, paunches and bellies. After them the prieſts, and then after them the archbiſhop took the matter in hand, being then Simon Sudbury; who for the ſame cauſe deprived him of his benefice, which then he had in Oxford. Notwithſtanding, he being ſomewhat friended and ſupported by the king, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the friars, and of the archbiſhop, all this while of his firſt beginning, till about the year of our Lord 1377. After which time, now to proſecute likewiſe of his troubles and conflict, firſt I muſt fetch about a little compaſs, as requiſite is, to infer ſome mention of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter the king's ſon, and lord Henry Percy, which were his ſpecial maintainers.

This duke of Lancaſter had in his heart of long time conceived a certain diſpleaſure againſt the popiſh clergy; whether for corrupt and impure doctrine joined with like abominable exceſs of life, or for what other cauſe, it is not preciſely expreſſed. Only by ſtory the cauſe thereof may be gueſſed to riſe by William Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter. The matter is this.

The biſhop of Wincheſter (as the ſaying went then) was reported to affirm, That the foreſaid John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, was not the ſon of king Edward, nor of the queen. Who, being in travail at Gaunt, had no ſon (as he ſaid) but a daughter: which the ſame time by lying upon of the mother in the bed, was there ſmothered. Whereupon the queen, fearing the king's diſpleaſure, cauſed a certain man child of a woman of Flanders (born the very ſame time) to be conveyed, and brought unto her, inſtead of her daughter aforeſaid. And ſo ſhe brought up the child whom ſhe bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaſter. And this (ſaid the biſhop) did the queen tell him, lying in extremes on her death-bed under ſeal of confeſſion; charging him, if the ſaid duke ſhould ever aſpire to get the crown, or if the kingdom by any means ſhould fall unto him, he then ſhould manifeſt the ſame, and declare it to the world, that the ſaid duke of Lancaſter was no part of the king's blood, but a falſe heir of the king. This ſlanderous report of the wicked biſhop, as it ſavoureth of a contumelious lye, ſo ſeemeth it to proceed of a ſubtile zeal toward the pope's religion, meaning falſhood. For the foreſaid duke, by favouring of Wickliff, declared himſelf to be a profeſſed enemy againſt the pope's profeſſion: which thing was then not unknown, neither unmarked of the prelates and biſhops then in England. But the ſequel of the ſtory thus followeth.

This ſlanderous villainy of the biſhop's report being blazed abroad, and coming to the duke's ear; he therewith being not a little diſcontented (as no marvel was) ſought again, by what means he could, to be revenged of this forenamed biſhop. In concluſion, the duke having now all the government of the realm under the king his father, in his own hands, he purſued the biſhop of Wincheſter, that by act of parliament he was condemned and deprived of all his temporal goods; which goods were aſſigned to prince Richard of Bourdeaux, the next inheritor of the crown after the king; and furthermore he inhibited the ſaid biſhop not to approach near to the

court by twenty miles. Further as touching this biſhop, the ſtory thus proceedeth: Not long after, in the year of our Lord 1377, a parliament was called by the means of the duke of Lancaſter, upon certain cauſes and reſpects: in which parliament great requeſt and ſuit was made by the clergy for the deliverance of the biſhop of Wincheſter. At length when a ſubſidy was aſked in the king's name of the clergy, and requeſt alſo made in the king's behalf for ſpeedy expedition to be made for the diſſolving of the parliament, the archbiſhop therefore accordingly convented the biſhops for the tractation thereof. To whom the biſhops with great lamentation complaining for lack of their fellow and brother the biſhop of Wincheſter: whoſe injury, ſaid they, did derogate from the liberties of the whole church; and therefore denied to join themſelves in tractation of any ſuch matters, before all the members together were united with the head. And (ſeeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) they would not otherwiſe do. And ſeemed moreover to be moved againſt the archbiſhop, for that he was not more ſtout in the cauſe, but ſuffered himſelf ſo to be cited of the duke.

The archbiſhop, although having ſufficient cauſe to excuſe himſelf, wherefore not to ſend for him (as alſo he did) becauſe of the perils which might enſue thereof: yet being enforced and perſuaded thereunto, by the importunity of the biſhops, directed down his letters to the foreſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, willing him to reſort to the convocation of the clergy. Who being glad to obey the ſame, was received with great joy of the other biſhops. And at length by the means of Alice Perris, the king's paramour, (giving to her a good quantity of money) the ſaid Wincheſter was reſtored to his own temporalities again.

As the biſhops had thus ſent for Wincheſter, the duke in the mean time had ſent for John Wickliff, who, as is ſaid, was then the divinity reader in Oxford, and had commenced in ſundry acts and diſputations, contrary to the form and teaching of the pope's church in many things: who alſo for the ſame had been deprived of his benefice, as hath been afore touched. The opinions which he began in Oxford, firſt in his lectures and ſermons to intreat of, and wherefore he was deprived, were theſe: That the pope had no more power to excommunicate any man than hath another: That if it be given by any perſon to the pope to excommunicate, yet to abſolve the ſame is as much in the power of another prieſt as in his. He affirmed moreover, That neither the king nor any temporal lord could give any perpetuity to the church, or to any eccleſiaſtical perſon: for that when ſuch eccleſiaſtical perſons do ſin, habitualiter, continuing in the ſame ſtill, the temporal powers ought and may meritoriouſly take away from them that before hath been beſtowed upon them. And that he proved to have been practiſed before here in England by William Rufus. Which thing (ſaith he) if he did lawfully, why may not the ſame alſo be practiſed now? If he did it unlawfully, then doth the church err (ſaith he) and doth unlawfully in praying for him. But of his aſſertions more ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) hereafter. The ſtory which aſcribed to him theſe aſſertions being taken out (as I take it) of the monaſtery of Saint Alban's, addeth withal: That in his teaching and preaching he was very eloquent, but a diſſembler (ſaith he) and an hypocrite. Why he ſurmiſeth him to be an hypocrite, the cauſe was this:

Firſt, Becauſe he reſorted much to the orders of the begging friars, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their poverty.

Secondly, Becauſe he and his fellows uſually accuſtomed in their preaching to go barefoot, and in ſimple ruſſet gowns.

By this, I ſuppoſe, may ſufficiently appear to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliff, how far ir was from the ambition and pride, which in the ſlanderous pen of Polydore Virgil reporting in his 19th book of him, that becauſe he was not preferred to higher honours and dignities of the church (conceiving therefore indignation againſt the clergy) he became their mortal enemy. How true was this, he only knoweth beſt, that rightly ſhall judge both the one and the other.

But to return from whence we digreſſed. Beſide theſe his opinions and aſſertions above recited, with other more, which are hereafter to be brought in order; he began alſo then ſomething nearly to touch the matter of the ſacrament, proving that in the ſaid ſacrament the accidents of bread remained not without the ſubject of ſubſtance; both by the holy ſcriptures, and alſo by the authority of the doctors, but ſpecially by ſuch as were moſt ancient. As for the later writers, that is to ſay, ſuch as have written upon that argument under the thouſand years ſince Chriſt's time, he utterly refuſed; ſaying, That after theſe years ſatan was looſed and ſet at liberty. And that ſince that time the life of man hath been moſt ſubject and in danger of errors: and that the ſimple and plain truth doth appear and conſiſt in the ſcriptures, whereunto all human traditions, whatſoever they be, muſt be referred, and ſpecially ſuch as are ſet forth and publiſhed now of late years. This was the cauſe why he refuſed the later writers of decretals, leaning only to the ſcriptures and ancient doctors: moſt ſtoutly affirming out of them, that in the ſacrament of the body which is celebrate with bread, the accidents not to be preſent without the ſubſtance; that is to ſay, that the body of Chriſt is not preſent without the bread, as the common ſort of prieſts in thoſe days did dream. As for his arguments, what they were, we will ſhortly at more opportunity by God's grace declare them in another place. But herein the truth (as the poet ſpeaketh very truly) had gotten John Wickliff great diſpleaſure and hatred at many mens hands; and eſpecially of the monks and richeſt ſort of prieſts.

Albeit, through the favour and ſupportation of the duke of Lancaſter, and lord Henry Percy, he perſiſted hitherto in ſome mean quiet againſt the wolfiſh violence and cruelty: till at laſt about the year of our Lord 1376, the biſhops ſtill urging and inciting their archbiſhop, Simon Sudbury, who before had deprived him, and afterward prohibited him alſo not to ſtir any more in thoſe ſorts of matters, had obtained by proceſs and order of citation to have him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appear, after their uſual form, was to him aſſigned.

The duke having intelligence, that Wickliff his client ſhould come before the biſhops, fearing that he being but one, was too weak againſt ſuch a multitude, calleth to him, out of the orders of friars, four bachelors of divinity, out of every order one, to join them with Wickliff alſo for more ſurety. When the day was come aſſigned to the ſaid Wickliff to appear, which day was Thurſday the nineteenth of February; John Wickliff went, accompanied with the four friars aforeſaid, and with them alſo the duke of Lancaſter, and lord Henry Percy, lord marſhal of England; the ſaid lord Percy alſo going before them, to make room and way where Wickliff ſhould come.

Thus Wickliff (through the providence of God) being ſufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the biſhop ſat; whom by the way they animated and exhorted not to fear nor ſhrink a whit at the company of the biſhops there preſent, who were all unlearned, ſaid they, in reſpect of him: neither that he ſhould dread the concourſe of the people, whom they would themſelves aſſiſt and defend, in ſuch ſort as he ſhould take no harm. With theſe words, and with the aſſiſtance of the nobles, Wickliff, in heart encouraged, approached to the church of St. Paul, in London, where a main preſs of people was gathered to hear what ſhould be ſaid and done. Such was there the frequency and throng,

throng, that the lords (for all the puiſſance of the high marſhal) not without great difficulty could get way through; inſomuch that the biſhop of London, whoſe name was William Courtney, ſeeing the ſtir that the lord marſhal kept in the church among the people, ſpeaking to the lord Percy, ſaid, that if he had known before what maſteries he would have kept in the church, he would have ſtopped him out from coming there. At which words of the biſhop the duke diſdaining not a little, anſwered to the biſhop again, and ſaid, That he would keep ſuch maſtery there, tho' he ſaid nay.

At laſt, after much wreſtling they pierced through and came to our lady's chapel, where the dukes and barons were ſitting together with the archbiſhops and other biſhops. Before whom the foreſaid John Wickliff, according to the manner, ſtood to know what ſhould be laid unto him. To whom firſt ſpake the lord Percy, bidding him to ſit down, ſaying, That he had many things to anſwer to, and therefore had need of ſome ſofter ſeat. But the biſhop of London, caſt eftſoons into a fumiſh chafe with thoſe words, ſaid, He ſhould not ſit there. Neither was it, ſaid he, according to law or reaſon, that he, which was cited there to appear to anſwer before his ordinary, ſhould ſit down during the time of his anſwer, but ſhould ſtand. Upon theſe words a fire began to heat and kindle between them; inſomuch that they began ſo to rate and revile one the other, that the whole multitude, therewith diſquieted, began to be ſet on a hurry.

Then the duke, taking the lord Percy's part, with haſty words alſo began to take up the biſhop. To whom the biſhop again nothing inferior to reproachful checks and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as he brought; but alſo did ſo far excel him in his railing art of ſcolding, that the duke bluſhed, and was aſhamed, becauſe he could not overpaſs the biſhop in brawling and railing, and therefore fell to plain threatening, menacing the biſhop, that he would bring down the pride not only of him, but alſo of all the prelacy of England. And ſpeaking moreover unto him: Thou, ſaid he, beareſt thyſelf ſo brag upon thy parents, which ſhall not be able to help thee; they ſhall have enough to do to help themſelves. For his parents were the earl and counteſs of Devonſhire. To whom the biſhop again anſwered, That to be bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man elſe, but only in God, in whom he truſted. Then the duke ſoftly whiſpering in the ear of him next by him, ſaid, That he would rather pluck the biſhop by the hair of his head out of the church, than he would take this at his hand. This was not ſpoken ſo ſecretly, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon being ſet in rage, they cried out, ſaying, That they would not ſuffer their biſhop ſo contemptuouſly to be abuſed. But rather they would loſe their lives, than that he ſhould ſo be drawn out by the hair. Thus that council, being broken with ſcolding and brawling for that day, was diſſolved before nine of the clock.

After king Edward the third ſucceeded his ſon's ſon, Richard the ſecond, being yet but young, of the age of eleven years: who in the ſame year of his father's deceaſe with great pomp and ſolemnity was crowned at Weſtminſter, anno 1377, who, following his father's ſteps, was no great diſtavourer of the way and doctrine of Wickliff: albeit, at the firſt beginning, partly through the iniquity of the time, partly through the pope's letters, he could not do that he would. Notwithſtanding ſomething he did in that behalf, more perhaps than in the end he had thanks for of the papiſts, as more (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall appear. But as times do change, ſo changeth commonly the cauſe and ſtate of man. The biſhops now ſeeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whoſe old age all the government of the realm depended upon the duke of Lancaſter; and now the ſaid biſhops again ſeeing the ſaid duke, with the lord Percy, the lord marſhal, to give other offices, and to remain in their private houſes without intermeddling, thought now the time to ſerve them, to have ſome vantage againſt John Wickliff, who hitherto, under the protection of the foreſaid duke, and lord marſhal, had ſome reſt and quiet. But notwithſtanding, being by the biſhops forbid to deal in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellows going barefoot, and in long friſe gowns preaching diligently unto the people. Out of whoſe ſermons theſe articles moſt chiefly at that time were collected.

That the holy Euchariſt, after the conſecration, is not the very body of Chriſt, but figuratively.

That the church of Rome is not the head of all churches more than any other church is: nor that Peter hath any more power given of Chriſt, than any other apoſtle hath.

Item, That the pope of Rome hath no more in the keys of the church, than hath any other within the order of prieſthood.

Item, If God be, the lords temporal may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending habitualiter.

Item, If any temporal lord do know the church ſo offending, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take the temporalities from the ſame.

Item, That all the goſpel is a rule ſufficient of itſelf to rule the life of every chriſtian man here, without any other rule.

Item, That all other rules, under whoſe obſervances divers religious perſons be governed, do add no more perfection to the goſpel, than doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, That neither the pope, nor any other prelate of the church, ought to have priſons wherein to puniſh tranſgreſſors.

Beſides theſe articles, divers other concluſions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings, by biſhops in England, which they ſent diligently to pope Gregory at Rome: where the ſaid articles being read and peruſed, were condemned for heretical and erroneous by three and twenty cardinals.

In the mean time the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſending forth his citations, as is aforeſaid, called before him the ſaid John Wickliff, in the preſence of the duke of Lancaſter, and lord Percy; who, upon the declaration of the pope's letters made, bound him to ſilence, forbidding him to intreat any more of thoſe matters. But then through the diſturbance of the biſhop of London and the duke, and lord Percy, the matter was ſoon diſpatched, as hath been above recorded. And all this was done in the days and laſt year of king Edward the third, and pope Gregory the eleventh.

The next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1378, being the firſt year of king Richard the ſecond, the ſaid pope Gregory taking his time, after the death of king Edward, ſendeth his bull by the hands and means (peradventure) of one maſter Edmund Stafford, directed unto the univerſity of Oxford, rebuking them ſharply, imperiouſly, and like a pope, for ſuffering ſo long the doctrine of John Wickliff to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked ſickle of their catholic doctrine. Which bull, when it came to be exhibited unto their hands, by the pope's meſſenger aforeſaid; the proctors and maſters of the univerſity, joining together in conſultation, ſtood long in doubt, deliberating with themſelves, whether to receive the pope's bull with honour, or to refuſe and reject it with ſhame.

Gregory the Biſhop, the Servant of God's Servants, to his well-beloved Sons, the Chancellor and Univerſity of Oxford, in the Dioceſe of Lincoln, Greeting and apoſtolical Benediction.

WE are compelled not only to marvel, but alſo to lament, that you, conſidering the apoſtolical ſeat hath given unto your univerſity of Oxford ſo great favour and privilege, and alſo for that you flow as in a large ſea in the knowledge of the holy ſcriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and catholic faith (without the which there is no ſalvation) by your great negligence and ſloth will ſuffer wild cockle not only to grow up among the pure wheat of the flouriſhing field of your univerſity, but alſo to wax ſtrong, and choak the corn. Neither have ye any care, as we are informed, to extirpate and pluck the ſame up by the roots, to the great blemiſh of your renowned name, the peril of your ſouls, the contempt of the church of Rome, and to the great decay of the ancient faith.

And further (which grieveth us) the increaſe of that filthy weed was more ſharply rebuked and judged of in Rome, than in England, where it ſprang. Wherefore let there be means ſought, by the help of the faithful, to root out the ſame.

Grievouſly it is come to our ears, that one John Wickliff, parſon of Lutterworth, in Lincoln dioceſe, a profeſſor of divinity (would God he were not rather a maſter of errors) is run into a kind of deteſtable wickedneſs, not only and openly publiſhing, but alſo vomiting out of the filthy dungeons of his breaſt, divers profeſſions, falſe and erroneous concluſions, and moſt wicked and damnable hereſies; whereby he might defile the faithful ſort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the ſtate of the church, and utterly ſubvert the ſecular policy. Of which his miſchievous hereſies, ſome ſeem to agree (only certain names and terms changed) with the perverſe opinions and unlearned doctrine of Marſilius of Padua, and of John Gandune, of unworthy memory, whoſe books were utterly aboliſhed in the realm of England, by our predeceſſor of happy memory John XXII. which kingdom doth not only flouriſh in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and ſhining in pureneſs of faith; accuſtomed always to bring forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy ſcriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, men notable in devotion, and defenders of the catholic faith.

Wherefore we will and command you by our writing apoſtolical, in the name of your obedience, and upon pain of privation of our favour, indulgences and privileges granted unto you and your univerſity from the ſaid ſee apoſtolical; that hereafter ye ſuffer not theſe peſtilent hereſies, and thoſe ſubtil and falſe concluſions and propoſitions, miſconſtruing the right ſenſe of faith and good works, howſoever they term it, or what curious implication of words ſoever they uſe, any longer to be diſputed of or brought in queſtion; leſt if it be not withſtood at the firſt, and plucked up by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare medicines when a greater number is infected with the contagion.

And further, that ye apprehend immediately, or cauſe to be apprehended, the ſaid John Wickliff, and deliver him to be detained in the ſafe cuſtody of our well-beloved brethren, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of London, or either of them.

And if you ſhall find any gainſayers, corrupted with the ſaid doctrine (which God forbid) in your ſaid univerſity, within your juriſdiction, that ſhall obſtinately ſtand in the ſaid errors, that then in like manner ye apprehend them, and commit them to ſafe cuſtody, and otherwiſe do in this caſe as it ſhall appertain unto you: ſo as by your careful proceedings herein, your neligence paſt concerning the premiſes may now fully be ſupplied and recompenſed with preſent diligence. Whereby you ſhall not only purchaſe unto you the favour and benevolence of the ſeat apoſtolical, but alſo great reward and merit of almighty God.

Given at Rome at St. Mary's the greater, xi. Kalend. of June, and in the 7th year of our conſecration.

Beſides this bull ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, the ſaid pope Gregory directed moreover his letters the ſame time to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, to the biſhop of London, named William Courtney, with the concluſions of John Wickliff therein incloſed, commanding them, by virtue of thoſe his letters apoſtolical, and ſtraitly enjoining them to cauſe the ſaid John Wickliff to be apprehended, and caſt into priſon; and that the king and the nobles of England ſhould be admoniſhed by them, not to give any credit to the ſaid John Wickliff, or to his doctrine in any wiſe.

Beſides this bill, or bull of the pope, ſent unto the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to the biſhop of London, bearing date, xi. kalend. Jun. and the 7th year of the reign of the pope; I find moreover in the ſaid ſtory two other letters of the pope concerning the ſaid matter, but differing in form, ſent unto the ſaid biſhops, and all bearing the ſame date, both of day, year, and month of the reign of the ſaid pope Gregory. Whereby it is to be ſuppoſed, that the ſaid pope either was very exquiſite and ſolicitous about the matter, to have Wickliff apprehended, which wrote three divers letters to one perſon, and all in one day, about one buſineſs; or elſe that he did ſuſpect the bearers thereof; the ſcruple whereof I leave to the judgment of the reader.

The articles included in the pope's letters, which he ſent to the biſhops, and to the king, againſt Wickliff, were theſe, which in order do follow:

The Concluſions of John Wickliff, exhibited in the Convocation of certain Biſhops at Lambeth.

1. ALL the whole race of mankind here on earth, beſides Chriſt, hath no power ſimply to ordain, That Peter, and all his offspring, ſhould politically rule over the world for ever.

2. God cannot give to any man for him and to his heirs any civil dominion for ever.

3. All writings invented by men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impoſſible.

4. Every man, being in juſtifying grace, hath not only right unto the thing, but alſo for his time hath right indeed above all the good things of God.

5. A man cannot only miniſtratoriouſly give any temporal or continual gift, either as well to his natural ſon, as to his ſon by imitation,

6. If God be, the temporal lords may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away the riches of the church when they do offend habitualiter.

7. We know that Chriſt's vicar cannot, neither is able, by his bulls, neither by his own will and conſent, neither by the conſent of his college, either to make able or diſable any man.

8. A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be firſt and principally excommunicate by himſelf.

9. No man ought, but in God's cauſe alone, to excommunicate, ſuſpend, or forbid, or otherwiſe to proceed to revenge by any eccleſiaſtical cenſure.

10. A curſe or excommunication doth not ſimply bind, but in caſe it be pronounced and given out againſt the adverſaries of God's law.

11. There is no power given by any example, either by Chriſt or by his apoſtles, to excommunicate any ſub-

ject, ſpecially for denying of any temporalities, but rather contrariwiſe.

12. The diſciples of Chriſt have no power to exact, by any civil authority, temporalities by cenſures.

13. It is not poſſible by the abſolute power of God, that if the pope, or any other chriſtian, do pretend by any means to bind, or to looſe, that thereby he doth ſo bind and looſe.

14. We ought to believe that the vicar of Chriſt doth at ſuch times only bind and looſe, when he worketh conformably by the law and ordinance of Chriſt.

15. This ought univerſally to be believed, That every prieſt rightly and duly ordered, according unto the law of grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may miniſter the ſacraments, and conſequently abſolve any man confeſſing his fault, being contrite and penitent for the ſame.

16. It is lawful for kings, in cauſes licenſed by law, to take away the temporalities from the ſpirituality, ſinning habitualiter, that is, which continue in the cuſtom of ſin, and will not amend.

17. Whether they be temporal lords, or any other men whatſoever they be, which have endowed any church with temporalities; it is lawful for them to take away the ſaid temporalities, as it were by way of medicine, to avoid ſin, notwithſtanding any excommunication or other eccleſiaſtical cenſure; foraſmuch as they are not given but under a condition.

18. An eccleſiaſtical miniſter, and alſo the biſhop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked of his ſubjects, and for the profit of the church be accuſed either of the clergy or of the laity.

Theſe letters with the articles incloſed being thus received from the pope, the biſhops took no little heart, thinking and fully determining with themſelves, and that in open profeſſion before their provincial council, that all reſpects of fear or favour ſet apart, no perſon neither high nor low ſhould lett them, neither would they be ſeduced by the intreaty of any man, nor by any threatenings or rewards, but that in this cauſe they would execute moſt ſurely upright juſtice and equity: yea albeit preſent danger of life ſhould follow thereupon. But theſe ſo fierce brags and ſtout promiſes, with the ſubtil practices of theſe biſhops, which thought them ſo ſure before, the Lord (againſt whom no determination of man's council can prevail) by a ſmall occaſion did lightly confound and overthrow. For the day of the examination being come; a certain perſonage of the prince's court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewis Clifford, entering in among the biſhops, commanded them that they ſhould not proceed with any definitive ſentence againſt John Wickliff. With which words they all were ſo amazed, and their combs ſo cut, that, as in the ſtory is mentioned, they became ſo mute and ſpeechleſs, as men having not one word in their mouths to anſwer. And thus by the wonderous work of God his providence, eſcaped John Wickliff the ſecond time out of the biſhops hands; and was by them clearly diſmiſſed upon his declaration made of his articles, as anon ſhall follow.

Moreover, here is not to be paſſed over, how at the ſame time, and in the ſaid chapel of the archbiſhop at Lambeth, where the biſhops were ſitting upon John Wickliff, the ſtory writing of the doing thereof, addeth theſe words, ſaying, "I ſay not only the citizens of London, but alſo the vile abjects of the city, preſumed to be ſo bold in the ſame chapel at Lambeth, where the biſhops were ſitting upon John Wickliff, both to intreat for him, and alſo to lett and ſtop the ſame matter: truſting, as I ſuppoſe, upon the negligence which they ſaw before in the biſhops," &c.

Over and beſide, here is not to be forgotten, how the ſaid John Wickliff, the ſame time of his examination, offered and exhibited unto the biſhops in writing a proteſtation, with a declaration or expoſition of his own mind, upon the ſaid his articles, the effect hereof followeth.

The Proteſtation of John Wickliff.

FIRST I proteſt, as I have often before done, that I do mind and intend with my whole heart (by the grace of God) to be a true chriſtian, and as long as breath ſhall remain in me, to profeſs and defend the law of Chriſt. And if it ſhall happen that through ignorance or otherwiſe I ſhall fail therein, I deſire my Lord God of pardon and forgiveneſs. And now again as before alſo, I do revoke and make retractation; moſt humbly ſubmitting myſelf unto the correction of our moſt holy mother the church. And forſomuch as the ſentence of my faith, which I have holden in the ſchools and elſewhere, is reported even by children, and moreover is carried by children even unto Rome: therefore leſt my dearly beloved brethren ſhould take any offence by me, I will ſet forth in writing the ſentence and articles, for the which I am now accuſed and impeached: the which alſo even unto the death I will defend, as I believe all chriſtians ought to do, and eſpecially the biſhop of Rome and all other prieſts and miniſters of the church. For I do underſtand the concluſions after the ſenſe and manner of ſpeaking of the ſcriptures and holy doctors, the which I am ready to expound: and if they ſhall be found contrary to the faith, I am ready to revoke, and ſpeedily to call them back again.

An Expoſition upon the Concluſions of John Wickliff, exhibited by him to the Biſhop.

1. ALL the race of mankind here in earth, beſide Chriſt, hath no power ſimply to ordain, that Peter, &c.

This concluſion of itſelf is evident, foraſmuch as it is not in man's power to ſtop the coming of Chriſt to his final judgment, but he muſt needs come, according to the article of our creed, to judge both the quick and the dead. And then, as the ſcripture teacheth, ſhall ſurceaſe all civil and politic rule here: I underſtand the temporal and ſecular dominion pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortal life. For ſo do the philoſophers ſpeak of civil dominion. And although the thing which is terminable, and hath an end, is called ſometimes perpetual: yet becauſe in holy ſcripture, and in uſe of the church, and in the books of philoſophers, moſt commonly that is taken to be perpetual, which hath no end of time hereafter to come: according to the which ſenſe the church ſingeth Gloria Patri, &c. Nunc, & in perpetuum; I alſo after the ſame ſignification do take here this word (perpetually) and ſo is this concluſion conſonant to the principles of the ſcripture, that it is not in man's power to ordain the courſe and voyage of the church, here perpetually to laſt.

2. God cannot give to any man, &c.

To the ſecond concluſion I anſwer, underſtanding civil dominion, as in the concluſion before. And ſo I hold that God firſt by his ordinate power cannot give to any perſon civil dominion here for ever. Secondly, by his abſolute power it is not probable that he will ſo do: Forſomuch as he cannot ever detain his ſpouſe in perpetual priſon of this life, nor always defer the final beatitude of his church.

3. To the third concluſion. Many writings or charts invented by men, as touching perpetual heritage civil, be unpoſſible.

The verity of this concluſion is incident. For we muſt not canonize all manner of charts whatſoever, as catholic, or univerſal: for then it were not lawful by any means to take away or ſequeſter things given by chart or

charter, when any doth unjuſtly occupy the ſame. And ſo if that ſtand ratified and confirmed by the faith of the church, great occaſion thereby ſhould be miniſtered to men ſo chartered, to truſt to their temporal charts; and ſo might grow thereby much liberty and licence to ſin. For like as by ſome ſuppoſition every truth is neceſſary; ſo by the ſame ſuppoſition every falſe thing is poſſible, as it is plain by the teſtimony of the ſcripture, and of holy doctors ſpeaking of neceſſity of things to come.

4. Every man being in grace juſtifying finally, hath not only right unto the thing, but alſo for his time hath right indeed over all the good things of God.

The verity hereof is evident, by holy ſcripture, Matt. 24. Where verity promiſeth to every man entering into his joy: Verily (ſaith he) I tell you, he ſhall ſet and place him over all the goods he hath. For the light and title belonging to the communion of ſaints in their country (he meaneth in the kingdom of heaven) hath his relation, as unto his object, to all the goods and poſſeſſions of God.

5. A man can but only miniſtratoriouſly give any temporal dominion or gift perpetual, as well to his own natural ſon, as to his ſon by imitation.

It is evident. For every man ought to recognize himſelf in all his works and doings, as an humble ſervant and miniſter of God. As the words of ſcripture do teach us. Let a man ſo eſteem of us as the miniſters of Chriſt. Yea, ſo Chriſt himſelf did teach his chief apoſtles to miniſter; but in their country the ſaints ſhall give unto their fellow brethren the dominion of their goods, according to the words of Luke 6. They ſhall give you, and put into your boſoms a good meaſure and perfect, well filled and heaped up, and running over.

9. If God be, temporal lords may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away the goods of fortune from the church, when they do offend habituaaliter.

This concluſion is correlative with the firſt article of our faith: "I believe in God the Father Almighty," &c. Where I underſtand this word (may) in this concluſion after the manner of authentic ſcripture, which ſaith and granteth, "that God is able of theſe ſtones to raiſe up children unto Abraham;" for otherwiſe all chriſtian princes were heretics. For upon this concluſion thus ſtandeth the reaſon: if God be, he is omnipotent; and if he be almighty, he is able to command the lords temporal ſo to do: and if he may ſo command, then may they lawfully ſo take away ſuch goods, &c. But God forbid that any ſhould believe hereby my intention to have been, that ſecular lords may lawfully take away what goods ſoever, and by what means ſoever, by their own naked authority, at their pleaſure: but only by the authority of the church they may ſo do, in caſes and form limited by the law.

7. We know that it is not poſſible that the vicar of Chriſt is able by his pure bulls, &c,

This is manifeſt by the catholic faith; foraſmuch as the church doth fully believe that the enabling of any man ought firſt to proceed and come of God; wherefore no man being Chriſt his vicar, hath any power in this matter, but only as vicar in the name of the Lord, ſo far forth as he is enabled of the Lord to notify unto the church whom God hath enabled. Wheretore if any man do any thing, not as vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethink to be his author and head; it is a preſumption of Lucifer, forſomuch as Chriſt by his apoſtle ſaith, 1 Cor. 3. "All our ability and ſufficiency cometh of God." And ſo conſequently, it cometh not purely by the miniſtry of his vicarſhip, that he is enabled; but the ableneſs or unableneſs of him, being the vicar of Chriſt, cometh to him another way from above.

8. A man cannot be excommunicate to his hurt or undoing, except he be excommunicate firſt and principally of himſelf.

It is evident, forſomuch as all ſuch excommunication ought to proceed and begin originally of his own ſin which is damnified: whereupon Auguſtine ſaith, De verbis Domini, Sermone 51. Do not thou conculcate thyſelf, and man overcometh thee not. Aud moreover, the faith of the church doth teach, that nó adverſity ſhall hurt, if no iniquity hath the upper hand. And yet notwithſtanding, every excommunication for many cauſes is alſo to be feared, altho' that the excommunication of the church, to the humble man being excommunicated, be not damnable, but wholeſome.

9. No man ought but in God's cauſe alone to excommunicate, ſuſpend, &c.

It is clear, foraſmuch as every juſt cauſe is the cauſe of God, whoſe reſpect ought chiefly to be weighed and pondered. Yea, the love of the perſon excommunicate ought to ſurmount the zeal of revengement, and the deſire of all temporal goods whatſoever; for otherwiſe he that doth excommunicate doth damnify himſelf. To this 9th concluſion notwithſtanding it is congruent, that a prelate may excommunicate in the cauſe alſo of man, ſo that his principal reſpect in ſo doing be had to the injury done to his God.

10. No curſe or excommunication can bind ſimply, but in caſe it be given out againſt the adverſary of Chriſt's law.

And it appeareth thus, becauſe that God doth bind ſimply every one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but only for tranſgreſſion of his law. Whereunto it is conſonant notwithſtanding, that the cenſure of the church doth not bind ſimply, but ſecondarily in that caſe and reſpect, as it is denounced againſt the adverſary of the members of the church.

11. There is no example of Chriſt, which giveth power to his diſciples to excommunicate any ſubject (eſpecially for denying of any temporalities) but contrary.

Which is thus declared by the faith, whereby we believe that God is to be beloved above all things, and our neighbour and enemy are to be loved above all temporal goods of this world neceſſarily; for the law of God cannot be contrary unto itſelf.

12. The diſciples of Chriſt have no power by any civil coaction to exact temporal things by their cenſures.

This appeareth by the faith of the ſcripture, Luke 23. where Chriſt did forbid his apoſtles civilly to reign or to bear any lordſhip. "The kings, ſaith he, of the Gentiles bear rule over them; but you not ſo." And after this ſenſe it is expounded of St. Bernard, of St. Chryſoſtom, and other holy men: which concluſion notwithſtanding, yet may they exact temporal things by eccleſiaſtical cenſures incidently, if caſe be that it appertain to the revengement of their God.

13. It is not poſſible by the abſolute power of God, that if the pope, or any other chriſtian, do pretend to bind or looſe at their pleaſure, by what means ſoever, that thereby he doth ſo bind and looſe.

The contrary of this concluſion will deſtroy the whole catholic faith, importing no leſs but him to be a blaſphemer which ſo uſurpeth ſuch abſolute power of the Lord. And yet by this concluſion I intend not to derogate from the power of the pope, or any other prelate of the church, but that he may by the virtue of the head ſo bind and looſe: but do underſtand the conditional of this negative (to be impoſſible) after this ſenſe, that it cannot be that the pope, or any other prelate of the church, can pretend by himſelf to bind or looſe (how and after what manner he liſt himſelf) except in ſuch ſort that he do indeed ſo bind and looſe before God, as he doth pretend to do.

14. We ought to believe, that the vicar of Chriſt doth at ſuch times only bind and looſe, when as he

he worketh conformably by the law and ordinance of Chriſt, &c.

The reaſon thereof is this, becauſe otherwiſe it is unlawful for him ſo to do, except he ſhould do it in the virtue of that law; and ſo conſequently, unleſs it be conformable to the law and ordinance of Chriſt.

15. To this concluſion, this ought univerſally to be believed, that every prieſt, rightly and duly ordered, hath power according to his vocation, &c.

The reaſon hereof is this, becauſe that the order of prieſthood in his own nature and ſubſtance receiveth no ſuch degrees, either more or leſs. And yet notwithſtanding the power of inferior prieſts in theſe days, is upon due conſideration reſtrained; and ſometimes again, in time of extreme neceſſity releaſed. And thus, according to the doctors, a prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, and the power of juriſdiction, or regiment. And according to this ſecond power, the prelates are in a higher majeſty and regiment.

16. It is lawful for princes and kings (in caſes by the law limited) to withdraw temporal commodities from churchmen abuſing the ſame habitualiter.

The reaſon thereof is plain; for that temporal lords ought rather to lean to ſpiritual alms, which bringeth with it great fruit, than to temporal alms; the caſe ſo ſtanding, that ſometime it were a neceſſary work of ſpiritual alms, to chaſtiſe ſuch clerks by taking from them their temporal livings, which uſe to abuſe the ſame, to the damnifying both their ſoul and body. The caſes which the law doth limit in this matter, were the defect of correcting his ſpiritual head, or elſe for lack of correcting the faith of the clerk which ſo offendeth.

17. Whether they be temporal lords, or any other men whatſoever, which have endued any church with temporalities, &c.

The truth thereof is evidently ſeen, for that nothing ought to ſtop a man from the principal works of charity neceſſarily, becauſe in every action and work of man is to be underſtood a privy condition neceſſary of God, his good will concurring withal, as it is in the civil law, de c. Conradi, cap. 5. in fine collat. x. And yet, God forbid that by theſe words occaſion ſhould be given to the lords temporal to take away the goods of fortune from the church.

18. An eccleſiaſtical miniſter, yea, the biſhop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked of his ſubjects, and for the profit of the church be accuſed, either of the clergy, or the laity.

The proof of this is manifeſt hereby, becauſe the ſaid biſhop of Rome is ſubject to fall into the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, as may be ſuppoſed, ſaving the ſanctitude, humility, and reverence due to ſuch a father. For ſo long as our brother is ſubject unto the infirmity of falling, he lieth under the law of brotherly correction. And when the whole college of cardinals may be ſlothful in miniſtering due correction for the neceſſary proſperity of the church: it is appareat that the reſidue of the body of the church, which poſſibly may ſtand moſt of laymen, may wholeſomely correct the ſame, accuſe and bring him to a proper way.

The poſſibility of this caſe is touched, Diſt. 40. Si Papa: If the pope do err from the right faith, &c. For like as ſuch a great fall ought not to be ſuppoſed in the lord pope, without manifeſt evidence; ſo again, ſuch an obſtinacy ought not to be ſuppoſed in him, poſſibly being fallen, but that he will humbly receive the wholeſome medicine of his ſuperior, correcting him in the Lord. The practice of which concluſion alſo is teſtified in many chronicles. Far be it from the church of Chriſt, that verity ſhould be condemned which ſoundeth evil to tranſgreſſors and other ſlothful perſons, for then the whole faith of the ſcriptures were in a damnable caſe.

Thus John Wickliff, in giving his expoſitions unto his foreſaid propoſitions and concluſions, as is above prefixed, through the favour and diligence of the Londoners, either ſhifted off the biſhops, or elſe ſatisfied them ſo, that for that time he was diſmiſſed, and eſcaped clearly away, only being charged and commanded by the ſaid biſhops, that he ſhould not teach or preach any ſuch doctrine any more, for the offence of the lay people.

Thus this good man being eſcaped from the biſhops, with this charge aforeſaid, yet notwithſtanding ceaſed not to proceed in his godly purpoſe, labouring and profiting ſtill in the church as he had begun.

Unto whom alſo, as it appeared by the providence of God, this was alſo a great help and ſtay, for that in the ſame year, or in the beginning of the next year following, the foreſaid pope Gregory the eleventh, which was the ſtirrer up of all the trouble againſt him, turned up his heels, and died. After whom enſued ſuch a ſchiſm in Rome, between two popes, and other ſucceeding after them, one ſtriving againſt another, that the ſchiſm thereof endured the ſpace of 39 years, until the time of the council of Conſtance.

About three years after there fell a cruel diſſention in England, between the common people and the nobility, the which did not a little diſturb and trouble the commonwealth.

In this tumult, Simon of Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was taken by the ruſtical and rude people, and was beheaded. In whoſe place after ſucceeded William Courtney, which was no leſs diligent than his predeceſſor had been before him, in doing his diligence in rooting out heretics.

Notwithſtanding, in the mean ſeaſon, Wickliff's ſect increaſed privily, and daily grew to greater force, until the time that William Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, about the year of our Lord 1380, had the whole rule of that univerſity: who calling together eight monaſtical doctors, and four other, with the conſent of the reſt of his affinity, putting the common ſeal of the univerſity unto certain writings, ſet forth an edict, declaring unto every man, and threatening them under a grievous penalty, that no man ſhould be ſo hardy hereafter to aſſociate themſelves with any of Wickliff's fautors or favourers: and unto Wickliff himſelf he threatened the great excommunication, and further impriſonment, and to all his fautors, unleſs that they after three days canonical admonition or warning, or, as they call it, peremptory, did repent and amend.

The which thing when Wickliff underſtood, forſaking the pope and all the clergy, he thought to appear unto the king's majeſty: but the duke of Lancaſter coming between, forbad him, that he ſhould not hereafter attempt or begin any ſuch matters, but rather ſubmit himſelf unto the cenſure and judgment of his ordinary. Whereby Wickliff being beſet with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midſt of the waves, he was forced once again to make confeſſion of his doctrine: in the which his confeſſion, to avoid the rigour of things, he anſwered as is aforeſaid, making his declaration, and qualifying his aſſertions after ſuch a ſort, that he did mitigate and aſſuage the rigour of his enemies.

The next year after, which was 1382, by the commandment of William, archb ſhop of Canterbury, there was a convocation holden at London, where John Wickliff was alſo commanded to be preſent. But whether he there appeared perſonally or not, I find it not in ſtory certainly affirmed.

The mandate of the archbiſhop William Courtney (ſent abroad for the conventing together of his council) here followeth under-written, truly copied out of his own regiſters.

Memorandum, That whereas as well amongſt the nobles as commons of this realm of England, there hath a certain

certain bruit been ſpread of divers concluſions, both erroneous, and alſo repugnant to the determination of the church, which tend to the ſubverſon of the whole church, and to our province of Canterbury, and alſo to the ſubverſion of the whole realm, being preached in divers and ſundry places of our ſaid province, generally, commonly, and publicly.

We William, by God's permiſſion, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the ſee apoſtolical, being minded to execute our office and duty herein, have convocated or called together certain of our fellow-brethren and others a great many, as well doctors and bachelors of divinity, as doctors of the canon and civil law, and thoſe whom we thought to be the moſt famous men, ſkilfulleſt men, and men of ſoundeſt judgment in religion, that were in all the realm, whoſe names hereunder enſue.

And the ſame, being the 17th day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1382, in a certain chamber within the territories of the priory of the friers preachers of London, before us and our foreſaid fellow-brethren aſſembled, then and there perſonally preſent: after that the ſaid concluſions (the tenor whereof hereunder enſueth) were openly proponed, and diſtinctly and plainly read. We burthened our foreſaid fellow-brethren, doctors and bachelors, in the faith wherein they ſtood bound to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and as they would anſwer before the High Judge, in the day of judgment, that they ſhould ſpeak their opinions, touching the ſaid concluſions, and what every of them thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had upon the premiſſes, the foreſaid our brethren the biſhops, doctors and bachelors, re-aſſembled before us, the 21ſt day of the ſame month in the foreſaid chamber, the foreſaid concluſions being again and again repeated, and plainly read, by us, and by the common conſents of us all, it remaineth publiſhed and declared, that ſome of the ſaid concluſions are heretical, and other ſome erroneous, and contrary to the determination of the church, as hereafter moſt manifeſtly ſhall appear.

And foraſmuch as by ſufficient information we find and perceive, that the ſaid concluſions in many places of our ſaid province have been, as is ſaid, both taught and preached; and that divers other perſons do hold and maintain the ſame, and be of hereſy vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected, we have thought good, as well generally as ſpecially, to ſend out this proceſs under-written.

The Articles of John Wickliff, condemned as heretical.

1. THE ſubſtance of material bread and wine doth remain in the ſacrament of the altar after the conſecration.

2. The accidents do not remain without the ſubject in the ſame ſacrament, after the conſecration.

3. That Chriſt is not the ſacrament of the altar truly and really in his proper and corporal perſon.

4. That if a biſhop or prieſt be in deadly ſin, he doth not order, conſecrate, nor baptize.

5. That if a man be duly and truly contrite and penitent, all exterior and outer confeſſion is but ſuperfluous and unprofitable unto him.

6. That it is not found or ſtabliſhed by the goſpel, that Chriſt did make or ordain maſs.

7. If the pope be a reprobate and evil man, and conſequently a member of the devil, he hath no power by any manner of means given unto him over faithful chriſtians, except, peradventure, it be given him from the emperor.

8. That ſince the time of Urban the ſixth, there is none to be received for pope; but every man is to live after the manner of the Greeks, under his own law.

9. That it is againſt the ſcripture, that eccleſiaſtical miniſters ſhould have any temporal poſſeſſions.

The other Articles of John Wickliff, condemned as erroneous.

10. THAT no prelate ought to excommunicate any man, except he knew him firſt to be excommunicate of God.

11. That he, which doth ſo excommunicate any man, is thereby himſelf either an heretic, or excommunicated.

12. That a prelate or biſhop excommunicating any of the clergy, which hath appealed to the king or the council, is thereby himſelf a traitor to the king and realm.

13. That all ſuch, which do leave off preaching or hearing the word of God; or preaching of the goſpel for fear of excommunication; they are already excommunicated, and in the day of judgment ſhall be counted as traitors unto God.

14. That it is lawful for any man, either deacon or prieſt, to preach the word of God without authority or licence of the apoſtolical ſee, or any other of his catholics.

15. That ſo long as a man is in deadly ſin, he is neither biſhop nor prelate in the church of God.

16. Alſo that the temporal lords may, according to their own will and diſcretion, take away the temporal goods from the churchmen whenſoever they do offend.

17. That tenths are pure alms, and that the pariſhioners may, for offence of their curates, detain and keep them back, and beſtow them upon others, at their own will and pleaſures.

18. Alſo, that all ſpecial prayers applied to any private or particular perſon, by any prelate or religious man, do no more profit the ſame perſon, than general or univerſal prayers do profit others, which be in like caſe or ſtate unto him.

19. Moreover, in that any man doth enter into any private religion, whatſoever it be, he is thereby made the more unapt and unable to obſerve and keep the commandments of God.

20. That holy men, which have inſtituted private religions, whatſoever they be (as well ſuch as are indued and poſſeſſed, as alſo the order of begging friars having no poſſeſſions) in ſo doing, have grievouſly offended.

21. That religious men, being in their private religions, are not of the chriſtian religion.

22. That friars are bounden to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

23. That whoſoever doth give any alms unto friars, or to any begging obſervant, is accurſed, or in danger thereof.

The Letter of the Archbiſhop directed to the Biſhop of London, againſt John Wickliff and his adherents.

"WILLIAM, by God's permiſſion, archbiſhop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and of the apoſtolical ſee legate. To our reverend brother by the grace of God biſhop of London, ſalutation. The prelates of the church ought to be ſo much the more vigilant and attentive about the charge of the Lord's flock committed unto them; how much the more they ſhall underſtand the wolves, being clothed in ſheeps apparel, fraudulently to go about to worry and ſcatter the ſheep. Truly by the continual cry and bruited fame, which it grieveth me to report, it is come to our knowledge, that although by the canonical ſanctions, no man being forbidden or not admitted, ſhould either publicly or privately without the authority of the apoſtolical ſee or biſhop of that place, uſurp or take upon him the office

of a preacher: ſome notwithſtanding, ſuch as are the children of damnation, being under the vale of blind ignorance, are brought into ſuch a doting mind, that they take upon them to preach, and are not afraid to affirm and teach divers and ſundry propoſitions and concluſions hereunder recited, both heretical, erroneous and falſe, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy church, which tend to the ſubverting of the whole ſtate of the ſame, of our province of Canterbury, and to the deſtruction and weakening of the tranquillity of the ſame; and that as well in the churches, as in the ſtreets, as alſo in many other profane places of our ſaid province, generally, commonly, and publicly, do preach the ſame, infecting very many good chriſtians, cauſing them lamentably to wander out of the way, and from the catholic church, without which there is no ſalvation. We therefore, conſidering that ſo pernicious a miſchief, that may creep amongſt many, we ought not to ſuffer, and by diſſimulation to paſs over, which may with deadly contagion ſlay the ſouls of men, leſt their blood be required at our hands; are willing, ſo much as God will permit us to do, to extirpate the ſame. Wherefore, by the counſel and conſent of many of our brethren and ſuffragans, we have convented divers and ſundry doctors of divinity, as alſo profeſſors and other clerks of the common and civil laws, the beſt learned within the realm, and of the ſoundeſt opinion and judgment in the catholic faith, to give their opinions and judgments concerning the foreſaid concluſions. But foraſmuch as the ſaid concluſions and aſſertions, being in the preſence of us, and our fellow brethren and other convocates openly expounded, and diligently examined, were in the end found by the common counſel and conſent as well of them as of us, and ſo declared that ſome of thoſe concluſions were heretical, and ſome of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the church, as hereunder are deſcribed; we will and command your brotherhood, and by virtue of holy obedience, ſtraitly enjoin all and ſingular our brethren, and ſuffragans of our body and church of Canterbury, that with all ſpeedy diligence you poſſibly can, you likewiſe enjoin them, as we have enjoined you, and every of them; and that every one of them in their churches and other places of their city and dioceſe do admoniſh and warn, and that you, in your church and other churches of your city and dioceſe do admoniſh and warn, as we by the tenor of theſe preſents do admoniſh and warn the firſt time, the ſecond time, and the third time; and yet more ſtraitly do warn, aſſigning for the firſt admonition one day, for the ſecond admonition another day, and for the third admonition canonical and preremptory, another day; that no man from henceforth of what eſtate or condition ſoever, do hold, preach, or defend the foreſaid hereſies or errors or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not ſent to preach, nor that he hear or hearken to the hereſies or errors of him or any of them, or that he favour or lean unto him either publicly or privately; but that immediately he ſhun him, as he would avoid a ſerpent putting forth moſt peſtiferous poiſon, under pain of the greater curſe, the which we command to be thundered againſt all and every one which ſhall be diſobedient in this behalf, and not regarding theſe our monitions, after that thoſe three days be paſt which are aſſigned for the canonical monition, and that their delay fault or offence committed require the ſame: and then according to the tenor of theſe writings, we command both by every one of our fellow brethren and our ſuffragans in their cities and dioceſe, and by you in your city and dioceſe (ſo much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the uttermoſt both ye and they cauſe the ſame excommunications to be pronounced. And furthermore we will and command our foreſaid fellow brethren, and all and ſingular of you apart by ourſelves, to be admoniſhed, and by the aſperſion of the blood of Jeſus Chriſt we likewiſe admoniſh you, that according to the inſtitution of the ſacred canons, every one of them in their cities and dioceſe, be a diligent inquiſitor of this heretical pravity; and that every one of you alſo in your cities and dioceſe be the like inquiſitor of the foreſaid heretical pravity. And that of ſuch like preſumption they and you carefully and diligently enquire, and that both they and you, according to your duties and office in this behalf, with effect do proceed againſt the ſame, to the honour and praiſe of his name that was crucified, and for the preſervation of the chriſtian faith and religion."

Here is not to be paſſed over the great miracle of God's divine admonition or warning; for when as the archbiſhop and ſuffragans, with the other doctors of divinity and lawyers, with a great company of babling friars and religious perſons were gathered together, to conſult as touching John Wickliff's books, and that whole ſect; when as I ſay, they were gathered together at the Grey-Friars in London, to begin their buſineſs, upon St. Dunſtan's day after dinner, about two of the clock, the very hour and inſtant that they ſhould go forward with their buſineſs, a wonderful and terrible earthquake fell throughout all England: whereupon divers of the ſuffragans being feared by the ſtrange and wonderful demonſtration, doubting what it ſhould mean, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpoſe. But the archbiſhop (as chief captain of that army, more raſh and bold than wiſe) interpreting the chance which had happened clean contrary to another meaning or purpoſe, did confirm and ſtrengthen their hearts and minds, which were almoſt daunted with fear, ſtoutly to proceed and go forward in their attempted enterprize. Who then diſcourſing Wickliff's articles, not according unto the ſacred canons of the holy ſcriptures, but unto their own private affections, and traditions, pronounced and gave ſentence, that ſome of them were ſimply and plainly heretical, other ſome half erroneous, other irreligious, ſome ſeditious, and not conſonant to the church of Rome.

But all this mean while what became of John Wickliff, it is not certainly known. Albeit, ſo far as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was baniſhed and driven to exile. In the mean time it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, whereſoever he was, as by his letter may appear, which he about this time wrote to pope Urban the ſixth. In the which letter he doth purge himſelf, that being commanded to appear before the pope at Rome, he came not; declaring alſo in the ſame a brief confeſſion of his faith. The copy of which epiſtle here followeth.

The Epiſtle of John Wickliff, ſent unto Pope Urban the ſixth, Anno 1382.

"VERILY I do rejoice to open and declare unto every man the faith which I do hold, and ſpecially unto the biſhop of Rome; the which forſomuch as I do ſuppoſe to be ſound and true, he will moſt willingly confirm my ſaid faith, or, if it be erroneous, amend the ſame.

Firſt, I ſuppoſe that the goſpel of Chriſt is the whole body of God's law; and that Chriſt, which did give that ſame law himſelf, I believe to be a very man, and in that point, to exceed the law of the goſpel, and all other parts of the ſcripture. Again, I do give and hold the biſhop of Rome, forſomuch as he is the vicar of Chriſt here in earth, to be bound moſt of all other men unto that law of the goſpel. For the greatneſs amongſt Chriſt's diſciples did not conſiſt in worldly dignitaries or honours, but in the near and exact following of Chriſt in his life and manners: whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Chriſt for the time of his pilgrimage here was a moſt poor man, abjecting and caſting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the goſpel

goſpel of St. Matthew, the 8th chapter; and the ſecond of the Corinthians, the 8th chapter.

Hereby I do fully gather, that no faithful man ought to follow, either the pope himſelf, or any of the holy men, but in ſuch points as he hath followed the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. For Peter and the ſons of Zebedee, by deſiring worldly honour, contrary to the following of Chriſt's ſteps, did offend, and therefore in thoſe errors they are not to be followed.

Hereof I do gather, as a counſel, that the pope ought to leave unto the ſecular power all temporal dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole clergy; for ſo did Chriſt, and eſpecially by his apoſtles. Wherefore if I have erred in any of theſe points, I will moſt humbly ſubmit myſelf unto correction, even by death, if neceſſity ſo require; and if I could labour according to my will or deſire in mine own perſon, I would ſurely preſent myſelf before the biſhop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwiſe viſited me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than men. Forſomuch then as God hath given unto our pope juſt and true evangelical inſtinctions, we ought to pray that thoſe motions be not extinguiſhed by any ſubtil or crafty device.

And that the pope and cardinals be not moved to do any thing contrary unto the law of the Lord. Wherefore let us pray unto our God, that he will ſo ſtir up our pope Urban the ſixth, as he began, that he with his clergy may follow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewiſe may faithfully follow them in the ſame. And let us ſpecially pray, that our pope may be preſerved from all malign and evil counſel, which we do know that evil and envious men of his houſhold would give him. And ſeeing the Lord will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our power, much leſs then will he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able; forſomuch as that is the plain condition and manner of antichriſt."

Thus much wrote John Wickliff unto pope Urban. But this pope Urban, otherwiſe termed Turbanus, was ſo hot in his wars againſt Clement the French pope his adverſary, that he had no leiſure, and leſs liſt, to attend unto Wickliff's matters. By the occaſion of which ſchiſm, God ſo provided for poor Wickliff, that he was in ſome more reſt and quietneſs.

Which John Wickliff returning again within ſhort ſpace, either from his baniſhment, or from ſome other place where he was ſecretly kept, repaired to his pariſh of Lutterworth, where he was parſon; and there, quietly departing this mortal life, ſlept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the year 1384, upon Silveſter's day.

Here is to be noted the great providence of the Lord in this man, as in divers other, whom the Lord ſo long preſerved in ſuch rages of ſo many enemies from all their hands, even to his old age. For ſo it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing againſt him in his tomes intituled De Sacramentis contra Wiclevium, that he was well aged before he departed, by that which the foreſaid Walden writeth of him in his epilogue, ſpeaking of Wickliff in theſe words; "So that the ſame thing pleaſed him in his old age, which did pleaſe him being young." Whereby it ſeemeth that Wickliff lived till he was an old man by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will have kept, nothing can hurt.

This Wickliff had written divers and ſundry works, the which in the year of our Lord 1410, were burnt at Oxford, the abbot of Shrewſbury being then commiſſary, and ſent to overſee that matter. And not only in England, but in Bohemia likewiſe, the books of the ſaid Wickliff were ſet on fire by one Subincus archbiſhop of Prague, who made diligent inquiſition for the ſame, and burned them; the number of the volumes which he is ſaid to have burned moſt excellently written, and richly adorned with boſſes of gold, and rich coverings (as Æneas Silvius writeth) were about the number of two hundred.

Johannes Cocleus, in his book De hiſtoria Huſſitarum, ſpeaking of the books of Wickliff, teſtifieth, that he wrote very many books, ſermons, and tractations. Moreover, the ſaid Cocleus ſpeaking of himſelf, recordeth alſo, that there was a certain biſhop in England, which wrote unto him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his cuſtody two huge and mighty volumes of John Wickliff's works, which for the quantity thereof might ſeem to be equal with the works of Saint Auguſtine. Hæc Cocleus.

John Wickliff's Anſwer unto King Richard the Second, as touching the Right and Title of the King and the Pope.

IT was demanded whether the kingdom of England may lawfully in caſe of neceſſity, for its own defence, detain and keep back the treaſure of the kingdom, that it be not carried away to foreign and ſtrange nations, the pope himſelf demanding and requiring the ſame under pain of cenſure and by virtue of obedience.

Wickliff ſetting apart the minds of learned men, and what might be ſaid in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England, or the civil law; it reſteth, ſaith he, now only to perſuade and prove the affirmative part of this doubt by the principles of Chriſt's law. And firſt I prove it thus: Every natural body hath power given of God to reſiſt againſt his contrary, and to preſerve itſelf in due eſtate, as philoſophers know very well. Inſomuch that bodies without life are indued with ſuch kind of power (as it is evident) unto whom hardneſs is given to reſiſt thoſe things that would break them, and coldneſs to withſtand the heat that diſſolveth them. Forſomuch then, as the kingdom of England after the manner and phraſe of the ſcriptures ought to be one body, and the clergy with the commonality the members thereof, it ſeemeth that the ſame kingdom hath ſuch power given it of God; and ſo much the more apparently, by how much the ſame body is more precious unto God, adorned with virtue and knowledge. Forſomuch then as there is no power given of God unto any creature for any end or purpoſe, but that he may lawfully uſe the ſame to that end and purpoſe; it followeth that our kingdom may lawfully keep back and detain their treaſure for the defence of itſelf, in what caſe ſoever neceſſity doth require the ſame.

Secondly, the ſame is proved by the law of the goſpel, for the pope cannot challenge the treaſure of this kingdom, but under the title of alms, and conſequently under the pretence of the works of mercy, according to the rule of charity,

But in caſe aforeſaid, the title of alms ought utterly to ceaſe: Ergo, the right and title of challenging the treaſure of our realm ſhall ceaſe alſo in the preſuppoſed neceſſity. Forſomuch as all charity hath his beginning of himſelf, it were no work of charity, but of mere madneſs, to ſend away the treaſures of the realm unto foreign nations, whereby the realm itſelf may fall into ruin, under the pretence of ſuch charity.

It appeareth alſo by this, that Chriſt, the head of the church, whom all chriſtian prieſts ought to follow, lived by the alms of devout women, Luke 7, 8. He hungred and thirſted, he was a ſtranger, and many other miſeries he ſuſtained, not only in his members, but alſo in his own body, as the apoſtle witneſſeth, 2 Cor. 8. "He was made poor for your ſakes. that through his poverty you might be rich:" whereby in the firſt endowing of the church, whatſoever he were of the clergy that had any temporal poſſeſſions, he had the ſame by form of a perpetual alms, as both writings and chronicles do witneſs,

Whereupon

Whereupon S. Bernard, declaring in his ſecond book to Eugenius, that he could not challenge any ſecular dominion by right of ſucceſſion, as being the vicar of St. Peter, writeth thus; "That if St. John ſhould ſpeak unto the pope himſelf, as Bernard doth unto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? But let it be ſo, that you do challenge it unto you by ſome other ways or means: but truly by any right or title apoſtolical you cannot ſo do. For how could he give unto you that which he had not himſelf? That which he had he gave you, that is to ſay, care over the church; but did he give you any lordſhip or rule? Hark what he ſaith, "Not bearing rule (ſaith he) as lords over the clergy, but behaving yourſelves as examples to the flock." And becauſe thou ſhalt not think it to be ſpoken only in humility, and not in verity, mark the word of the Lord himſelf in the goſpel; "The kings of the people do rule over them, but you ſhall not do ſo."

Here lordſhip and dominion is plainly forbidden to the apoſtles; and dareſt thou then uſurp the ſame? If thou wilt be a lord, thou ſhalt loſe thine apoſtleſhip; or if thou wilt be an apoſtle, thou ſhalt loſe thy lordſhip: for truly thou ſhalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt have both, thou ſhalt loſe both, or elſe think thyſelf to be of that number, of whom God doth ſo greatly complain, ſaying, "They have reigned, but not thro' me; they are become princes, and I have not known it." Now if it do ſuffice thee to rule with the Lord, thou haſt thy glory, but not with God. But if we will keep that which is forbidden us, let us hear what is ſaid, "He that is the greateſt amongſt you (ſaith Chriſt) ſhall be made as the leaſt, and he which is the higheſt ſhall be as the miniſter;" and for example, he ſet a child in the midſt of them. So this then is the true form and inſtitution of the apoſtles trade; lordſhip and rule is forbidden, miniſtration and ſervice commanded.

By theſe words of this bleſſed man, whom the whole church doth reverence and worſhip, it doth appear, that the pope hath not power to occupy the church goods, as lord thereof, but as miniſter and ſervant, and proctor for the poor. And would to God, that the ſame proud and greedy deſire of rule and lordſhip, which this ſeat doth challenge unto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way unto antichriſt. For it is evident by the goſpel, that Chriſt through his poverty, humility, and ſuffering of injury, got unto him the children of his kingdom.

And moreover, ſo far as I remember, the ſame bleſſed man, Barnard, in his third book, writeth alſo thus unto Eugenius, "I fear no other greater poiſon to happen unto thee, than greedy deſire of rule and dominion."

This Wickliff, albeit in his life-time he had many grievous enemies, yet there was none ſo cruel unto him as the clergy itſelf. Yet notwithſtanding, he had many good friends, men not only of the baſe and meaneſt ſort, but alſo of the nobility, amongſt whom theſe men are to be numbered, John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas Latimer, William Nevil, John Mountegue, who plucked down all the images in his church. Beſides all theſe, there was the earl of Saliſbury; who, for contempt in him noted towards the ſacrament, in carrying it home to his houſe, was enjoined by Radulph Ergon, biſhop of Saliſbury, to make in Saliſbury a croſs of ſtone, in which all the ſtory of the matter ſhould be written: and he every Friday during his life, to come to the croſs barefoot, and bareheaded in his ſhirt, and there kneeling upon his knees to do penance for his fact. Ex Chrou. Mon. D. Albani in vita Ric. 2.

The public Teſtimony given out by the Univerſity of Oxford, touching the Commendation of the great Learning and good Life of John Wickliff.

"UNTO all and ſingular the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this preſent letter ſhall come, the vice-chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the maſters, wiſh perpetual health in the Lord. Forſomuch as it is not commonly ſeen, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praiſe and merits of good men, ſhould be paſſed over and hidden with perpetual ſilence, but that true report and fame ſhould continually ſpread abroad the ſame in ſtrange and far diſtant places, both for the witneſs of the ſame, and examples of others; forſomuch alſo as the provident diſcretion of man's nature, being recompenſed with cruelty, hath deviſed and ordained this buckler and defence againſt ſuch as do blaſpheme and ſlander other mens doings, that whenſoever witneſs by word of mouth cannot be preſent, the pen by writing may ſupply the ſame.

Hereupon it followeth, that the ſpecial good-will and care which we bear unto John Wickliff, ſometime child of this our univerſity, and profeſſor of divinity, moving and ſtirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no leſs) with one mind, voice, and teſtimony, we do witneſs, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life to have been moſt ſincere and commendable; whoſe honeſt manners and conditions, profoundneſs of learning, and moſt redolent renown and fame, we deſire the more earneſtly to be notified and known unto all the faithful, for that we underſtand the maturity and ripeneſs of his converſation, his delights, labours, and travails, to tend to the praiſe of God, the help and ſafeguard of others, and the profit of the church.

Wherefore we ſignify unto you by theſe preſents, that his converſation (even from his youth upward, unto the time of his death) was ſo praiſe-worthy and honeſt, that never at any time was there any note or ſpot of ſuſpicion noiſed of him. But in his anſwering, reading, preaching, and determining, he behaved himſelf laudably, and as a ſtout and valiant champion of the faith; vanquiſhing by the force of the ſcriptures all ſuch who by their wilful beggary blaſphemed and ſlandered Chriſt's religion. Neither was this doctor convict of any hereſy, either burned of our prelates after his burial. God forbid that our prelates ſhould have condemned a man of ſuch honeſty for an heretic; who, amongſt all the reſt of the univerſity, had written in logic, philoſophy, divinity, morality, and the ſpeculative arts, without peer. The knowledge of which all and ſingular things we do deſire to teſtify and deliver forth, to the intent that the fame and renown of this ſaid doctor may be the more evident, and had in reputation amongſt them unto whoſe hands theſe preſent letters teſtimonial ſhall come.

In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters teſtimonial to be ſealed with our common ſeal. Dated at Oxford, in our congregation-houſe, the firſt day of October, in the year of our Lord 1406."

The Teſtimony and Words of Mr. John Huſs, as touching Mr. John Wickliff.

VERILY, as I not believe, neither grant, that Mr. John Wickliff is an heretic; ſo do I not deny, but firmly hope, that he is no heretic; forſomuch as in all matters of doubt I ought, as near as I can, to chuſe the beſt part. Wherefore I ſurely truſt, that maſter John Wickliff is one of the number of them which are ſaved. The words of Chriſt move me thereunto, ſaying,

ing, Mat. 7. "Do ye not judge, that ye be not judged;" and Luke the 6th, "Do not condemn, and ye ſhall not be condemned;" and the words of the apoſtle, 1 Cor. 4. "Do ye not judge before the Lord himſelf do come, the which ſhall open thoſe things that are hid in darkneſs, to manifeſt the privities of all hearts."

Secondly, The love and charity which I ought to bear unto my neighbour (loving him as myſelf) doth move me thereunto, Luke 10.

Thirdly, His good fame and report moveth me, the which he hath of the good prieſts of the univerſity of Oxford, and not of the wicked, and commonly of the vulgar ſort: although not of the covetous, proud, and luxurious prelates.

Fourthly, His own works and writings do ſtir me thereunto, by the which he goeth about with his whole endeavour to reduce all men unto the law of Chriſt, and ſpecially the clergy, that they ſhould forſake the pomp and dominion of this world, and with the apoſtles lead the life of Chriſt.

Fifthly, His own proteſtations, which he doth oftentimes uſe in his ſentences, often repeating the ſame, do not a little move me.

Sixthly, His earneſt deſire and affection which he had unto the law of Chriſt, doth not a little allure me thereunto, diſputing of the verity thereof, the which cannot fail in any one jot or tittle. Whereupon he made a book of the verity of the holy ſcripture, approving, even unto the uttermoſt, the truth of God's law.

Wherefore, it were too fooliſh a conſequence to ſay, that becauſe the number of the prelates and clergy in England, France, and Bohemia, do count John Wickliff for an heretic, that therefore he is an heretic, &c. Like as the reaſon for burning of the books; for it is written in the firſt book of Maccabees, the firſt chapter, "They that did burn the books of the Lord, tearing them in pieces, and whoſoever was found to have kept any books of the teſtament or will of the Lord, or which obſerved and kept the law of the Lord, they were by the king's commandment put to death." If then the burning of the books by wicked men, did argue or prove the evilneſs of theſe books, then was the law of God evil and naught.

So likewiſe the burning of St. Gregory's books, and divers other ſaints and good men, ſhould argue and prove that they were evil and naughty men. Whereupon as it doth not follow, that becauſe the biſhops, ſcribes and phariſees, with the elders of the people, condemned Chriſt Jeſus as an heretic, that therefore he is an heretic: ſo likewiſe doth it not follow of any other man: the biſhops, maſters of divinity, monks, and prelates, condemned this man as an heretic; Ergo, he is an heretic. For this conſequence is reproved by John Chryoſtom, which was twice condemned as an heretic by the biſhops and whole clergy. Likewiſe St. Gregory in his books was condemned by the cardinals.

By like proof alſo, as they affirm by Mr. John Wickliff to be an heretic, John duke of Lancaſter (a man of worthy memory, and progenitor of Henry king of England) ſhould alſo be an heretic. For the ſaid duke defended, favoured, and greatly loved Mr. John Wickliff: Ergo, the ſaid duke is, or was an heretic; the conſequence is good. The Minor is well known to the Engliſhmen. The Major appeareth in the canon, where it is ſaid, "He which defendeth an heretic," &c.

But theſe things ſet apart, I demand of the adverſary, whether maſter John Wickliff de damned for ever or no? If he ſay, that he is damned, becauſe he is an heretic; I propound this unto him, whether maſter John Wickliff, whilſt he lived, held any falſe doctrine contrary to the holy ſcripture? If he do affirm it, let him then ſhew what doctrine it is, and afterward declare that he held it obſtinately. But he ſhall find that in his books he always wrote moſt commendable proteſtations againſt obſtinacy and ſtiff-neckedneſs. And by and by after, maſter John Stokes in his Intimation ſaith, that maſter John Wickliff in England is counted for an heretic. This ſeemeth alſo falſe by the letter teſtimonial of the univerſity of Oxford: unto the which there is more credit to be given than unto him. And this ſhall ſuffice for this preſent.

Now as we have declared the teſtimony of the univerſity of Oxford, and of John Huſs, concerning the praiſe of John Wickliff; it followeth likewiſe that we ſet forth and expreſs the contrary cenſures and judgments of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections againſt him, eſpecially of the pope's council gathered at Conſtance, proceeding firſt in condemning his books, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The copy of which their ſentence given againſt him by that council here followeth.

The Sentence given by the Council of Conſtance, in condemning the Doctrine, and five and forty Articles of John Wickliff.

THE moſt holy and ſacred council of Conſtance, making and repreſenting the catholic church, for the extirpation of this preſent ſchiſm, and of all other errors and hereſies, ſpringing and growing under the ſhadow and pretence of the ſame, and for the reformation and amendment of the church, being lawfully congregate and gathered together in the Holy Ghoſt, for the perpetual memory of the time to come.

We are taught by the acts and hiſtories of the holy fathers, that the catholic faith, without the which, as the holy apoſtle St. Paul ſaith, it is impoſſible to pleaſe God, hath been always defended by the faithful and ſpiritual ſoldiers of the church, by the ſhield of faith, againſt the falſe worſhippers of the ſame faith, or rather perverſe impugners; which through their proud curioſity will ſeem to know more, and to be wiſer than they ought to be, and for the deſire of the glory of the world have gone about oftentimes to overthrow the ſame. Theſe kinds of wars and battles have been prefigured to us before in thoſe carnal wars of the Iſraelites againſt the idolatrous people. For in thoſe ſpiritual wars the holy catholic church, through the virtue and power of faith, being illuſtrate with the beams of the heavenly light, by the providence of God, and being holpen by the help and defence of the ſaints and holy men, hath always continued immaculate, and (the darkneſs of errors, as her moſt cruel enemies, being put to flight) ſhe hath moſt gloriouſly triumphed over all. But in theſe our days the old and unclean enemy hath raiſed up new contentions and ſtrifes, that the elect of this world might be known, whoſe prince and captain in time paſt was one John Wickliff, a falſe chriſtian; who during his lifetime taught and ſowed very obſtinately many articles contrary and againſt the chriſtian religion, and the catholic faith. And the ſame John Wickliff wrote certain books, which he called a Dialogue, and a Trialogue, beſides many other treatiſes and works, the which he both wrote and taught, in the which he wrote the aforeſaid, and many other damnable and execrable articles; the which his books, for the publication and advancement of his perverſe doctrine, he did ſet forth openly for every man to read. Whereby, beſides many offences, great hurt and damage of ſouls hath enſued in divers regions and countries, but eſpecially in the kingdoms of England and Bohemia. Againſt whom the maſters and doctors of the univerſities of Oxford and Prague, riſing up in the truth and verity of God, according to the order of ſchools, within a while after did reprove and condemn the ſaid articles.

Moreover, the moſt reverend fathers the archbiſhops and biſhops (for that time preſent), of Canterbury, York, and Prague, legates of the apoſtolic ſee, in the king-

kingdoms of England and Bohemia, did condemn the books of the ſaid Wickliff to be burnt. And the ſaid archbiſhop of Prague, commiſſary of the apoſtolic ſee, did likewiſe in this behalf determine and judge. And moreover he did forbid that any of theſe books, which did remain unburned, ſhould be hereafter any more read. And again, thoſe things being brought to the knowledge and underſtanding of the apoſtolic ſee, and in the general council; the biſhop of Rome in his laſt council condemned the ſaid books, treatiſes, and volumes, commanding them to be openly burned. Moſt ſtraitly forbidding, that any men who ſhould bear the name of Chriſt ſhould be ſo hardy to keep, read, or expound any of the ſaid books or treatiſes, volumes or works, or by any means to uſe or occupy them; or elſe to alledge them openly or privily, but to their reproof and infamy. And to the intent that this moſt dangerous and filthy doctrine ſhould be utterly wiped away out of the church, he gave commandment throughout all places, that the ordinaries ſhould diligently enquire and ſeek out by the apoſtolical authority and eccleſiaſtical cenſure, for all ſuch books, treatiſes, volumes, and works. And the ſame ſo being found, to burn and conſume them with fire; providing withal, that if there be any ſuch found, which will not obey the ſame, proceſs to be made againſt them, as againſt the favourers and maintainers of hereſies. And this moſt holy ſynod hath cauſed the ſaid forty-five articles to be examined, and oftentimes peruſed, by many the moſt reverend fathers of the church of Rome, cardinals, biſhops, abbots, maſters of divinity, and doctors of both laws, beſides a great number of other learned men; the which articles being ſo examined, it was found (as in truth it was no leſs) that many, yea and a great number of them, be notoriouſly for heretical reproved and condemned by the holy fathers; other ſome not to be catholic, but erroneous; ſome full of offence and blaſphemy; certain of them offenſive unto godly ears, and many of them to be raſhful and ſeditious. It is found alſo that his books do contain many articles of like effect and quality, and that they do induce and bring into the church unſound and unwholeſome doctrine, contrary unto the faith and ordinance of the church. Wherefore in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, this ſacred ſynod, ratifying and approving the ſentences and judgments of the archbiſhops and council of Rome, do by this their decree and ordinance perpetually for evermore condemn and reprove the ſaid articles, and every one of them, his books which he intitled his Dialogue and Trialogue, and all other books of the ſame author, volumes, treatiſes, and works, by what name ſoever they be intitled or called, the which we will here to be ſufficiently expreſſed and named. Alſo we forbid the reading, learning, expoſition, or alledging of any of the ſaid books unto all faithful chriſtians, but ſo far forth as ſhall tend to the reproof of the ſame; forbidding all and ſingular catholic perſons, under the pain of curſe, that from henceforth they be not ſo hardy openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by any means to alledge the ſaid articles, or any of them, except (as is aforeſaid) that it do tend unto the reproof of them: commanding all thoſe books, treatiſes, works, and volumes aforeſaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the ſynod at Rome, as is afore expreſſed. For the execution whereof duly to be obſerved and done, the ſaid ſacred ſynod doth ſtraitly charge and command the ordinaries of the place diligently to attend and look unto the matter, according as it appertaineth unto every man's duty by the canonical laws and ordinances.

What theſe articles were here condemned by the council, collected out of all his works, and exhibited to that ſaid council, to the number of forty-five, the copy of them following under-written declareth.

Certain other Articles gathered out of Wickliff's books by his Adverſaries, to the Number of forty-five, exhibited up to the Council of Conſtance after his Death, and in the ſame Council condemned.

BEſides the twenty-four articles above-mentioned, there were other alſo gathered out of his books, to the number of forty-five in all, which his malicious adverſaries perverſely collecting, and maliciouſly expounding, did exhibit up to the council of Conſtance; all which to repeat, though it be not here needful, yet to recite certain of them, as they ſtand in that council, it ſhall not be ſuperfluous.

25. All ſuch as be hired for temporal living to pray for other, offend and ſin of ſimony.

26. The prayer of the reprobate prevaileth for no man.

27. Hallowing of churches, confirmation of children, the ſacrament of orders, be reſerved to the pope and biſhops only, for the reſpect of temporal lucre.

28. Graduations and doctorſhips in univerſities and colleges, as they be uſed, conduce nothing to the church.

29. The excommunication of the pope and his prelates is not to be feared, becauſe it is the cenſure of Antichriſt.

30. Such as found and build monaſteries, do offend and ſin; and all ſuch as enter into the ſame, be members of the devil.

31. To enrich the clergy is againſt the rule of Chriſt.

32. Silveſter the pope, and Conſtantine the emperor, were deceived, in giving and taking poſſeſſions into the church.

33. A deacon or a prieſt may preach the word of God without the authority of the apoſtolic ſee.

34. Such as enter into order, or religion, monaſtical, are thereby unable to keep God's commandments, and alſo to attain to the kingdom of heaven, except they return from the ſame.

35. The pope with all his clergy, having thoſe great poſſeſſions as they have, be heretics in ſo having, and the ſecular powers in ſo ſuffering them do not well.

36. The church of Rome is the ſynagogue of ſatan, neither is the pope immediately the vicar of Chriſt, nor of the apoſtles.

37. The decretals of the pope be apocrypha, and ſeduce from the faith of Chriſt, and the clergy that ſtudy them be fools.

38. The emperor and ſecular lords be ſeduced, which ſo enrich the church with ſuch ample poſſeſſions.

39. It is not neceſſary to ſalvation to believe the church of Rome to be the ſupreme head over all churches.

40. It is but folly to believe the pope's pardon.

41. All oaths which be made for any contract or civil bargain between man and man, be unlawful.

42. Benedict, Francis, Dominick, Bernard, with all ſuch as have been patrons of private religion, except they have repented, with ſuch alſo as have entered into the ſame, be in a damnable ſtate; and ſo from the pope to the loweſt novices, they be altogether heretics.

Beſides theſe articles, to the number of forty-five, condemned, as is ſaid, by the council of Conſtance, other articles alſo I find diverſely collected, or rather wreſted out of the books and writings of Wickliff; ſome by William Woodford, ſome by Walden, by friar Tiſſington, and others, whom they in their books have impugned, rather than confuted. In the number of whom, William Woodford eſpecially findeth out theſe articles, and writeth againſt the ſame, to the number of eighteen: as here under follow.

1. The bread remaineth in his own ſubſtance, after the conſecration thereof upon the altar, and ceaſeth not to be bread ſtill.

2. As

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Engraved for FOX's BOOK *of Martyrs*

The Order and Manner of taking up y.e Body of
JOHN WICKLIFE, *and Burning his bones 41 years after his Death.*

Tovy. Sculp

The Martyrdom. of George Scherter.

Paternoster Row.

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2. As John was figuratively Elias, and not perſonally; ſo is the bread figuratively the body of Chriſt, and not naturally. And that without all doubt it is as well a figurative ſpeech, to ſay, This is my body; as to ſay, This John is Elias.

3. In the decree, Ergo Berengarius, the court of Rome hath determined, that the ſacrament of the holy euchariſt is naturally true bread.

4. They which do affirm, that the infants of the faithful, departing without the ſacrament of baptiſm, are not ſaved, be preſumptuous and fools in ſo affirming.

5. The adminiſtration of the ſacrament of confirmation is not only reſerved to the biſhops.

6. In the time of St. Paul, only two orders of clerks did ſuffice in the church, prieſts and deacons. Neither was there in the time of the apoſtles any diſtinction of popes, patriarchs, archbiſhops, and biſhops; but theſe the emperor's pride did find out.

7. Such as in times paſt, either for covetouſneſs of temporal lucre, or in hope of mutual ſuccour by kindred, or for cauſe to excuſe their luſt (although they deſpaired of iſſue) were married, were not coupled together by true matrimony.

8. The cauſes of divorcement, either for ſpiritual conſanguinity, or for affinity, be not found in ſcripture; but are only ordinances of men.

9. Theſe words, "I will take thee to wife," are rather to be taken in contract of matrimony, than theſe words, "I do take thee to wife." And the contract with any party, by the words of the future tenſe, ought not to be fruſtrate for the contract with any party afterward made by the words of the preſent time.

10. There be twelve diſciples of antichriſt, popes, cardinals, patriarchs, archbiſhops, biſhops, archdeacons, officials, deans, monks, canons, friars, and pardoners.

11. In the book of Numbers, the 18th chapter, and in Ezekiel 44th chapter, it is commanded ſimply, that neither the prieſts of Aaron, nor the Levites, ſhould have any part or inheritance with the other tribes, but ſhould live merely of tithes and oblations.

12. There is no greater heretic or antichriſt than that clerk which teacheth, that it is lawful for prieſts and levites of the law of grace to be endued with temporal poſſeſſions. And if there be any heretics, apoſtates, or blaſphemers, theſe clerks be ſuch.

13. It is not only lawful for the lords temporal to take away goods of fortune from the churchmen, ſinning uſually, but alſo they are bound ſo to do, under pain of eternal damnation.

14. He that is the more humble and more ſerviceable to the church, and more enamoured with the love of Chriſt, is in the church militant the greater, and the more near vicar of Chriſt.

15. If corporal unction or anoyling were a ſacrament, as now is feigned to be, Chriſt and his apoſtles would not have left the ordinance thereof untouched.

16. Unto the true dominion ſecular is required the virtuous life of him that ruleth.

17. All things that happen do come abſolutely of neceſſity.

18. Whatſoever the pope or his cardinals can deduce clearly out of the ſcripture, that only is to be believed, or to be done at their monition: and whatſoever otherwiſe they do command, is to be condemned as heretical.

Beſides this W. Woodford, afore-mentioned, divers other there were which wrote againſt theſe articles of Wickliff, aforeſaid, maintaining the pope's part, as ſeemeth for flattery, rather than following any juſt cauſe ſo to do, or ſhewing forth any reaſon or learning in diſproving the ſame. Notwithſtanding, on the contrary part, ſome there were again, both learned and godly, which taking the part of Wickliff, without all flattery, defended the moſt of the ſaid articles openly in ſchools and other places, as appeareth by the works of John Huſs; who in his public determination in the univerſity of Prague, ſtood in the defence of the ſame againſt his adverſaries.

The Decree of the Synod of Conſtance, touching the taking up of the Body and Bones of John Wickliff, to be burned forty-one Years after he was buried in his own Pariſh of Lutterworth.

FOrſomuch as by the authority of the ſentence and decree of the council of Rome, and by the commandment of the church, and the apoſtolic ſee, after due delays being given, they proceeded unto the condemnation of the ſaid John Wickliff, and his memory, having firſt made proclamation, and given commandment to call forth whoſoever would defend the ſaid Wickliff, or his memory, if there were any ſuch (but there did none appear, which would either defend him or his memory). And moreover, witneſſes being examined, by commiſſioners appointed by pope John and his council, upon the impenitency and final obſtinacy and ſtubbornneſs of the ſaid John Wickliff (reſerving that which is to be reſerved, as in ſuch buſineſs the order of the law requireth), and his impenitency and obſtinacy even unto his end, being ſufficiently proved by evident ſigns and tokens, and alſo by lawful witneſſes, and credit lawfully given thereunto. Wherefore at the inſtance of the ſteward of the treaſury, proclamation being made to hear and underſtand the ſentence againſt this day, the ſacred ſynod declareth, determineth, and giveth ſentence, that the ſaid John Wickliff was a notorious obſtinate heretic, and that he died in his hereſy, curſing and condemning both him and his memory

This ſynod alſo decreeth and ordaineth, that the body and bones of the ſaid John Wickliff, if it might be diſcerned and known from the bodies of other faithful people, ſhould be taken out of the ground, and thrown away far from the burial of any church, according unto the canon laws and decrees. Which determination and ſentence definitive being read and pronounced, the lord preſident, and the aforeſaid preſidents of the four nations, being demanded and aſked whether it pleaſed them or no? They all anſwered (and firſt Hoſtienſis the preſident, and after him the other preſidents of the nations) that it pleaſed them very well; and ſo they allowed and confirmed all the premiſes, &c.

What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weep, to ſee theſe ſo ſage and reverend Catoes to occupy their heads to take up a poor man's body, ſo long dead and buried before, by the ſpace of forty one years? and yet peradventure were not able to find his right bones, but took up ſome other body, and ſo of a catholic made an heretic. Albeit therein Wickliff had ſome cauſe to give them thanks, that they would at leaſt ſpare him ſo long till he was dead, and alſo to give him ſo long reſpite after his death, forty-one years to reſt in his ſepulchre, before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to aſhes; which aſhes they alſo took, and threw into the river. And ſo was he reſolved into three elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby to extinguiſh and aboliſh both the name and doctrine of Wickliff for ever. Not much unlike to the example of the old phariſees and ſepulchre-knights, which when they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought to make him ſure never to riſe again.

But theſe and all other muſt know, that as there is no counſel againſt the Lord; ſo there is no keeping down of verity, but it will ſpring and come out of duſt and aſhes, as appeared right well in this man. For tho' they digged up his body, burnt his bones, and drowned his aſhes; yet the word of God, and truth of his doc-

trine, with the fruit and ſucceſs thereof, they could not burn; which yet to this day, for the moſt-part of his articles, do remain; notwithſtanding the tranſitory body and bones of the man was thus conſumed and diſperſed, as by this picture here above ſet forth to thine eyes (gentle reader) may appear.

Theſe things thus finiſhed and accompliſhed, which pertain to the ſtory and time of Wickliff; let us now (by the ſupportation of the Lord) proceed to intreat and write of the reſt, which either in his time or after his time (ſpringing out of the ſame univerſity, and raiſed up (as ye would ſay) out of his aſhes, were partakers of the ſame perſecution. Of whom ſpeaketh Thomas Walden in his book, De Sacramentis & Sacramentalibus, cap. 53. where he ſaith, that after Wickliff many ſuffered moſt cruel death, and many more did forſake the realm.

In the number of whom was William Swinderby, Walter Brute, John Purvey, Richard White, William Thorpe, Raynold Pecock biſhop of ſaint Aſaph, and afterward of Chicheſter.

To this catalogue alſo pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) Laurence Redman maſter of art, David Sautre divine, John Aſchwarby vicar, as they call him, of St. Mary's church at Oxford, William James an excellent young man well learned, Thomas Brightwell, and William Hawlam a civilian, Raſe Grenhruſt, John Scut, and Philip Norice; which being excommunicated by pope Eugenius the fourth, in the year of our Lord 1446, appealed unto a general or œcumenical council.

Peter Paine alſo, who flying from Oxford unto Bohemia, did ſtoutly contend againſt the ſophiſters, as touching both kinds of the ſacrament of the laſt ſupper; who afterward among the reſt of the orators was one of the fourteen that was ſent unto the council of Baſil: where by the ſpace of three days he diſputed upon the fourth article, which was touching the civil dominion of the clergy, Anno 1438. Alſo the Lord Cobham, &c. With divers others beſides, whoſe names are mentioned in the king's writ, ſent to the ſheriff of Northampton, which writ of the king followeth in this tenor; Rex Vicecomiti Northamptoniæ ſalutem, &c. Foraſmuch as John Attyate of Chepingwarden, John Warryner, Ro. Brewood, &c. being receivers and fautors of heretics, and eſpecially of John Woodward prieſt, publicly defamed and condemned of hereſy, will not be juſtified by the cenſures of the church, as the reverend father John biſhop of Lincoln hath certified us: We therefore willing to withſtand all defenders and fautors of ſuch hereſies, do will and command as well the forenamed, as namely the foreſaid John Woodward to be apprehended, ſtraitly charging the ſame to be impriſoned by their bodies, or otherwiſe puniſhed as ſhall ſeem good to the juſtices, until they and every of them ſhall ſubmit themſelves to the obedience of the foreſaid biſhop in that behalf accordingly. Whereof fail you not under pain of an hundred pound. Witneſs ourſelves: Given at our manor of Langley the eighth day of March, the twelfth year of our reign.

To theſe above rehearſed, and other favourers of Wickliff, within this our country of England, we may add alſo the Bohemians; forſomuch as the propagation of the ſaid doctrine of Wickliff in that country alſo took root, coming from England to Bohemia by this occaſion, as in ſtory here followeth.

There chanced at that time a certain ſtudent of the country of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a wealthy houſe, and alſo of a noble ſtock; who returning home from the univerſity of Oxford, to the univerſity of Prague, carried with him certain books of Wickliff, De Realibus Univerſalibus. De Civili Jure, & Divino. De Eccleſia. De quæſtionibus variis contra Clerum, &c. It chanced the ſame time a certain nobleman in the city of Prague had founded and builded a great church of Matthias and Mattheus, which church was called Bethlehem, giving to it great lands, and finding in it two preachers every day, to preach both holy-day and working-day to the people. Of the which two preachers John Huſs was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently favoured of his worthy life amongſt them. Thus John Huſs having familiarity with this young man, in reading and peruſing theſe books of Wickliff, took ſuch pleaſure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this author openly in the ſchools, but alſo in his ſermons; commending him for a good man, an holy man, and heavenly man, wiſhing himſelf, when he ſhould die, to be there placed, whereas the ſoul of Wickliff ſhould be. And thus for the ſpreading of Wickliff's doctrine enough.

And thus much briefly concerning the favourers and adherents of John Wickliff in general. Now particularly and in order let us (by Chriſt's grace) proſecute the ſtories and proſecutions of the ſaid parties aforenamed as the courſe of their times ſhall require, firſt beginning with the valiant champions William Swinderbury, and Walter Brute.

The hiſtory of William Swinderby.

IN the year 1389, William Swinderby prieſt, within the dioceſe of Lincoln, being accuſed and detected upon certain opinions, was preſented before John Biſhop of Lincoln, after the form and order of the pope's law, according to their uſual right obſerved; his denouncers were theſe, Friar Friſby obſervant, Friar Hincely, Auguſtine, and Thomas Blaxton, dominican.

The articles wherewith they charged him, although in form of words as they put them up, they might ſeem ſomething ſtrange here to be recited; yet to the intent that all may ſee the ſpirited malice of theſe ſpider-friars, in ſucking all things to poiſon, and in forging that which is not true, as in proceſs (Chriſt willing) hereafter ſhall better appear by his anſwers, I thought good to notify the ſame.

That men may aſk their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to impriſon a man: and that he ſo impriſoning is accurſed.

That if pariſhioners do know their curate to be a lecher, incontinent, and an evil man, they ought to withdraw from him their tythes, or elſe they be fautors of his ſins.

That tythes purely be alms, and in caſe that curates be evil men, the ſame may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an evil curate to curſe his ſuget for withholding of tythes, is nothing elſe, but to take with extortion wickedly, and unduly from them their money.

That no prelate may curſe a man, except he know before that he is curſed of God.

That any prieſt may abſolve any ſinner being contrite; and is bound (notwithſtanding the inhibition of the biſhop) to preach the goſpel unto the people.

That a prieſt taking any annual penſion upon covenant, is in ſo doing a ſimoniac, and accurſed.

That any prieſt being in deadly ſin, if he give himſelf to conſecrate the body of the Lord, committeth idolatry, rather than doth conſecrate.

That no prieſt entereth into any houſe, but to evil intreat the wife, the daughter, or maid: and therefore he admoniſhed the good man of the houſe to take heed what prieſt he let into his houſe.

Another concluſion falſely to him objected, That a child is not truly baptized, if the prieſt that baptizeth, or the godfather or godmother be in deadly ſin.

Item, That no man living againſt the law of God is a prieſt, however he were ordained prieſt of any biſhop.

Theſe articles or concluſions untruly collected, were as cruelly exhibited againſt him by the friars in the biſhop of Lincoln's court. The which articles although he never preached, taught, or at any time defended, as appeareth more in the proceſs following: yet the friars with their witneſſes ſtanding forth againſt him, declared him to be convict; bringing alſo dry wood with them

to

to the town to burn him, and would not leave him, before they made him promiſe and ſwear for fear of death, never to hold them, teach them, nor preach them privily nor publicly under pain of relapſe; and that he ſhould go to certain churches to revoke the aforeſaid concluſions, which he never affirmed.

As firſt in the church of Lincoln, then in St. Margaret's church of Leiceſter; alſo in St. Martin's church in Leiceſter, and in our Lady's churches at Newark, and in other pariſh-churches alſo of Melton-Mowbray, of Haloughton, Hareburgh, and Lengthburgh. Which penance being to him enjoined, he did obediently accompliſh, with this form of revocation, which they bound him unto, under theſe words.

The revocation of William Swinderby, whereunto he was forced by the Friars.

I William Swinderby, prieſt, although unworthy, of the dioceſe of Lincoln, acknowledging one true, catholic, and apoſtolic faith of the holy church of Rome, do abjure all hereſy and error repugning to the determination of the holy mother Church, whereof I have been hitherto defamed, namely, the concluſions and articles above prefixed, and every one of them to me judicially objected, by the commiſſary of the reverend father in Chriſt and Lord, lord John by the grace of God biſhop of Lincoln; and do revoke the ſame, and every one of them, ſome as heretical, ſome as erroneous and falſe, and do affirm and believe them to be ſo, and hereafter will never teach, preach, or affirm publicly or privily the ſame. Neither will I make any ſermon within the dioceſe of Lincoln, but aſking firſt and obtaining the licence of the aforeſaid reverend father and lord, the biſhop of Lincoln. Contrary to the which if I ſhall preſume hereafter to ſay or do, to hold or preach, I ſhall be content to abide the ſeverity of the canon, as I have judicially by the neceſſity of the law ſworn, and do ſwear, &c.

Thus have you the concluſions and articles of this good man, falſely objected to him by the malicious and lying friars; and alſo the retractation whereunto they by force compelled him; whereby it may likewiſe be conjectured, what credit is to be given to the articles and concluſions which theſe cavilling friars, wreſting all things to the worſt, have objected and imputed both to Wickliff and all other of that ſort, whom they ſo falſely do defame, ſo ſlanderouſly do bely, and ſo maliciouſly do perſecute.

After theſe things thus done and wrought in the dioceſe of Lincoln, it ſo befel that the ſaid W. Swinderby removed to the dioceſe and county of Hereford, where he was as much or more moleſted by the friars again, and by John Treſnant biſhop of Hereford, as by the proceſs and ſtory here enſuing, ſet out at large out of their own regiſters, may appear.

Here followeth the proceſs of John Treſnant, biſhop of Hereford, had againſt the aforeſaid William Swinderby, in the cauſe of heretical pravity, as the popiſh heretics call it.

THE glorious name of the Prince of peace, and his counſel (whoſe counſellor no man is, and whoſe providence in his diſpoſition is never deceived) being invocated, To all and ſingular believers of Chriſt, which ſhall ſee or hear this our proceſs under-written, John, by the ſufferance of God biſhop of Hereford, greeting, and peaceable charity in the Lord. Foraſmuch as God the Creator of all things, the keeper of juſtice, the lover of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his providence the ſons of men, now through the fall of their firſt father prone and declining to diſhoneſt and filthy and deteſtable miſchiefs, and to keep under their malice (which wicked tranſgreſſion did firſt gender) hath appointed divers preſidents of the world ſtabliſhed in ſundry degrees, by whom and their circumſpect providence man's audacity ſhould be reſtrained, innocency ſhould be nouriſhed amongſt the good, and terror ſhould be ſtricken into the wicked not to deceive; alſo that their power to hurt, and their inſolency ſhould be bridled in all places. And whereas amongſt many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the duty of the office committed unto us, we are ſpecially bound to extend our ſtrength, chiefly that the catholic faith may proſper in our times, and heretical pravity may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithful; we therefore being excited through the information of many credible and faithful chriſtians of our dioceſe, to root out peſtiferous plants, as ſheep diſeaſed with an incurable ſickneſs, going about to infect the whole and ſound flock, are by the care of the ſhepherd to be removed from the flock, that is to ſay, preachers, or more truly execrable offenders of the new ſect, vulgarly called Lollards, which, under a certain cloaked ſhew of holineſs, running abroad through divers places of our dioceſe, and endeavouring to cut aſunder the Lord's unſewed coat, that is to ſay, to rent the unity of the holy church, and of the catholic faith, and alſo to tear in pieces with their tempeſtuous blaſts the power of St. Peter, that is to ſay, to weaken the ſtrength of eccleſiaſtical ſtates and degrees, and the determination of the ſame holy church, have wickedly preſumed, and do preſume from day to day to ſpeak, to teach, to maintain, and (the which is more horrible to be uttered) to preach openly many things heretical, blaſphemies, ſchiſms, and ſlanderous defamings, even quite contrary to the ſacred canons and decrees of the holy fathers, ſo that they know not to direct their paths in the ways of righteouſneſs and truth, in that they expound to the people the holy ſcripture as the letter ſoundeth, after a judicial ſort, otherwiſe than the Holy Ghoſt will have it, whereas the words wander from their ſignifications, and appear to bring in by gueſſing new meanings, whereas the words muſt not be judged by the ſenſe that they make, but by the ſenſe whereby they be made, whereas the conſtruction is not bound to the Donate's rules; whereas faith is far placed from the capacity of reaſon: but they labour by their pernicious doctrines and teachings public and privy, to boil out the poiſon of ſchiſms between the clergy and the people: we to encounter againſt ſuch kind of preachers, nay rather deceivers and horrible ſeducers amongſt the people, advancing and rouſing up ourſelves in God's behalf, and holy mother church, with the ſpiritual ſword, which may ſtrike them wiſely, and wound them medicinably, for their health and welfare; and namely William Swinderby prieſt (ſo pretending himſelf to be) as a teacher of ſuch kind of pernicious doctrine, and an horrible ſeducer amongſt the people; to whom perſonally appearing before us on Wedneſday, to wit, the fourteenth of the month of June, in the pariſh church of Kington of our dioceſe, in the year of our Lord 1391, he being vehemently defamed to us of hereſy, ſchiſm, and his perverſe doctrines both manifeſt and privy; we therefore have cauſed many caſes and articles concerning the catholic faith to be miniſtered unto him, that he ſhould anſwer to the ſame at a day and place for him meet and convenient, of his own choice and free will; that is to ſay, on the Friday, being the laſt of the ſame month of June next following; aſſigned to him, at the church of Bodenhame of the ſame our dioceſe. Of which caſes and articles exhibited unto us by many of Chriſt's faithful people, zealous followers of the catholic faith, to make information to our office (which caſes and articles alſo were by us adminiſtered, as is before ſaid, to the ſame William Swinderby), the tenor thereof followeth, and is thus:

Reverend father and high lord, lord John, by God's ſufferance biſhop of Hereford: It is lamentably declared unto your reverend fatherhood on the behalf of Chriſt's faithful people, your devout children of your dioceſe of Hereford, that notwithſtanding the miſbelief of very many Lollards, which have too long a time ſprung up here in your dioceſe, there is newly come a certain child of wickedneſs, named William Swinderby; who by his horrible perſuaſions, and miſchievous endeavours, and alſo by his open preachings and private teachings, doth pervert, as much as in him is, the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and ſtirreth up, with all his poſſible power, ſchiſm between the clergy and the people. And that your reverend fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what manner of man the ſame William Swinderby is; there be propoſed and exhibited hereafter to the ſame your fatherhood, on the behalf of the ſame faithful people of Chriſt, againſt the ſame William Swinderby, caſes and articles. Which if the ſame William Swinderby ſhall deny, then ſhall the ſame caſes and articles moſt evidently be proved againſt him by credible witneſs worthy of belief, and by other lawful proof and evidences, to the end that thoſe being proved, the ſame fatherhood of yours may do and ordain therein as to your paſtoral office belongeth.

Imprimis, the ſame William Swinderby, pretending himſelf prieſt, was openly and publicly convicted of certain articles and concluſions being erroneous, ſchiſmatical, and heretical, preached by him at divers places and times, before a multitude of faithful chriſtian people. And the ſame articles and concluſions did he by force of law revoke and abjure, ſome as heretical, and ſome as erroneous and falſe, avouching and believing them for ſuch, as that from thenceforth he would never preach, teach, or affirm openly or privily any of the ſame concluſions: and if by preaching or avouching he ſhould preſume to do the contrary; that then he ſhould be ſubject to the ſeverity of the canons, accordingly as he did take a corporal oath, judicially upon the holy goſpels.

2. Alſo the concluſions, which by the ſame William were firſt openly taught and preached, and afterward abjured and revoked, as is aforeſaid, are contained before in the proceſs of the biſhop of Lincoln, even as they be there written word by word. And for the caſes and articles, they were conſequently exhibited by the forenamed faithful chriſtian people againſt the ſaid William Swinderby, together with the concluſions beforeſaid, and hereafter written: of which caſes and articles the tenor here enſueth.

3. Item, The ſaid William, contrary to the former revocation and abjuration, not converting to repentance, but perverted from ill to worſe, and given up to a reprobate ſenſe, came into your dioceſe, where he running about in ſundry places, hath preſumed to preach, or rather to pervert and teach of his own raſhneſs many heretical, erroneous, blaſphemous, and other ſlanderous things, contrary and repugnant to ſacred canons, and the determination of the holy catholic church. What theſe things were, at what place and what time, it ſhall hereafter more particularly be declared.

4. Item, The ſame William, notwithſtanding your commands and admonitions ſealed with your ſeal, and to all the curates of your dioceſe directed, containing amongſt other things, that no perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he were, ſhould preſume to preach or to teach, or elſe expound the holy ſcripture to the people, either in hallowed or prophane places within your dioceſe, without ſufficient authority, by any manner or pretence that could be ſought, as in the ſame your letters) monitory and of inhibition the tenor whereof hereafter enſueth) is more largely contained; which letters the ſame William did receive into his hands, and did read them word by word in the town of Monmouth of your dioceſe, in the year of our Lord 1390, ſo that theſe your letters, and the contents thereof, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the ſame William; yet notwithſtanding hath the ſame William preſumed in divers places and times to preach within the ſame your dioceſe, after and againſt your commandment aforeſaid. The tenor of the ſame letters before mentioned followeth, and is this.

"JOHN by the ſufferance of God biſhop of Hereford, to the dean and chapter of our church of Hereford, and to all and ſingular abbots, priors, provoſts, deans rural, parſons and vicars of monaſteries, priories, churches, colleges, and pariſhes, and to other having cure of ſouls within the city and dioceſe of Hereford, and to all and every other being within the ſame city and dioceſe, greeting, grace and bleſſing. Foraſmuch as the golden laurel of teaching doctoral is not from above indifferently every man's gift; neither in the office of preaching granted ſave to ſuch as are called, and eſpecially by the church admitted thereunto; We do admoniſh and require you all and ſingular clerks aforeſaid, and do ſtraitly enjoin you all in the virtue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admit any man to preach or to teach the catholic faith, ſaving ſuch as the ſame office of preaching ſhall by the authority apoſtolical, or elſe your biſhop, be ſpecially committed unto; but that as much as in you ſhall lie, you do by word and deed labour to lett thoſe who would attempt the contrary. And you lords, ladies, knights, barons, eſquires, and all ſingular perſons, of what eſtate, degree, preheminence, or condition ſoever ye be, remaining within the city and dioceſe of Hereford, we do beſeech and exhort in our Lord, that following the words of our Saviour, you beware of the leaven of the Phariſees.

Item, According to the ſaying of the apoſtle, Be not ye carried away with divers and ſtrange doctrines; and that in the mean while (as ſaith the apoſtle) ye be not removed from the ſenſe of the holy ancient fathers, leſt that any man by any means ſhould ſeduce you; but you agreeing together in one mind, ſee that you honour God with one mouth. But if any man to whom that thing is not ſpecially (as is aforeſaid) committed, ſhall attempt to inſtruct, or in this your life to direct you into the catholic faith, do ye deny to give them audience, and refuſe you to be preſent at their aſſemblies, and ſhun ye their teachings, becauſe they be wicked and perverſe. And as for us, we will not omit to proceed, according to the ſacred canons and precepts of the holy fathers, againſt ſuch as do the contrary.

Dated at London in the houſe of our habitation, under our ſeal, the laſt day ſave one of December, in the year of our Lord 1389, and of our conſecration the firſt."

5. Item, The ſame William, in his preaching to the people, on Monday being the firſt of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the pariſh of Whitney of your dioceſe, did hold and affirm, That no prelate of the world, of what eſtate, preheminence or degree ſoever he were of, having cure and charge of ſouls, he being in deadly ſin, and hearing the confeſſion of any under his hand, in giving him abſolution, doth nothing: as who neither doth looſe him from his ſin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him from his demerits, doth bind him by his ſentence, except the prelate ſhall be free himſelf from deadly ſin, as St. Peter was, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and looſe.

6. Item, The ſame William in many places ſaid and affirmed, in the preſence of many faithful chriſtian people, that after the ſacramental words uttered by the prieſt having the purpoſe to conſecrate, there is not made the very body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

7. Item, That accidents cannot be in the ſacrament of the altar without a ſubject; and that there remaineth material bread there to ſuch as be partakers communicant with the body of Chriſt, in the ſame ſacrament.

8. Item,

8. Item, That a prieſt being in deadly ſin, cannot be able by the ſtrength of the ſacramental words to make the body of Chriſt, or bring to perfection any other ſacrament of the church, neither yet to miniſter it to the members of the church.

9. Item, That all prieſts are of like power in all things, notwithſtanding that ſome of them in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or prehemineence.

10. Item, That only contrition putteth away ſin, if ſo be that a man ſhall be duly contrite; and that all auricular and outward confeſſion is ſuperfluous, and not requſite of ſalvation.

11. Item, Inferior curates have not their power of binding and looſing immediately from the pope or biſhop, but immediately from Chriſt: and therefore neither can the pope nor biſhop revoke to themſelves ſuch kind of power, when they ſee time and place, at their luſt and pleaſure.

12. Item, That the pope cannot grant ſuch kind of annual and yearly pardons; becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many years to the day of judgment, as are in the pope's bulls or pardons contained. Whereby it followeth that the pardons are not of ſuch like value as they ſpeak of, and are praiſed to be.

13. It is not in the pope's power to grant unto any any perſon penitent forgiveneſs of the puniſhment of their fault.

14. Item, That perſon that giveth his alms to any, which in his judgment is not in neceſſity, doth ſin in ſo giving it.

15. Item, That it ſtands not in the power of any prelate, of what religion ſoever he be of, privately to give letters for the benefit of his order, neither doth ſuch benefit granted profit them, to the ſalvation of their ſoul, to whom they be granted.

16. Item, That the ſame William, unmindful of his own ſalvation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certain deſert wood, called Dervallwood, of your dioceſe, and there in a certain chapel not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cottage, hath in contempt of the keys preſumed his own raſhneſs to celebrate, nay rather to pro phane.

17. Item, the ſame William hath alſo preſumed to do ſuch things in a certain prophane chapel, being ſituate in the park of Newton nigh to the town of Leintwarden, of the ſame your dioceſe.

"UPON Friday being the laſt of the month of June, in the year above ſaid, about ſix of the clock, in the ſaid pariſh church of Bodenhone, hath the ſaid William Swinderby perſonally appeared before us. And he willing to ſatisfy the term to him aſſigned, as before ſpecified, hath read out word by word before all the multitude of faithful chriſtian people, many anſwers made and placed by the ſame William (in a certain paper-book of the ſheet folded into four parts) to the ſaid articles, and the ſame anſwers for ſufficient hath he already to us exhibited, avouching them to be agreeable to the law of Chriſt. Which thing being done, the ſame William (without any more with him) did depart from our preſence, becauſe that we, at the inſtance of certain noble perſonages, had promiſed to the ſame William free acceſs, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibition of thoſe anſwers, and alſo free departing without prefixing of any term, or without citation, or elſe any other offence or harm in body or in goods."

As for the tenor of the ſame anſwers, exhibited unto them by the ſame William, as is before ſpecified; we have hereunto annexed it.

The proteſtation of William Swinderby, with his anſwers to the articles by the promoters laid againſt him to the biſhop of Hereford, taken out of the regiſters.

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Swinderby prieſt unworthy, covenanting and purpoſing wholly with all my heart to be a true chriſtian man, with open confeſſion acknowledging mine own defaults, and unwiſe deeds, making openly this proteſtation, calling God to record here before our worſhipful biſhop John, through the ſufferance of God biſhop of Hereford, with witneſs of all this people; that it is not mine intent any thing to ſay or affirm, to maintain, or to defend, that is contrary to holy writ, againſt the belief of holy church, or that ſhould offend the holy determination of Chriſt's church, or the true ſentences of holy doctors. And if I have here before through mine uncunning been unordered, or by evil counſel been deceived, or any thing ſaid, preached, holden, maintained or taught contrary to the law of God; wholly and fully for that time, for now and ever with full will I revoke it and withdraw it, as every chriſtian man ſhould; praying and beſeeching each chriſtian man, to whom this writing ſhall come, that if I aught err, (as God forbid that I do) or ever erred in any point, contrary to holy writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought ſaid, and all the troths that I have ſaid according with the law of God, that may maintain them, and ſtand by them for life or death, to God's worſhip, as a true chriſtian man ſhould, ſubmitting me meekly to the correction of our biſhop, that here is, or of any other chriſtian man, after Chriſt's laws and holy writ; in will ever ready to be amended; and with this proteſtation I ſay and anſwer to theſe concluſions and articles that here followeth after, the which have been put to me to anſwer to.

The firſt is this, That I William Swinderby, pretending (he ſaith) myſelf a prieſt, was judicially convented of certain articles and concluſions of error, falſe, ſchiſmatic, and hereſy, by me in divers places and times preached (he ſaith) before multitudes of true chriſtian men: and the ſame articles and concluſions by need of law revoked and foreſworn, ſome as hereſies, and ſome as errors and falſe; and ſuch I affirmed and believed them to be; and that none of them from that time forth I ſhould preach, teach, or affirm, openly or privily, nor that I ſhould make no ſermon to the people, nor preach, but by lawful leave aſked and gotten; and if I would preſume in doing or affirming the contrary, then to the ſeverity of the law I ſhould be anſwerable, as by need of the law I ſwore.

To this I ſay, witneſſing that God is in heaven, to my wit and underſtanding, that I never preached, held, nor taught theſe concluſions and articles, the which falſely of friars and of lecherous prieſts were put upon me to the biſhop of Lincoln. For I was ordained by proceſs beforeſaid of their law, by the biſhop and his commiſſaries, ſo as I granted them to bring my purgation of thirteen prieſts of good fame. And ſo I did with a letter and twelve ſeals thereby, from the mayor of Leiceſter, and from true burgeſſes and thirteen men to witneſs with me, as the duke of Lancaſter knew and heard, the earl of Darby, and other many great men that were that time in the town, that I never ſaid them, taught them, nor preached them. But when I ſhould have made my purgation, there ſtood forth five friars or more, though ſome of them never ſaw me before, nor heard me, and three lecherous prieſts openly known, ſome living in their lechery twenty years (men ſayeth) or more, as by their children was openly known. Some of theſe they called denunciations, and ſome were called comprobations, that were there falſely forſworn, they ſuing buſily and crying with many another friar, with great inſtance to give the doom upon me, to burn me, and brought dry wood before, as men told in that town; and theſe

ſleights,

ſleights, and ſwearing, and money giving, as men ſayeth, with favour of the biſhop (by what law I know not, but certainly not by God's law) they ſaid they held me as convicted, and might not have forth my purgation. So as I fully forſook them, and never granted that I ſaid them. Over this they made me ſwear, never to hold them, teach them, nor preach them, privily nor apertly; and that I would go to certain churches to revoke the concluſions that I never ſaid, in ſlander of myſelf, by great inſtance of the friars. And ſo for dread of death, and for fleſhly counſel that I had, I aſſented, and ſo I did. And alſo they made me to ſwear, that I ſhould not preach (by inſtance of the friars) within that dioceſe, without licenſe aſked and granted; and never ſince I did. And now the ſame concluſions have been rehearſed to me again; whether by friars counſel I will not determine, God knows, but in ſlander of me it is; and therefore I will anſwer now (with God's help) to the concluſion. Of the which the firſt is this.

"That men may aſk their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to priſon any man; and that he ſo impriſoning is accurſed."

So I ſaid not: but thus I have ſaid, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before; that whoſo purſues his brother with malice, priſoneth him cruelly for debt without mercy, that fain would pay it if he might, he ſinneth againſt Chriſt's teaching.

The ſecond concluſion, that falſe friars and lecherous prieſts putteth upon me this: "That if the parochians know their curate to be a lecher, incontinent, and an evil man, they ought to withdraw from him tithe, or elſe they be fautors of his ſins."

Thus I ſaid not, but on this wiſe, and yet I ſay with proteſtation put before: that if it be known openly to the people, that parſons or curates come to their benefice by ſimony, and liveth in notorious fornication, and do not their office and duties to their parochians by good enſample of holy life, in true preaching, living and reſidence, keeping away from his cure, occupied in ſecular office; he ought nought to have of the parochians, tithes, nor offerings, nor hemowes, not to hold him for their curate, leſt they be guilty to God of conſent and maintaining of their open ſin.

The third concluſion was this, "That friars and prieſts putteth upon me, that tithes purely be alms: and in caſe that curates be evil men, they may lawfully be given to other men, by temporal lords, and other temporalities be done away from men of the church, actually and openly treſpaſſing."

Thus I ſaid not in theſe terms; but thus I ſay with proteſtation made before: that it was needful and lawful to ſecular lords by way of charity, and power given to him of God, in default of prelates that amend not by God's law, curſed curates that openly miſuſeth the goods of holy church, that be poor mens goods, and cuſtomably againſt the law of God; the which poor men lords be holden to maintain and defend, to take away and withdraw from ſuch curates poor mens goods, the which they wrongfully holdeth in help of the poor, and their own wilful offerings, and their bodily alms deeds, and give them to ſuch that duly ſerve God in the church, and be needy in upbearing of the charge that prelates ſhould do, and do it not. And as to their taking away of temporalities, I ſay thus with proteſtation made before; that it is lawful to kings, princes, dukes and lords of the world, to take away from popes, cardinals, from biſhops and prelates, poſſeſſions in the church, their temporalities, and their alms that they have given them, upon condition that they ſhould ſerve God the better, when they verily ſee that their giving and their taking be contrary to the law of God, to Chriſt's living and his apoſtles; and namely in that, that they take upon them (that ſhould be next followers of Chriſt and his apoſtles in poorneſs and meekneſs) to be ſecular lords, againſt the teaching of Chriſt and St. Peter, Luke 22. And namely, when ſuch temporalities maketh them the more proud, both in heart and in array, than they ſhould be elſe, more in ſtrife and debate againſt peace and charity, and in evil enſample to the world more to be occupied in worldly buſineſs; and draw them from the ſervice of God, from edifying of Chriſt's church, in impoveriſhing and making leſs the power of kings, princes, dukes, and lords, that God hath ſet them in; in wrongful oppreſſion for unmightfulneſs of realms. For Paul ſaith to men of the church (whoſe lore prelates ſhould ſovereignly follow); "Having food and raiment, be therewith content."

The fourth concluſion is this, that friars and prieſts putteth upon me falſely, "That an evil curate curſing his ſoget, for with-holding of tithes, is nought elſe but to take with extortion wickedly and unduly money from them."

Thus ſaid I not: but thus I ſaid, and yet do with proteſtation made before; that an evil curate curſing his parochians, unable to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pity, for his ſingular worldly winning againſt charity, and not for heed of their ſouls, there he is hold by his power reaſonably to help his needy parochians, and doth nought of the goods of the church; wickedly and unduly he with-holds from them that which is due to them by the law of God.

The fifth concluſion is this, that friars and prieſts falſely putteth upon me; "That no man may curſe any man, except he knew him curſed of God; nor the comers with him incur not the ſentence of curſing in any manner."

Thus ſaid I not: but thus I ſaid, and ſay with proteſtation put before; that no man ought to curſe any man but for charity and with charity. And ſurely I ſay, that no wrongful curſing of pope, or any prelate in earth, binds with God; but when they wrongfully and wittingly curſe men, for that men will not do their ſingular will unreaſonable bidding, with highneſs of heart and cruelty (ſtanding patience and charity in them that they curſe wrongfully) he is bleſſed of almighty God, and they themſelves be curſed, Mat. 5.

The ſixth concluſion is this, that friars and prieſts put upon me falſely, "That each prieſt may free him that ſinneth, contrition had; and, notwithſtanding forbiddings of the biſhop, is bound to preach to the people the goſpel.

Thus I ſaid not: but thus I ſaid, and yet ſay, with proteſtation made before; that each true prieſt may counſel ſinful men, that ſhew to him their ſins, after the wit and cunning that God had given him, to turn him from ſin to virtuous life. And as touching preaching of the goſpel, I ſay, that no biſhop ought to lett a true prieſt, that God hath given grace, wit, and cunning, to do that office; for both prieſts and deacons, that God had ordained deacons and prieſts, be bound by power given of God to preach to the people the goſpel; and namely and ſundry popes, biſhops, prelates, and curates; for this is due to the people and parochians, for to have and aſk of them, and they duly and freely ought to do it, Mat. 5. Luke 5.

The ſeventh concluſion is this, that friars and prieſts falſely put upon me; "That a prieſt taking an annual penſion through covenant, in that, he is ſchiſmatic and curſed."

This ſaid I never in theſe terms, but thus I ſaid, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before; that no prieſt ought to ſell by bargaining and covenant his ghoſtly travail, nor his maſſes, nor his prayers, nor God's word, nor hallowings, baptiſm, nor confirming, order giving, for weddings, for ſhrift, for euchariſt, or for anointing; any worldly mens reward to aſk or take for theſe, or for any of theſe, or for any ghoſtly thing, he errs, and doth ſimony.

The eighth concluſion is this, that friars and prieſts putteth unto me falſely, ſaying, that I believe, as myſelf,

ſelf ſays, " That the prieſt being in deadly ſin, if he put him to make Chriſt's body, rather he does idolatry than makes it."

Thus ſaid I not, but thus I ſaid, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before; that what prieſt that puts himſelf preſumptuouſly and unworthily in deadly ſin, wittingly to miniſter and to receive that holy ſacrament, and ſo records it curſedly and damnably, he receives his doom.

The ninth concluſion is this, that friars and prieſts falſely putteth upon me; " That no prieſt enters into any houſe, but evil for to treat the wife, the daughter, or the wench; and therefore they ſaid that I prayed the people, that their huſbands ſhould beware that they ſuffer no prieſt to enter into their houſe."

And if I had ſaid thus, then I had prayed againſt myſelf, for I come oft into mens houſes; but thus I ſaid, and yet I do, praying chriſtian men to beware that they nouriſh nor maintain no lecherous prieſt in their ſins: for there be where (as men well know) they be maintained in many places, continuing homely with their women. And each man there ſay they pay therefore a certain ſum to the biſhops alms.

The tenth concluſion is this, that friars and prieſts putteth upon me falſely, " That a child is not verily baptiſed, if the prieſt that baptiſeth, the godfather or the godmother, be in deadly ſin."

God knows in heaven they ſaid full falſe; but thus I ſaid, and yet I ſay, that the prayers that an evil prieſt prays (living in lechery, or other deadly ſin) over the child, when it ſhall be hallowed, be not acceptable to God as be the prayers of a good prieſt. And the better and clearer the prieſt is, the godfather, and the godmother, the more graciouſly God will hear them, tho' they be not greateſt nor moſt rich in the world.

The eleventh concluſion is this, that friars and prieſts putteth upon me falſely, " That no man living againſt the law of God is a prieſt, however he were ordained prieſt of any biſhop."

Truly this is falſe, for I ſaid never thus in theſe terms; but thus I ſaid, and thus I ſay with a proteſtation put before, that whatever pope, or cardinal, biſhop, or prieſt, or any prelate of the church, comes to his ſtate or dignity by ſimony, and in ſimony occupies that office, and holy church's goods; I ſay, that he is a thief, and that by the doom of God, and comes but to ſteal and kill, John 10. And furthermore I ſay, that what pope, cardinal, biſhop, prelate, or prieſt, in manner of living, or teaching, or laws making contrary to Chriſt's living and his laws, or any other ground put in ruling of the church of Chriſt, but by Chriſt, and his laws, is very antichriſt, adverſary to Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles.

But this worſhipful father, biſhop of Hereford, that here is, ſays thus in his writing; That I William Swinderby, notwithſtanding the foreſaid revocation and abjuration (not ſetting at heart, but from evil to worſe, he ſays, perverted his dioceſe) come running about by divers places; and by mine own folly, he ſays, that I have preſumed to preach many hereſies, errors, blaſphemies, ſchiſms, and other diffames, and to holy canons and determination of holy church contrary and repugnant. Which, where, and when within forth more ſpecially it ſhall be ſhewed, that ye be falſe informed, that I have preſumed in divers places of your dioceſe to preach hereſies, errors, blaſphemies, ſchiſms, and other diffames. And, Sir, all the country knows whether this be ſo, or not; for, Sir, I preſume not, ſince it is the office of a prieſt, by the law of Chriſt, to preach the goſpel; nor nought I did it for preſumption, but for the charge that I have of God by prieſthood (though I be unworthy) and to the worſhip of God, and help of chriſtian ſouls, freely without gathering of her goods for my preaching, if I erred in this, I will be amended. And, Sir, touching your commandment that ye ſent to me, there was ſent none. And, Sir, I made never yet diſobedience unto you, nor to your miniſters; and yet all I had, I owe more obedience to God than to you, in that ye bid contrary to Chriſt's bidding. And, Sir, as ye ſay, that I had no mind of my health, it is too lightly meant; but God forbid, but yet there be health, more than in your bidding; for God knows, for health I did it, of mine and of the people; and that was in my mind. But, Sir, it ſeems to me, that ye charge not by evidence of the puniſhing ſo greatly the breaking of God's commands, as ye do of your own. And, Sir, if it be your will, in default that the people wanted you to teach him (and her curates did not) by the deſire of the people that were hungry and thirſty after God's word, I choſe to bear up others charge, as God's law bids: I preached not for diſobedience to you, but, Sir, in fulfilling of the obedience that God's law bids me do, in excuſing of myſelf to you of that ye blame me of, in open ſhewing to holy church, with the proteſtation that I firſt made, I anſwer thus to the articles that ye have put to me.

The firſt is this, that I William Swinderby the Monday the firſt of Auguſt, the year of our Lord 1390, preaching to the people in the church of Whitney, of your dioceſe, held and affirmed (as ye ſay) " That no prelate of the world, of what ſtate or degree that he be, having cure of ſouls, being in deadly ſin, and hearing confeſſion of his ſuget, does nought in aſſoiling him, nor he aſſoils him not of his ſin; and alſo in amending his ſuget, openly ſinning, and him for his deſerts curſing, his ſentence binds not; but if that prelate be as clean out of deadly ſin as was St. Peter, to whom our Lord gave power of binding and unbinding."

I never thought this, nor ſpake this, nor heard it, to the time that I ſaw it written in your book; and that will witneſs, the lord of the town, that has the ſame ſermon written, and many gentles, and other that heard me that day. But this I ſaid, and thus I ſay with proteſtation put before, that there is no man, pope nor biſhop, prelate nor curate, that binds truly, verily and ghoſtly, but inaſmuch as his binding or unbinding accords with the keys of heaven that God gave to Peter. And as Saint Gregory ſays, that power have they only, that hold together the enſample of the apoſtles, with her teaching.

The ſecond article that is put upon me, is this, that I ſhould have ſaid, preached, and affirmed in many places before many true men of Chriſt, " That, after the ſacramental words ſaid of the prieſt, having intention of conſecration, That in the ſacrament of God's body, is not very God's body."

This ſaid I never, God knows, and true men that have heard me.

The third article is this that our biſhop puts upon me, that I ſhould have ſaid in many places, and affirmed, " That accidents may not be in the ſacrament of the altar, without ſubject, and that material bread leaves not therewith God's body in the ſacrament."

This concluſion I have not holden, nor taught, nor preached, for I have not meddled me of that matter, my wit ſufficeth not thereto. But here I tell my belief with proteſtation put before, that the ſacrament of the altar made by virtue of heavenly words, that Chriſt himſelf ſaid in the ſupper, when he made this ſacrament, that it is bread, and Chriſt's body, ſo as Chriſt himſelf ſays in the goſpel, and Saint Paul ſays, and as doctors in the common law have determined to this ſentence, Mat. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22. 1 Cor. 10 & 11.

The fourth article is this, that our biſhop accuſeth me of, that I ſhould have preached about, and ſaid, " That a prieſt being in deadly ſin may not by the ſtrength of the ſacramental words which make God's body, or other ſacrament of the church, either perform or miniſter them to the members of the ſame."

Thus I never ſaid, thought it, preached it, nor taught it; for well I know, the wickedneſs of a prieſt may impair no very ſacrament; but the wickedneſs of the prieſt impairs himſelf, and all that boldneſs and example of his ſin cauſeth the people to live the worſe againſt God's law.

The fifth article is this, that our biſhop puts unto me; "That all prieſts be of even power in all things, notwithſtanding that ſome of this world be of higher dignity, or more paſſing in highneſs of degree."

Truly, no man would ſay thus, as I ſuppoſe, no more did I, nor never heard it, that I know of; but this I ſay, with proteſtation made before; that what prieſt lives moſt holily, next following the law of God, he is moſt lover of God, and moſt profitable to the church. If men ſpeak of worldly power and lordſhips and worſhips, with other vices that reign therein; what prieſt that deſires and has moſt hereof (in what degree ſoever he be) he is moſt antichriſt of all the prieſts that be in earth.

The ſixth article is this, "That only contrition does away ſin, if a man be truly contrite; and all outward confeſſion by word is ſuperfluous, and not required of need of health."

This concluſion ſaid I never, that I know of. But thus I ſay with proteſtation put before; that very contrition of heart, that is never without charity and grace, does away all ſins before done of that man that is verily contrite. And all true confeſſion made by mouth outward to a wiſe prieſt, and a good, profiteth much to man, and it is needful and helping, that men ſhew their life to ſuch, truſting full to God's mercy, and that he forgives thy ſin.

The ſeventh article is this, that I ſhould ſay, "That lower curates have not here power of binding and looſing by mean of pope and biſhop, but of Chriſt without money. And therefore neither pope nor biſhop may revoke ſuch manner of power for time and place at their will."

Thus I ſaid not, but notwithſtanding it ſeems me thus, that no man ſhould grant any thing after his own will, ghoſtly nor bodily. But every man ſhould be well adviſed, that he ſo grant nothing, but if it be the will of God that he grant it. And it is no doubt that nor God grants [*ſomething here wanting in the original copy*] by mean perſons, as does antichriſt to torment Chriſt's people.

The eighth article that our biſhop puts me to, is this, that I ſhould ſay, "That the pope may not grant in ſuch manner indulgence of years, for there ſhall be ſo many years under the day of doom, as he contained in his bulls, or in the pope's indulgences; whereof it follows, that indulgences be not ſo much worth as they ſeem, and be preached."

This article I ſaid not thus; but I ſay, that the pope may grant indulgences written in his letter of years, ſo far forth, that he may grant them in God's law ſo far to grant, and further not; years may he grant no more than God hath ſet. If indulgence be forgiveneſs of ſin, I know well only God forgives ſin. If it be releaſing of pains in purgatory ordained of God, if God have bidden him releaſe ſo many, or ordained that he ſhould releaſe ſo many, he may then releaſe them. If it be in his own diſpoſing to releaſe whom him likes, and how much, then he may deſtroy purgatory, and let none come there, and releaſe his own pain, as charity knows. So it ſeems he may be likelier to be ſaved, if himſelf liſt. If any go to purgatory, then it ſeems he full fails charity. If bulls be the indulgence that men bring from the court, then be they not ſo much worth as they coſt there; for lightly they might be loſt, drenched or burnt, or a rat might eat them; his indulgence then were loſt. Therefore, Sir, have me excuſed, I know not theſe terms; teach me theſe terms by God's law, and truly I will learn them.

The ninth article is this, that I ſhould have ſaid, "That it is not in the pope's power to grant to any man (doing penance) remiſſion from pain, nor from blame."

Lewd I am, but this article ſaid I not thus lewdly; but thus I ſay, that ſince it is due only to God to give and to grant plenary remiſſion from pains and from blame; that whatever he be, pope or other, that preſumptuouſly miſtakes upon him that power that is only due to God: in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himſelf Chriſt, and blaſphemeth God. Farther I ſay, if the pope hold men of arms, in maintaining his temporalities and lordſhip to revenge him on them that offend him, and gives remiſſion to fight and to ſlay them that oppoſe them, as men ſaid he did by the biſhop of Norwich, not putting his ſword into his ſheath, as God commanded Peter, &c. he is antichriſt; for he does contrary to the commandments of Jeſus, that bade Peter to forgive his brother ſeventy times ſeven.

The tenth article is this, that our biſhop puts to me, that I ſhould have ſaid, "That a man giving his alms to any man (not having need) ſins in ſo giving."

This article truly I ſaid not in theſe terms; but of this matter I have ſpoken, and will with proteſtation made before on this wiſe; that it is needful to give alms to each man that aſketh it bodily or ghoſtly, but not to give it to each ſhameleſs beggar, ſtrong and mighty of body, to get his livelihood lawful, and will not, and in what degree ſoever he be, men ought not to give it to ſuch a one that unreaſonably aſketh, for if he giveth to him wittingly, he ſins as fautor of his idleneſs.

The eleventh article is this, that is put to me, that I ſhould have ſaid, "That it is not in the power of any prelate, of whatever private religion, to grant letters of the good deeds of his order, nor ſuch benefices granted profits not to health of ſouls, to them that they be granted to."

I ſaid never thus in theſe terms; but this I ſay with proteſtation, that prelates of private religion may grant letters of the good deeds of their order; but the ghoſtly reward that comes of good deeds they cannot grant, for that is only proper to God. And if they blind the people in miſbelief for their worldly winning, wittingly beſtowing of their own grant ghoſtly rewards in heaven by their letters and their ſeal (uncertain who ſhall be damned) but make the people bolder to ſin by truſt of their prayers; it is no health to the ſouls, but harm to that one and to that other. For God ſhall yield to each one after his works.

The twelfth article is this that our biſhop puts to me, "That I many times and oft have come (he ſays) to a deſert wood, called Dervalwood of his dioceſe, and there in a chapel, not hallowed, but accurſed ſheep cote, by mine own folly, he ſays, have preſumed to ſing (but rather to curſe) in contempt of the keys."

Hereto I ſay, that it is falſely put upon me of them that told you this. For it is a chapel where a prieſt ſings certain days in the year with great ſolemnity; and true it is, I never ſung therein ſince I was born into this world.

The thirteenth article is this, "That I ſhould alſo preſume to ſing in an unhallowed chapel, that ſtands in the park of Newton, beſides the town of Leintwarden of this ſame dioceſe."

Truly I know not where the place ſtands.

The fourteenth article is this, "That I ſhould ſay, that no man ought to ſwear for any thing, but ſimply without oath to affirm or to deny; and if he ſwear, he ſins."

This article ſaid I not that I have a mind of, in this manner; but oft have I ſaid, and yet will, that men ſhould not ſwear by any creature by the law of God; and that no man ſhould ſwear idly, as well nigh all the people uſeth, and therefore methinks it is no need to comfort the people in ſwearing. For from the old unto the

the young, and namely men of holy church have broken his command, and few biſhops purſue them therefore.

The fifteenth article is this, that I ſhould have taught to true men of Chriſt, "That on no manner they ſhould worſhip the image of him that ſuffered on the croſs, or the image of the bleſſed maid his mother, or of other ſaints into honour and worſhip of the ſame ordained in mind of them. And oft-times the worſhip of ſuch image I have reproved, ſaying and ſtrongly affirming, that churchmen ſin and do idolatary."

This concluſion have I not ſaid in theſe terms; but this I ſay with proteſtation, that God commands in his law in divers places, Exod. 20. Levit. 19 and 26. Deut. 5 and 7. Tobiæ 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad Corin. 10: Eſay 45. Jer. 2, 6, 8, and 10, 22. & ultimo Sapient. 13, and 14, and 15. Mac. 2. & Threnorum 4. & poſtremo; that men ſhould not worſhip graven images that be works of mens hands; and alſo he bids, that men ſhould not make to them graven images in likeneſs of the things that be in heaven, to that end to worſhip them; ſince neither God nor Chriſt by his manhood, gave never commandment to make theſe images, nor expreſs counſel, nor his apoſtles in all his law, nor to worſhip ſuch that be made. But well I know, that by mens own relation, that have miſbelieved in them, that many men ſinneth in maumetry, worſhipping ſuch dead images: notwithſtanding, to thoſe men be images good to whom they have been but kalenders, and through the ſight of them they know the better and worſhip of God and his ſaints. And to ſuch men they do harm that ſet their hope and truſt in them, or do any worſhip to them againſt God's law and his command.

Theſe concluſions, points and articles that I have under proteſtation, in this book affirmed, I will ſtand by them and maintain them (with the grace of almighty God) to the time that the contrary be proved duly by God's law: and this proteſtation I make for my faith and my belief as I did at the beginning; that whenſoever this worſhipful or any other chriſtian man ſhews me verily by God's law the contrary of this, I will wholly forſake them, and take me the very truth and better underſtanding of wiſer men, ready to be amended by the law of Jeſus Chriſt, and be a true chriſtian man, and a faithful ſon of holy church; and of theſe I beſeech you all bear witneſs where ye come.

The Citation.

"JOHN by God's permiſſion biſhop of Hereford, to his dear ſons our dean of Leamſter, to the parſons of Croft, Almady and Whitney, and alſo to the vicars of Lingſton, Laderſley, Wiggemore and Monmouth Clifford, and of St. John's altar in our cathedral church of Hereford, and to the reſt of the deans, parſons, vicars, chaplains, pariſh prieſts, and to other, whoſoever in any place are appointed through our city and dioceſe of Hereford, ſendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

We bid and command, charging you ſtraitly, in the virtue of holy obedience, that you cite or cauſe to be cited peremptorily (and under the pain of excommunication) William Swinderby, pretending himſelf to be a prieſt; that he appear before us, or our commiſſaries, the 20th day of this preſent month of July, at North Lodebury, within our dioceſe, with the continuance of the days following in other places alſo to be aſſigned unto him, if it be expedient, till ſuch things as have been, and ſhall be laid againſt him, be fully diſcuſſed, to anſwer more at large to certain poſitions and articles, touching the catholic faith, and the holy mother church's determination, that have been exhibited and miniſtered unto the ſaid William. And to ſee and hear alſo many things that have openly in judgment before us, and a great number of faithful chriſtians, by him been even in writing confeſſed, to be condemned as heretical, falſe, ſchiſmatical and erroneous. And to ſee and hear poſitions and articles denied by the ſaid William, to be proved by faithful witneſſes, and other lawful trials againſt the ſaid William. And to receive for his falſe, heretical erroneous and ſchiſmatical doctrine, that juſtice ſhall appoint, or elſe ſhew cauſes why the premiſes ſhould not be done.

And if the ſaid William lieth privily, or elſe cannot be ſo cited in his proper perſon; we will, that in your churches, when moſt people ſhall then come together to divine ſervice, you openly with a loud voice, and that may be underſtood, cauſe the ſaid William peremptorily to be cited unto the premiſes, certifying the ſame William, that whether he ſhall appear the day and place appointed or no, we notwithſtanding will proceed unto the premiſes againſt the ſaid William, according to the canonical decrees by form of law, in the abſence or contumacy of the ſaid William notwitſtanding. We will moreover, if the ſaid William ſhall appear at the ſaid day and place, as is aforeſaid, before us, friendly hear him, and honeſtly, and favourably, as far as we may with God's leave, deal with him; granting free licence to come and to go for his natural liberty without any hurt either in body or goods. And ſee that you fully certify us of the things that you or any of you ſhall do about the execution of this our commandment, and that by your letters patents ſigned with your ſeal authentical, giving alſo faithfully to the ſaid William, or to his lawful proctor, if he require it, a copy of this our preſent commandment.

Given at our houſe of Whithorne under our ſeal the fifth day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1391."

On Thurſday the 20th of July, in the year of our Lord aforeſaid, We in the pariſh church of North Lodebury aforeſaid, about ſix o'clock ſitting in judgment, after that it was reported unto us, how the foreſaid William was perſonally taken and lawfully cited; cauſed the ſame William then and there openly in judgment to be called out, to do, hear and receive ſuch things, whereto he was afore cited, and to do otherwiſe that which juſtice ſhould perſuade. And the ſaid William appeared neither by himſelf, nor by proctor; but only by a ſervant (whoſe name we know not) he ſent a certain ſchedule of paper, made like an indenture unto us, to excuſe him. After which ſchedule, ſeen, read, and with great deliberation weighed, and in any wiſe notwithſtanding, we adjudge the ſaid William (after he was often called, and long, even to the due hour tarried for, and by no means appearing) worthily obſtinate; and for his obſtinacy, and for his ſtubbornneſs, we aſſigned unto him the 29th day of July, in the church of Ponſley, to appear before us with the foreſaid ſafeguard, to anſwer more fully to ſuch articles, and otherwiſe to hear, receive and do, as before is noted.

The ſaid William not appearing the ſaid 29th of July, we appointed the 8th of Auguſt, then next following, at Cleobury Mortemere of the ſame our dioceſe, unto the ſaid William for the ſame thing,

But the ſaid William not then appearing, we aſſigned him the ſixteenth day of the ſame month of Auguſt next following, in the pariſh of Withorne of the ſame our dioceſe, to bring forth, or to ſee brought forth, all laws, muniments, and other kinds of proofs, and to ſee all witneſſes brought forth, admitted and ſworn, by whom and which things we intend to prove the foreſaid articles, or at leaſtwiſe ſome of the ſame.

Upon Wedneſday the 16th day of the month of Auguſt the year aforeſaid, We John the biſhop in the pariſh church of Withorn aforeſaid of our dioceſe, ſitting in Judgment, cauſed the ſaid William Swinderby oftentimes to be called, who (as is aforeſaid) appeared not at all; whom, after that he had ſo called, proclaimed, and long looked for, and yet by no means appeared, we pronounced

nounced to be obſtinate. We received alſo by certain faithful chriſtians, and zealous men for the catholic faith of our dioceſe, a certain proceſs made, and had at another time againſt the ſame William, before the reverend father in God and lord, lord John by the grace of God biſhop of Lincoln, confirmed by the hanging on of the ſeal of the ſame reverend father the lord biſhop of Lincoln. The tenor whereof word for word is contained before. And theſe faithful chriſtians moreover againſt the obſtinateneſs of the ſaid William Swinderby brought forth diſcreet men, Mr. Wm. Leviet, parſon of the pariſh church of Kyverſly, and alſo Edmund Waterdon, pariſh chaplain of the pariſh of N. and Roger Newton, and Hugh Sheppert, laymen of the dioceſe of Lincoln, aſking inſtantly that they might be received for witneſſes, to prove ſome of the foreſaid articles, whom againſt the obſtinateneſs of the ſaid William Swinderby, we thought good to receive and did receive, and their oaths on the holy goſpels of God, being laid hands on corporally in our hand: and did diligently examine them in proper perſon ſeverally in form of law; whoſe ſayings and depoſitions are afterward brought in, and at the inſtance of the ſame faithful chriſtians, we aſſigned the ſecond day of September then next following, to the ſaid William Swinderby, to ſay and alledge againſt the ſaid proceſs, witneſſes, and their ſayings, in the ſaid church of Withorn; decreeing that a copy ſhould be made for him of theſe things that were brought forth, and of the depoſitions of the witneſſes. [Here we fail in our copy, till the regiſter come to our hand again] by the door, but wendeth upon another half, he is a night thief, and a day thief. And there he telleth, how he that flieth from the flock, is not the ſhepherd, but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the ſheep.

To the ſecond concluſion that he ſay is error or hereſy, that touching taking away of the temporalities and of lordſhips of prieſts that be evil livers.

I ſay, me ſeemeth that the concluſion is true, and is this, that it were needful and lawful to ſecular lords by way of charity, and by power given to them of God, in default of prelates that amend nought by God's law; curſed curates that openly miſuſe the goods of the holy church, that be poor mens goods; and cuſtomably againſt the law of God (the which poor men, lords be holden to maintain and defend), to take away, and to draw from ſuch curates, poor mens goods in help of the poor, and their own wilful offerings, and their bodily alms deeds, of worldly goods, and give them to ſuch as duly ſerve God in the church, and be ready in upbearing of the charge that prelates ſhould do, and do it not. And as concerning taking away of temporalities, I ſay thus, that it is lawful to kings, to princes, to dukes, and to lords of the world, to take away from popes, from cardinals, from biſhops, prelates, and poſſeſſioners in the church, their temporalities and their alms, that they have given them upon condition that they ſhould ſerve God the better; when they verily ſee that their giving and taking be contrary to the law of God, contrary to Chriſt's living, and his apoſtles; and namely, in that they take upon them, that they ſhould be next followers of Chriſt and his apoſtles, in poorneſs and meekneſs, to be ſecular lords againſt the teaching of Chriſt and St. Peter. Truly me ſeemeth, that all chriſtian men, and namely prieſts, ſhould take care that their doing were according to the law of God, either the old law, or the new. The prieſts of the old law were forbidden to have lordſhips among their brethren; for God ſaid, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Chriſt, that was the higheſt prieſt of the New Teſtament, forſook worldly lordſhip, and was here in form of a ſervant, and forbade his prieſt ſuch lordſhips, and ſaid, "The kings of the heathen bear dominion and rule, &c. but you ſhall no do ſo." And and as St. Peter ſaith, "Not bearing rule and dominion of the clergy," &c. So it ſeemeth me, that it is againſt both laws of God, that they have ſuch lordſhips, and that their title to ſuch lordſhips is not full good. And ſo it ſeemeth me, that if there have been thereto of evil living, it is no great peril to take away from them ſuch lordſhips, but rather needful, if the taking away were in charity, and not for ſingular covetouſneſs, nor wrath. And I ſuppoſe, that if friars that be bounden to their founders to live in poverty, would break their rule and take worldly lordſhips; might not men lawfully take from them ſuch lordſhips, and make them to live in poverty as their rule would? And forſooth, it ſeemeth me, that prieſts ought alſo to keep Chriſt's rule, as friars ought to keep the rule of their founder. Jeremy witneſſeth, how God commended Rechab's children, for that they would not break their father's bidding in drinking of wine; and yet Jeremy proffered them wine to drink. And ſo I trow, that God would commend his prieſts, if they would forſake worldly lordſhips, and hold them apayed with lifelot, and with clothing, and buſy them faſt about their heritage of heaven. And God ſaith, Numb. 18. "You ſhall have no inheritance in the land, nor have no part amongſt them; I will be your part and inheritance amongſt the children of Iſrael," &c. Deut. 18. "The prieſts and levites, and all that be of the ſame tribe, ſhall have no part nor inheritance with the reſt of Iſrael, becauſe they ſhall eat of the ſacrifices of the Lord, and his oblations, and they ſhall take nothing from the poſſeſſion of their brethren. The Lord himſelf is their poſſeſſion, as he ſpake unto them." And the 14th chapter of Luke, "Even ſo every one of you, which forſaketh not all that he poſſeſſeth, cannot be my diſciple." And Jerom in his 14th epiſtle hath the like words. And Bernard in his 20th book to Eugenius the pope. And alſo Hugo De Sacramentis, the ſecond part of his ſecond book, the 7th chapter. And alſo in the 12th q. firſt chapter, Duo ſunt, and in the chapter Clericus. And again Bernard in Sermone de Apoſtolis, upon this place, "Behold we leave all," &c. Chryſoſtom upon the goſpel of St. Matthew," &c.

The third concluſion toucheth the matter of preaching of prieſt, without leave of biſhops, and is this, "That ſuch prieſts may counſel ſinful men, that ſhew to them their ſins, after the wit and cunning that God hath given, to turn them from ſin to virtuous life."

As touching preaching of the goſpel, I ſay that no biſhop ought to lett a true prieſt, that God hath given grace, wit, and cunning, to do that office. For both prieſts and deacons, that God hath ordained deacons or prieſts, be holden, by power given to them of God, to preach to the people the goſpel, and namely and ſovereignly, popes, biſhops prelates and curates; for this is due to the people and the pariſhioners, to have it and aſk it. And hereto ſeemeth me, that Chriſt ſaid generally to his diſciples; "Go and preach the goſpel to all creatures," as well as he ſaid, "Go and baptize all nations;" and alſo as well belongeth preaching to prieſts, without leave of a biſhop, as doth baptizing; and then why may he not preach God's word without a biſhop's leave? And ſince Chriſt bid his prieſts preach, who ſhould forbid them preach? The apoſtles were forbidden of a biſhop at Jeruſalem, to ſpeak more of the name of Jeſus, but Peter ſaid, "Whether it be juſt in the ſight of God, to hear and obey you before the Lord, be yourſelves judges." A biſhop may not lett a prieſt of giving bodily alms in his dioceſe; much more may he not lett the doing of ſpiritual alms in his dioceſe by God's law. A prieſt may ſay his mattins without the biſhop's leave; for the pope, that is above the biſhop, hath charged prieſts therewith: and me thinketh, that Chriſt's bidding ſhould be all ſo much of charge as the pope's, Mat. 10. "Go you forth and preach." And again, "Behold I ſend you," &c. Mark 16. "Go you into all the world," &c. and Luke 10. And Beda upon this place, "The harveſt is great." Alſo Iſidorus, De

ſummo

ſummo bono, cap. 44. And Gregorius, in the canon dict. 43. Præconis quippe officium ſuſcipit, &c. And Chryſoſtom in his 34th diſtinction, Nolite timere. And Auguſtine in his 34th diſtinction, cap. Quiſquis. And Gregorius in his Paſtoral, cap. 59. Qui enim eſt. And Chryſoſtom in his 31ſt homily, Et in Toletano Concilio, Ignorantia. And Auguſtine in the Prologue of his ſermons. And Hierom in the 95th diſtinct. Ecce ego. And Auguſtine upon this place, Homo quidam peregrinus, a certain traveller, &c.

The fourth concluſion toucheth the ſacrament of the altar, and is this.

The whole I believe that the ſacrament of the altar, made by virtue of heavenly words, is bread, and Chriſt's body; ſo as Chriſt himſelf ſaith in the goſpel, and as St. Paul ſaith, and as doctors in the common law have determined; to this ſentence. John 6. "Moſes hath not given you bread from heaven, but my father will give you bread from heaven." He is the true bread that came down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world. "My Father giveth unto you bread indeed;" the very true bread of God is that which came down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world. "I am the bread of life; The bread which I will give is my fleſh." And in the canon of the maſs, "The holy bread of life;" And Corinthians the tenth chapter and firſt epiſtle, "The bread which we break, is it not the communicating of the body of the Lord? Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of that bread," &c. And canon De conſecratione, diſtinct. 2. under the authority of Hilarius the pope, Corpus Chriſti quod ſumitur de altari, &c. And Auguſtine in the foreſaid diſtinct. "That which is ſeen is bread, &c. That which faith requireth, is bread, and is the body of Chriſt." And in the foreſaid diſtinction, cap. Omnia quæcunque, &c. By theſe two ſentences it is manifeſtly declared, that that bread and this be not two, but one bread and one fleſh. Note the words, for that he ſaith, the bread and fleſh. And the author De divinis officiis, and alſo Auguſtine in his book De remediis pœnitentiæ; Why prepareſt thou thy teeth, &c.? And Ambroſe De Sacramentis, de conſecratione, diſt. 2. Revera mirabile eſt, &c. "This meat which you receive, and this bread of one which deſcended from heaven, doth miniſter the ſubſtance of eternal life, and whoſoever ſhall eat the ſame bread, ſhall not die everlaſtingly, and is the body of Chriſt. Note how he ſaith, "and is the body of Chriſt."

The fifth article telleth of forgiveneſs of ſins, and is this: That very contrition, without charity and grace, do away all ſins before done of that man that is verily contrite; and all true confeſſion made by mouth outwardly to a wiſe prieſt and a good, profiteth much to a man; and it is needful and helping, that men ſhew their life to ſuch, truſting fully to God's mercy, that he forgiveth the ſin.

And hereto I ſay, that there be two remiſſion of ſins; one that belongeth only to God, and that remiſſion is the cleanſing of the ſoul from ſin: and the other remiſſion, a certifying that one man certifieth another, that his ſins be forgiven of God, if he be ſorry with all his heart for them, and is in full will to leave them for ever; and this manner of forgiveneſs belongeth to prieſts. Of the firſt manner of forgiveneſs David ſaith, "And I ſaid, I will confeſs my righteouſneſs unto the Lord, and thou forgaveſt me my miſdeed." And Zechary ſaith, "And thou, O child, ſhalt be called the prophet of the Higheſt, &c. to give knowledge of ſalvation unto his people for the remiſſion of their ſins, by the bowels of God's mercy." And John Baptiſt, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world." And St. John the evangeliſt ſaith in his epiſtle, "If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive our ſins, and cleanſe us from all our iniquity." And it followeth, "If any man ſin, we have an advocate with the Father, even Jeſus Chriſt, and he it is that is the propitiation for our ſins. And of the other remiſſion of ſins, Chriſt ſpeaketh in the goſpel, and ſaith, "Whoſe ſins ye forgive, they ſhall be forgiven." A man's forgiveneſs availeth little, except God forgive our ſins through his grace.

The ſixth concluſion toucheth indulgences and pardons that the pope granteth in his bulls; and men call it an abſolution A pœna & culpa.

Of this manner of ſpeech I cannot find in the goſpel, nor in no place of holy writ, neither have I read that Chriſt uſed this manner of remiſſion, nor none of his apoſtles. But as me ſeemeth, if the pope had ſuch a power, ſince the pains after a man's death be much greater than any bodily pains of the world; me thinketh he ſhould of charity keep men out of ſuch pains, and then men needed not to find ſo many vicious prieſts after their life, to bring their ſouls out of purgatory. Another thing me thinketh, that ſince the pope's power may not keep us in this world from bodily pains, as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from ſorrow, and other ſuch pains, how ſhould his power help us from ſpiritual pains, when we be dead? But for that no man cometh after his death to tell us the truth of what pain they be, men may tell thereof what he pleaſeth. St. John ſaith in his Apocalypſe, that he ſaw under the altar the ſouls of them that were ſlain for the word of God, and for the teſtimony which they had. And they did cry with a loud voice, ſaying, "How long, Lord, holy and true, doſt thou not revenge the blood of them which dwell on the earth?" And white ſtoles were given to every of them to reſt a while, till the number of their fellow ſervants and brethren ſhould be fulfilled, which alſo remained to be ſlain as they were, &c. Here ſeemeth it, that theſe ſouls were not aſſoiled A pœna, that is, from pain; for their deſires are not fulfilled. And they were bidden abide a while, and that is pain. And if martyrs were not aſſoiled from pain, it is hard for any man to ſay, that he aſſoileth other men A pœna. Alſo good men's ſouls have not but ſpiritual bliſs, and they want bodily bliſs, until their reſurrection in the day of doom. And after they deſired to have that bliſs, and abide it, and that is pain to them. And I cannot ſee that the pope hath power to bring him from this pain. But if any man can ſhew me, that he hath ſuch a power granted in the troth of holy writ, I will gladly believe it.

The ſeventh point ſpeaketh of the pope, and is this: Since it is only due to God, as I have ſaid before, to give and to grant plenary remiſſion from pain, and from blame; that whatſoever be he, pope or other, that preſumptuouſly taketh upon him the power that is only due to God, in that, inaſmuch as in him is, he maketh himſelf even with Chriſt, and blaſphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he ſaid, "I will aſcend, and be like the Higheſt," &c.

For that I ſay, if the pope hold men of arms in maintaining his temporal lordſhip, to avenge him on them that glitten and offend him, and giveth remiſſion to fight and to ſlay them that contradict him, as men ſaid he did by the biſhop of Norwich not putting his ſword in his ſheath, as God commanded to Peter, he is antichriſt. For he doth the contrary of the commandment of Jeſus Chriſt, that bade Peter forgive to his brother ſeventy times ſeven. Well I find in the goſpel, that when Chriſt ſent his diſciples to Samaria, the Samaritans would not receive them. And ſome of them bid Chriſt, that he ſhould make fire come down from heaven to deſtroy the city. And he blamed them, and ſaid, "Ye know not of what ſpirit ye are; The Son of Man is not come to deſtroy, but to ſave the lives and ſouls of men," &c. If Chriſt then came to ſave men, and not to ſlay them: whoſo that doth the reverſe hereof, is againſt Chriſt, and then he is antichriſt. Chriſt bade Peter put his ſword into his ſheath, and ſaid, "All that take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword." And I cannot find that Peter drew out his ſword after that time, but ſuffered, as Chriſt ſaid, "When thou ſhalt wax old, another ſhall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wilt not." And therefore ſaid Peter, "Chriſt ſuffered for us, leaving an ex-

ample that we ſhould follow his ſteps." And Paul ſaith, "Not defending yourſelves, but give place to anger, leaving revenging to me, and I ſhall reward them," &c. And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that it is much againſt Chriſt's doctrine, that his vicar ſhould be a fighter; ſince that he muſt be a ſhepherd, that ſhould go before his ſheep, and let them come after him, and not with ſwords to drive them away from him. For as Chriſt ſaith, "A good ſhepherd ſhall lay down his life for his ſheep." And if that Chriſt had two ſwords, when that he was taken of the Jews, he ſaid himſelf it was that the ſcriptures might be fulfilled, "He was reputed among the wicked;" and not to figure two ſwords that men ſay the pope hath to govern the church. And when I ſee ſuch doings of the pope, and many other that accord not with Chriſt's doctrine, nor his living; and when I read divers ſcriptures of holy writ, I doubt whether they ſhould be underſtood of him, or of any other. And I pray you for God's love tell me the truth. Chriſt ſaith, "Many ſhall come in my name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and ſhall ſeduce many," &c. Chriſt (I know well) is as much as to ſay, he that is anointed; and two anointings there were in the law, one of kings, another of prieſts. And Chriſt was both king and prieſt, and ſo the pope ſaith that he is. And if all that have been emperors of Rome, and other heathen kings, have been antichriſts, they came not in Chriſt's name. But whoſo cometh in Chriſt's name, and feigneth himſelf Chriſt's friend, and he be privily his enemy, he may lightly beguile many. St. Paul ſaith, Before there cometh a defection firſt, and the ſon of perdition ſhall be revealed, which is the adverſary, and is extolled above all that is named God, or which is worſhipped; ſo that he ſhall ſit in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelf as God. And it followeth in the ſame place; And now ye know what holdeth till he be revealed in his time, for he worketh already the myſtery of iniquity. Only he that holdeth, let him hold till he come abroad, and then that wicked one ſhall be revealed, whom the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſlay with the ſpirit of his mouth, &c. And St. John ſaith in the Apocalypſe, "I ſaw another beaſt aſcending out of the earth, having two horns like to the lamb. He ſpake like the dragon, and had the power of the firſt beaſt." Many ſuch authorities aſtoniſhed me oft-times; and therefore I pray you, for the love of God, to tell me what they mean.

The Sentence.

THE which ſchedule aforementioned, with the contents thereof diligently of us peruſed, we conſidering that diſeaſes, which be not eaſily cured with gentle remedy, muſt have harder plaiſters: conſidering moreover, theſe his articles, with his anſwers to the ſame, and to other articles alſo, laſtly, againſt him produced; firſt, mature deliberation had before upon the whole matter, with the forefaid maſters and doctors, as well ſecular as regular, to a great number, obſerving in the ſame all things to be obſerved in this behalf, have given ſentence againſt the ſaid William in form as followeth.

The name of Chriſt being invocated, we John, by the permiſſion of God biſhop of Hereford, ſitting in the tribunal ſeat, having God before our eyes, weighing and conſidering the articles of the foreſaid faithful chriſtians, put up againſt the ſaid Swinderby, pretending himſelf to be prieſt, with his anſwers upon the ſame, Actis & Actatis, before us in the cauſe of heretical perverſity, with mature deliberation had before in this behalf, with maſters and doctors of divinity, and alſo of other faculties, with their counſel and conſent, do pronounce, decree, and declare, the ſaid William to have been, and to be an heretic, ſchiſmatic, and a falſe informer of the people, and ſuch as is to be avoided by faithful chriſtians. Wherefore we admoniſh, under the pain of the law, all and ſingular chriſtians, of what ſex, ſtate, condition or preheminence ſoever, that neither they, nor any of them within our dioceſe, or any other, do believe, receive, defend or favour the ſaid William, till he ſhall deſerve fully to be reconciled to the boſom again of holy church.

An appeal of William Swinderby, from this ſentence of the biſhop prefixed, unto the king and his council.

IN nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. I William Swinderby, prieſt, acknowledge openly to all men, that I was before the biſhop of Hereford the 3d day of October, and before many other good clerks, to anſwer to certain concluſions of the faith that I was accuſed of.

And mine anſwer was this, That if the biſhop or any man could ſhew me by God's law, that my concluſions or my anſwers were error or hereſy, I would be amended, and openly revoke them before all the people [*Something here wanting in the original copy*] knows in any of my concluſions, but ſaid ſingly with ſword, that there was errors in them, and bid me ſubject me to the biſhop, and put me into his grace, and revoke mine error, and ſhewed me nought by God's law nor reaſon, nor proved which they were. And for I would not acknowledge me guilty, ſo as I knew no error in them, of which I ſhould be guilty, therefore the biſhop ſat in doom in mine abſence, and deemed me an heretic, a ſchiſmatic, and a teacher of errors, and denounced me accurſed, that I come not to correction of the church, and therefore for this unrightful judgment I appeal to the king's juſtices for many other cauſes.

One cauſe is, for the king's court in ſuch matter is above the biſhop's court; for after that the biſhop has accurſed, he may not fear by his law, but then might he ſeek ſuccour of the king's law, and by a writ of Significavit put a man in priſon.

The ſecond cauſe is, for in cauſe of hereſy there lieth judgment of death, and that doom may not be given without the king's juſtices. For the biſhop will ſay, It is not lawful for us to kill any man, as they ſaid to Pilate when Chriſt ſhould be doomed. And for I think that no juſtice will give ſuddenly an untrue doom, as the biſhop did, and therefore openly I appeal to them, and ſend my concluſions to the knights of the parliament, to be ſhewn to the lords, and to be taken to the juſtices, to be well adviſed ere they give doom.

The third cauſe is, for it was a falſe doom; for no man is an heretic, but he that maſterly defends his error or hereſy, and ſtiffly maintains it. And mine anſwer has been always conditional, as the people openly knows, for ever I ſay, and yet ſay, and always will: "That if they can ſhew me by God's law that I have erred, I will gladly be amended, and revoke mine errors, and ſo I am no heretic, nor never more in God's grace will be in no wiſe."

The fourth cauſe is, for the biſhop's law, that they doom men by, is full of errors and hereſies, contrary to the truth of Chriſt's law of the goſpel.

For there, as Chriſt's law bids us love our enemies, the pope's law gives us leave to hate them, and to ſlay them, and grant men pardon to war againſt heathen men, and ſlay them. And whereas Chriſt's law teaches us to be merciful, the biſhops law teaches us to be wretchful.

Whereas Chriſt's law teaches us to bleſs him that curſeth us, and to pray for him; the pope's law teacheth us to curſe them, and in their great ſentence that they uſe they preſume to damn them to hell that they curſe. And this is a foul hereſy of blaſphemy; whereas Chriſt's law bids us be patient, the pope's law juſtifies two ſwords, wherewith he ſmiteth the ſheep of the church. And he has made lords and knights to ſwear to defend him and his church.

Whereas Chriſt's law forbiddeth us lechery, the pope's law

law justifies the abominable whoredom of common women, and the bishops in some places have a great tribute or rent of whoredom.

Whereas Christ's law bids to minister spiritual things freely to the people; the pope with his law sells for money, after the quantity of the gift, pardons, orders, blessings and sacraments, and prayers and benefices, and preaching to the people, as it is known amongst them.

Whereas Christ's law teaches peace; the pope with his law frees men for money to gather the people, priest, and other to fight for his cause

Whereas Christ's law forbids swearing; the pope's law justifieth swearing, and compels men thereto.

Whereas Christ's law teacheth his priests to be poor; the pope with his law justifies and maintains priests to be lords.

And yet the fifth cause is, for the pope's law, that bishops judge men by, is the same unrightful law that Christ was condemned by of the bishops, with the scribes and with the pharisees. For right as at that time they gave more credit to the two false witnesses that witnessed against Christ, than they did to all the people that witnessed to his true preaching and his miracles; so the bishops and the pope's law give more even by their law to two heretics and apostates, or two common women that would witness against a man in the cause of heresy, than two thousand people that were true and good. And for that the pope is this antichrist, and his law contrary to Christ's law, fully I forsake his law, and so I advise all christian men. For thus by another point of this law they might conquer much of this world: for when they can by this law present a man an heretic, his goods shall be taken from him and from his heirs, and so might they lightly have two or three false witnesses to record an heresy against what true men they pleased. Therefore methinks, that as I am a christian man, I may lawfully appeal from a false doom of the law, to be righteously adjudged by the truth of God's law. And if this appeal will not serve, I will appeal only to my Lord Jesus Christ that shall judge all the world, for he, I know well, will not spare for no man to judge a truth. And therefore I pray God Almighty with David in the psalter-book, "O God, give thy judgment unto the king, and thy justice to the king's sons, to judge thy people in justice, and thy poor ones in judgment," &c.

Of this process, answers, and condemnation of this worthy priest, and true servant of Christ, William Swinderby, you have heard. What afterwards became of him I have not certainly to say or affirm; whether he in prison died, or whether he escaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certain relation made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the life of king Richard the second no great harm was done unto him; which was in the year 1401, at what time king Richard being wrongfully deposed, Henry the fourth invaded the kingdom of England. About the beginning of whose reign we read of a certain parliament holden at London, mentioned also of Thomas Walden (as is above specified), in which parliament it was decreed; That whosoever shewed themselves to be favourers of Wickliff, who at that time were called Lollards, they would be apprehended, and if so be they did obstinately persevere in that doctrine, they should be delivered over unto the bishop of the diocese, and from him should be committed unto the secular magistrates. This law (saith the story) brought a certain priest unto punishment the same year, who was burned in Smithfield in the presence of a great number. This have we drawn out of a piece of an old story: and it is most certain that such a priest was burned for the affirmation of the true faith; but it doth not appear by the story what the Priest's name was. Notwithstanding by divers conjectures it appeareth unto me that his name was Swinderby, that was forced to recant before the bishop of Lincoln. Whereby what is to be conjectured by the premises, let other men judge what they think, I have nothing hereof expressly to affirm. This is plain for all men to judge (which have here seen and read his story) that if he were burned, then the bishops, friars, and priests, which were the causes thereof, have a great thing to answer to the Lord, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

The Story and Process against Walter Brute.

AFTER the story of William Swinderby, I thought good and convenienr next to adjoin the acts and doings of Walter Brute, his joint fellow and companion, being a lay-man, and learned: brought up at it seemeth in the university of Oxford, being there also graduate. The tractation of whose discourse, as it is something long: so therein may appear divers things worthy to be read and considered,

First, the mighty operation of God's Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modest simplicity, his valiant constancy, his learned tractations, and manifold conflicts sustained against God's enemies. On the contrary part, in his adversaries may appear might against right, man's authority against plain verity; against which they having nothing directly to answer, proceed in condemnation against whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefest occasion that seemed to stir up the heart and zeal of this Walter against the pope, was the impudent pardon and indulgences of pope Urban, granted to Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, to fight against pope Clement. Secondly, the wrongful condemnation of the articles and conclusions of William Swinderby; the whole order whereof in the process here following more plainly may appear.

The Process had by John, Bishop of Hereford, against Walter Brute, a Lay-man and learned, of the Diocese of Hereford, touching the Cause of Heresy, as they called it, set forward by the way of the Bishop's Office, &c. at the Instruction of certain faithful Christians, as he termed them, but indeed cruel and false Promoters.

IN the name of God, Amen. To all manner of faithful christian people, that shall see and hear this our present process, John by the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, sendeth greeting and continual charity in the Lord. We would that you all should know that of late by many faithful christian people, and specially zealous followers of the catholic faith, it was lamentably given us to understand by way of complaint, that a certain son of ours going out of kind, named Walter Brute, a lay person, learned, of our diocese, hath under a cloked shew of holiness damnably seduced the people; and, setting behind him the fear of God, doth seduce them as much as he can, from day to day, informing and teaching openly and privily as well the nobles as the commons, in certain conclusions heretical, schismatical, and erroneous, and also heretofore condemned. And they have also exhibited against the same Walter articles under-written, in manner and form as followeth.

Articles exhibited and denounced by the Bishop, against Walter Brute.

REverend father and lord, we the faithful people of Christ, and zealous lovers of the catholic faith, and also your humble and devout children, do minister and exhibit to your reverend fatherhood the articles under-written, touching the catholic faith, contrary and against malicious persons, and detractors of the same faith, and

the determinations of holy mother church, and namely, againſt the child of Belial, one Walter Brute, a falſe teacher and ſeducer amongſt the people: humbly beſeeching, that you would vouchſafe to have regard to the correction of the enormities under-written, according unto the canonical conſtitutions, even as to your office paſtoral doth lie and belong.

Imprimis, We do give and exhibit, and intend to prove, that the ſame Walter Brute, being unmindful of his ſalvation, hath been by many and divers faithful chriſtian people ſundry times accuſed of the curſedneſs of hereſy; as by the ſwift report, ſlander, and rumour of the people, proceeding before the moſt reverend father and lord, lord William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and alſo before the reverend father and lord, lord John, late biſhop of Hereford, your predeceſſor, and now biſhop of St. Aſaph, hath been teſtified, and alſo hath been many divers times cited to anſwer unto articles by him againſt the catholic faith avouched, and openly and publicly taught. But he in this matter of heretical curſedneſs (ſo grievouſly and ſhamefully ſpoken of) hath never regarded to purge his innocence; but lurkingly, and running into corners, hath many and ſundry years laboured to advance things erroneous and ſchiſmatical, and alſo hereſies, and to imprint them in the hearts of faithful people.

Item, The foreſaid Walter Brute hath openly, publicly, and notoriouſly avouched; and commonly ſaith and taught, and ſtubbornly affirmed; that every chriſtian man (yea and woman) being without ſin, may make the body of Chriſt ſo well as the prieſt.

Item, The ſame Walter hath notoriouſly, openly, and publicly avouched and taught, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is not the very body, but a ſign and a memorial only.

Item, The foreſaid Walter hath ſaid commonly, and avouched, and alſo hath laboured to inform men and companies, that no man is bound to give tithes nor oblations; and if any man will needs give, he may give his tithes and oblations to whom he will, excluding thereby their curates.

Item, That ſuch as do preach and prefer croiſed matters and pardons (granted by the high biſhop to them that helped the purpoſe of the reverend father lord Henry, by the grace of God biſhop of Norwich, when as he took his journey upon him to fight for the holy father the pope), are ſchiſmatics and heretics, and that the pope cannot grant ſuch manner of pardons.

Item, The ſaid Walter hath oftentimes ſaid, and commonly avouched, that the pope is antichriſt, and a ſeducer of the people, and utterly againſt the law and life of Chriſt.

Item, Whereas of late your reverence did (at the inſtance of faithful chriſtian people) proceed in form of law againſt William Swinderby; and that the ſaid William Swinderby had unto the ſaid articles objected againſt him, given up his writings in anſwer, containing in them errors, ſchiſms, and hereſies, even as you with the mature counſel of maſters and doctors in divinity, and other faculties, have determined and given ſentence, and have pronounced the ſame William Swinderby to be an heretic and a ſchiſmatic, and an erroneous teacher of the people: nevertheleſs, the forenamed Walter hath openly, publicly, and notoriouſly ſaid, avouched, and ſtubbornly affirmed, that the ſaid William's anſwers (whereof notice hath been given before) are good, righteous, and not able to be convinced, in that they contain none error, and that your ſentence beforeſaid, given againſt the ſaid William, is evil, falſe, and unjuſt; and that your aſſiſtants have wickedly, naughtily, perverſely, and unjuſtly condemned the anſwers aforeſaid.

Now thereupon immediately thoſe ſame faithful chriſtian people have inſtantly required, that we would vouchſafe that other articles given by the ſame faithful chriſtians againſt the ſaid William Swinderby, together with the writings and anſwers of the ſaid William thereunto, ſhould be admitted againſt Walter Brute, mentioned of in this matter of curſed hereſy: of which articles and anſwers the tenors do follow in theſe words.

Imprimis, That one William Swinderby, pretending himſelf prieſt, was of certain articles and concluſions erroneous, falſe, ſchiſmatical, and heretical, by him preached, at divers places and times, before a great multitude of faithful chriſtians, judicially convinced; and the ſame articles and concluſions did he (inforced by neceſſity of law) revoke and abjure, ſome as heretical, and others as erroneous and falſe; and for ſuch did he avouch them ever afterward, promiſing ſo to take and believe them, and that from thenceforth he would openly or privily preach, teach, or affirm none of them; nor that he ſhould make ſermon, or preach within your dioceſe without licence demanded and obtained. And in caſe he ſhould to the contrary preſume, by preaching or avouching, that then he ſhould be ſubject to the ſeverity of the canons, even as he judicially ſware accordingly as the law inforced. Alſo the concluſions abjured by the ſaid William, do follow, and are ſuch; ſee p. 116, 117.

Which things being done, the ſame faithful chriſtian people, and eſpecially Sir Walter Pride, the penitentiary of our cathedral church of Hereford, perſonally appearing before us, ſitting in our judgment ſeat in the pariſh church of Whiteborne, of our dioceſe, brought forth and exhibited two public inſtruments againſt the ſame Walter Brute, in the caſe of curſed hereſy aforeſaid, of which inſtruments here followeth the tenors and articles in this ſort.

IN the name of God, Amen. Be it evidently known to all perſons by this preſent public inſtrument, that in the year from the incarnation, after the courſe and computation of the church of England, 1391, the indict. xv. of the pontifical office of our moſt holy father and lord in Chriſt, lord Boniface the ninth, by God's wiſdom pope, the ſecond year, the 15th day of the month of October, in the dwelling-houſe of the worſhipful man, M. John Godemoſton, canon of the cathedral church of Hereford, in the preſence of me the public notary under-written, and of witneſſes ſubſcribed; Walter Brute, a lay-man, learned, of Hereford dioceſe, perſonally appearing, ſaid, avouched, aud ſtiffly maintained; that the ſaid biſhop of Hereford, and aſſiſtants which were with him the third day of the foreſaid month of October, the year of our Lord aforeſaid, in the church of Hereford, did naughtily, wickedly, perverſely, and unjuſtly condemn the anſwers of Sir William Swinderby, of Hereford, did naughtily, wickedly, perverſely, and unjuſtly condemn the anſwers of Sir William Swinderby, chaplain, given by the ſame Sir William to the ſame lord biſhop in writing, and alſo the articles miniſtered by the ſame Sir William.

And furthermore he ſaid, held, and avouched, that the ſame concluſions given by the ſame Sir William, even as they were given, are true and catholic.

Item, As touching the matters objected againſt him by them that ſtood by, concerning the ſacrament of the altar; he ſaid, that after the ſacramental words there doth remain very bread, and the ſubſtance thereof after the conſecration of the body of Chriſt, and that there do not remain accidents without ſubſtance or ſubject after the conſecration of the body of Chriſt. And as touching this matter, the doctors hold divers opinions.

Furthermore, as concerning the pope, he ſaid, held, and avouched, that he is the very antichriſt, becauſe that in life and manners he is contrary to the laws, doctrines, and deeds of Chriſt our Lord.

All and every of theſe things were done, even as they be above-written and rehearſed in the year of our Lord, pontifical office, month, day, and place aforeſaid, at ſupper-time of the day afore-named, then and there being

ing preſent the worſhipful and diſcreet men, Sir Walter Ramſbury, chief chaunter of the ſaid cathedral church of Hereford, Roger Hoore, canon of the ſame church, Walter Wall, chaplain of the ſame church of Hereford, being a vicar of the choral, and certain other worthy witneſſes of credit, that were ſpecially called and deſired to the premiſes. Ex Regiſt. Hereford.

And I Richard Lee, wheeler, clerk of Worceſter, being a public notary, by the authority apoſtolic, was perſonally preſent at all and ſingular the premiſes, whilſt that (as is before rehearſed) they were done and doing in the year of our Lord 1391, portifical office, month, day, place, and the hour aforeſaid: and I did ſee, write, and hear all and ſingular thoſe things thus to be done, and have reduced them into this particular manner and form; and, being deſired duly to teſtify the premiſes, have ſealed the ſaid inſtrument, made hereupon, with mine accuſtomed ſeal and name.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known to all perſons, by this preſent public inſtrument, that in the year from the incarnation of the Lord, after the courſe and computation of the church of England, 1391, the indiction fifteen, in the third year of the pontifical office of the moſt holy father in Chriſt, and our lord, lord Boniface, pope by the providence of God, the ninth, and in the nineteenth day of the month of January; Walter Brute, lay-man, of Hereford dioceſe, perſonally appearing before the reverend father in Chriſt and lord, lord John, by God's grace biſhop of Hereford, in the preſence of me, being a public notary, and one of the witneſſes under-written, did ſay, hold, publiſh, and affirm, the concluſions hereafter written, that is to ſay, that chriſtian people are not bound to pay tithes, neither by the law of Moſes, nor by the law of Chriſt.

Item, That it is not lawful for chriſtians, for any cauſe in any caſe, to ſwear by the Creator, neither by the creature.

Item, He confeſſeth openly and of his own accord, that within the ſame month of January he did eat, drink, and communicate with William Swinderby, not being ignorant of the ſentence of the ſaid reverend father, whereby the ſame William Swinderby was pronounced an heretic, ſchiſmatic, and a falſe ſeducer of the common people. Which concluſions the ſame reverend father cauſed to be written, and in writing to be delivered to the ſame Walter. Which when he had ſeen and read, he ſaid alſo that he did maintain and juſtify them according to the laws aforeſaid. Theſe things were done in the chamber of the ſaid biſhop of Hereford, at his manor of Whiteborne, of the ſaid dioceſe of Hereford; there being then preſent the ſame biſhop aboveſaid, maſter Reynold, of Wolſton, canon of Hereford, Sir Philip Dileſk, parſon of the pariſh church of Blamurin, Thomas Guildefeld, parſon of the church of Engliſbybknore, John Creſſet, parſon of the church of Whiteborne, and Thomas Wallewain, houſhold ſervant; for witneſſes eſpecially called and deſired to the premiſes, of the dioceſes of Hereford and St. Aſaph.

And I Benedict Come, clerk, of the dioceſe of St Aſaph, public notary by the apoſtolic authoeity of the dioceſe of Saint Aſaph, was perſonally preſent together with the witneſſes before named, at all and ſingular theſe and other things here premiſed, whilſt they were ſo done and a doing, and did ſee, hear, and write thoſe things ſo to be done as is before-mentioned; and did write the ſame, and reduce them into this public form, and with my wonted and accuſtomed ſeal and name have ſealed it, being deſired and required truly to teſtify the premiſes.

At laſt, the foreſaid Walter Brute did preſent and cauſe to be preſented to us (at divers places and times aſſigned by us to the ſame Walter, to anſwer to the former concluſions and articles) divers ſcrolls of paper, written with his own proper hand, for his anſwers to the ſame articles and concluſions above written; he partly appearing by his own ſelf. before us ſitting in our judgment ſeat, and partly by his meſſengers, ſpecially appointed to that purpoſe: of which ſcrolls, the tenors do follow in order word by word, and be on this matter.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Amen. I Walter Brute, ſinner, layman, huſbandman, and a chriſtian (having my offspring of the Britains, both by my father's and mother's ſide) of the Britains, have been accuſed to the biſhop of Hereford, that I did err in many matters concerning the catholic chriſtian faith; by whom I am required that I ſhould write an anſwer in Latin to all thoſe matters. Whoſe deſire I will ſatisfy to my power, proteſting firſt of all before God and before all the world; that like as it is not my mind, through God's grace, to refuſe the known truth, for any reward greater or ſmaller, yea, be it never ſo big, nor yet for the fear of any temporal puniſhment; even ſo it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous doctrine for any commodities ſake. And if any man, of what ſtate, ſect, or condition ſoever he be, will ſhew me that I err in my writings or ſayings, by the authority of the ſacred ſcripture, or by probable reaſon grounded on the ſacred ſcripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his information. But as for the bare words of any teacher (Chriſt only excepted) I will not ſimply believe, except he ſhall be able to ſtabliſh them by the truth of experience, or of the ſcripture: becauſe that, in the holy apoſtles elected by Chriſt, there hath been found error by the teſtimony of the holy ſcripture, becauſe that Paul himſelf doth confeſs that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthy to be rebuked, Galat. the 2d chapter. There have been errors found in the holy doctors, that have been before us, as they themſelves confeſs of themſelves. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error found in the teachers in our age: who are of contrary opinions among themſelves, and ſome of them do ſometimes determine one thing for truth, and others do condemn the ſelf ſame thing for hereſy and error. Which proteſtation premiſed, I will here place two ſuppoſitions or caſes for a ground and a foundation of all things that I will ſay, out of which I would gather two probable concluſions ſtabliſhed upon the ſame, and upon the ſacred ſcripture. By which concluſions, which as they ſhall be declared after my manner and faſhion, it ſhall plainly appear what my opinion and judgment is concerning all matters that I am accuſed of. But becauſe I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get me under the mighty defences of the Lord: O Lord, I will remember thine only righteouſneſs.

God the Father Almighty uncreate, the maker of heaven and earth, hath ſent his Son (that was everlaſtingly begotten) into this world, that he ſhould he incarnated for the ſalvation and redemption of mankind, who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, everlaſtingly proceeding from the Father and the Son, and was born of Mary the virgin, to the end that we might be born anew. He ſuffered paſſion under Pontius Pilate for our ſins, laying down his life for us, that we ſhould lay down our life for our brethren. He was crucified, that we ſhould be crucified to the world, and the world to us. He was dead, that he might redeem us from death, by purchaſing for us forgiveneſs of ſins. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by baptiſm, and that we being dead in ſin ſhould live to righteouſneſs. He deſcended into hell, thereby delivering man from thraldom, and from the bondage of the devil, and reſtoring him to his inheritance which he loſt by ſin. The third day he roſe from the dead, through the glory of the Father, that we alſo ſhould walk in newneſs of life. He aſcended up to the heavens to which no body hath aſcended, ſaving he that deſcended from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven. He ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, until his enemies be made his footſtool. He being in very deed ſo much better

than the angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they. From whence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead, according to their works, becauſe the Father hath given all judgment to the Son. In whoſe terrible judgment we ſhall riſe again, and ſhall all of us ſtand before this judgment ſeat, and receive joy as well bodily as ſpiritually, for ever to endure, if we be of the ſheep placed at the right hand; or elſe puniſhed both of body and ſoul, if we ſhall be found amongſt the goats, placed on the left hand, &c.

Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, very God and very man, a king for ever, by eſtabliſhing an everlaſting kingdom breaking to powder all the kingdoms of the world, Daniel 2. A prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedech, whereby alſo he is able evermore to ſave ſuch as by him come unto Cod, and always liveth to intreat for us, Heb. 7. He offering one ſacrifice for our ſins, hath made perfect for ever by one oblation thoſe that be ſanctified, Heb. 10. Being the wiſdom that cannot be deceived, and the truth that cannot be uttered, he hath in this world taught the will of God the Father, which will he hath in work fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully inſtruct us, and hath given the law of charity to be of his faithful people obſerved; which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithful with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, ſearching the inward ſecrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine muſt be obſerved above all other doctrines, whether they be of angels or of men, becauſe that he could not nor would not err in his teaching. But in men's doctrine there chanceth oftentimes to be error; and therefore we muſt forſake their doctrines, if clokedly or expreſly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt. Men's doctrines being made for the people's profit, muſt be allowed and obſerved, ſo that they be grounded upon Chriſt's doctrine, or at leaſt be not repugnant to his words.

If the high Biſhop of Rome calling himſelf the ſervant of the ſervants of God, and the chief vicar of Chriſt in this world, do make and maintain many laws contrary to the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; then is he of thoſe that have come in Chriſt's name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and have ſeduced many a one, by the teſtimony of our Saviour in Matt. chap. 24. And the idol of deſolation ſitting in the temple of God, and taking away from him the continual ſacrifice for a time, times, and half a time, which idol muſt be revealed to the chriſtian people by the teſtimony of Daniel. Whereof Chriſt ſpeaketh in the goſpel; When ye ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation that was told of by Daniel the prophet, ſtanding in the holy place; let him that readeth underſtand, he is the peſtiferous mountain infecting the whole univerſal earth, as witneſſeth Jeremy, chap. 51. and not the head of Chriſt's body. For the ancient perſon in years, and honourable in reverence he is the head, and the prophet teaching lyes is the tail, an Eſay alledgeth, chap. 9. And he is that wicked and ſinful captain of Iſrael, whoſe foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who ſhall take away Cidarim, and take away the crown, Ezekiel, chap. 28. To whom it was ſaid; Foraſmuch as thy heart was exalted, and didſt ſay, I am a God, and ſitteſt in the ſeat of God, in the heart of the ſea, ſeeing thou art a man and not God, and haſt given thine heart, as if it were the heart of God; therefore behold I will bring upon thee the moſt ſtrong and mighty ſtrangers of the nations, and they ſhall draw their ſwords upon the beauty of thy wiſdom, and ſhall defile the brightneſs, and kill thee, and pull thee out, and thou ſhalt die in the deſtruction of the ſlain. And it followeth,

In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy merchandize, thou haſt defiled thy ſanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire, form the midſt of the whole earth, and will make thee as aſhes upon earth. Thou art become nothing, and never ſhalt thou be any more, Ezek. chap. 28. Furthermore he is the idle ſhepherd forſaking his flock, having a ſword on his arm, and another ſword on his right eye, Zech. 11. And ſitting in the temple of God, doth advance himſelf above all things that is called God, or whatſoever is worſhipped, by the teſtimony of Paul to the Theſſ. 2. epiſtle, chap. 2. "And in the defection or falling away ſhall the man of ſin be revealed, whom the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſlay with the breath of his mouth. For every kingdom divided in itſelf ſhall be brought to deſolation." He is alſo beſides, "The beaſt aſcending up out of the earth, having two horns like unto a lamb, but he ſpeaketh like a dragon, and as the cruel beaſt aſcending up out of the ſea, whoſe power ſhall continue forty-two months." He worketh the things that he hath given to the image of the beaſt. And he compelled ſmall and great, rich and poor, freemen and bond ſlaves, to worſhip the beaſt, and to take his mark in their forehead or their hands, Apoc. chap. 13. And thus by the teſtimony of all theſe places is he the chief antichriſt upon the earth, and muſt be ſlain with the ſword of God's word, and caſt with the dragon, the cruel beaſt and the falſe prophet that hath ſeduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimſtone to be tormented world without end.

If the city of Rome do allow his traditions, and do diſallow Chriſt's holy commandments, and Chriſt's doctrine, that it may confirm his traditions; then is ſhe Babylon the Great, or the Daughter of Babylon, and the Great Whore ſitting upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become drunken with the wine of her harlotry lying open to bawdry. With whoſe ſpiritual whoredom, enchantments, witchcrafts, and Simon Magus merchandiſes, the whole round world is infected and ſeduced; ſaying in her heart, "I ſit as queen, and widow I am not, neither ſhall I ſee ſorrow and mourning." Yet is ſhe ignorant that within a little while ſhall come the day of her deſtruction and ruin by the teſtimony of the Apoc. chap. 17. Becauſe that from the time the continual ſacrifice was taken away, and the abomination and deſolation placed, there be paſſed 1290 days by the teſtimony of Daniel, and the chronicles added do agree to the ſame. And the holy city alſo hath been trodden under foot of the heathen, for 42 months, and the woman was nouriſhed up in the wilderneſs (unto which ſhe had fled for fear of the face of the ſerpent) during 1290 days, or elſe for a time, times, and half a time, which is all one. All theſe things be manifeſt by the teſtimony of the Apocalypſe, and the chronicles thereto agreeing. And as concerning the fall of Babylon aforeſaid, it is manifeſt in the Apocalypſe, where it is ſaid, "In one day ſhall her plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and ſhe ſhall be burned with fire. For, ſtrong is the Lord which ſhall judge her. And again, Babylon that great city is fallen, which hath made all nations to drink of the wine of her whoredom. And thirdly, One mighty angel took up a mill-ſtone, that was a very great one, and did caſt it into the ſea, ſaying, With ſuch a violence as this is, ſhall that great city Babylon be overthrown, and ſhall no more be found. For her merchants were the princes of the earth, and with her witchcraft all nations have gone aſtray, and in her there is found the blood of the ſaints and the prophets." And of her deſtruction ſpeaketh Eaſy in the thirteenth chapter, "And Babylon that glorious city, being ſo noble amongſt kingdoms in the pride of the Chaldeans, it ſhall be that like as the Lord did overturn Sodom and Gomorrah upſide down, it ſhall never more be inhabited, nor have the foundation laid in no age, from generation to generation." Jeremy ſaith, "Your mother that hath borne you is brought to very great confuſion, and made even with the ground. And again, The Lord hath deviſed and done as he hath ſpoken againſt the inhabiters of Babylon; which dwell richly in their treaſures upon many waters, thine end is come. And thirdly, Drought ſhall fall upon her waters, and they ſhall begin to be dry: for it is a land of graven

images, and boasted in her prodigious wonders: it shall never more be inhabited, neither be builded up in no age nor generation. Verily even as God hath subverted Sodom and Gomorrah with her calves."

Pardon me (I beseech you) though I be not plentiful in pleasant words. For if I should run after the course of this wicked world, and should please men, I should not be Christ's servant. And because I am a poor man, and neither have nor can have notaries hired to testify of these my writings; I call upon Christ to be my witness, which knoweth the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I have written after my fashion, to the profit of all christian people, and to the hurt of no man living; and am ready to be reformed, if any man will shew me where I have erred; being ready also (miserable sinner though I be) to suffer for the confession of the name of Christ, and of his doctrine, as much as shall please him by his grace and love to assist me a miserable sinner. In witness of all these things I have to this writing set the seal of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: which I beseech him to imprint upon my forehead, and to take from me all manner of of antichrist. Amen.

These two suppositions (as they are termed in the schools) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited unto the bishop, although they contained matter sufficient either to satisfy the bishop, if he had been disposed to learn, or else to have provoked him to reply again, if his knowledge therein had been better than his: yet could they work neither of them effect in him. But he receiving and perusing the same, when he neither could confute that which was said, neither would reply or answer by learning to that which was truth, finding other by cavillations, said, "That this his writing was too short and obscure, and therefore required him to write upon the same again more plainly, and more at large."

After that all the foresaid things were exhibited and given by the foresaid Walter Brute unto the foresaid bishop of Hereford; he further appointed to the same Walter the third day of the month of October, at Hereford, with the continuance of the days following, to hear his opinion. Which third day now at hand, being Friday, in the year of our Lord God 1393, the said Walter Brute appeared before him, sitting in commission in the cathedral church of Hereford, at six o'clock, or thereabout; having for his assistants in the same place divers prelates and abbots, and twenty bachelors of divinity, whereof twelve were monks, and two doctors of the law. Amongst these was Nicholas Hereford, accompanied with many other prelates and worshipful men, and wise graduates in sundry faculties. Now was the foresaid Walter apposed of his writings aforesaid, and the contents therein. Earnest were they in picking out of those writings his heresies, and in shewing his schisms, sundry errors, and divers other things. Now, after that they had continued all that day, and the two days following (that is, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday) in their informations and examinations against the same Walter Brute; the same Walter Brute submitted himself to the determination of the church, and to the correction of the said John, bishop, as it appeareth word for word in a scroll, written in the English tongue: the tenor of which scroll is as followeth:

"I Walter Brute submit myself principally to the evangely of Jesus Christ, and to the determination of holy kirk, and to the general councils of holy kirk; and to the sentence and determination of the four doctors of holy writ; that is, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerom, and Gregory. And I meekly submit me to your correction, as a subject ought to his bishop."

Which scroll, as before is recited, in the English tongue, the foresaid Walter Brute read with a loud and intelligible voice, at the cross in the church-yard, on Monday; that is to say, the sixth of the said month of October, before the sermon made unto the people in presence of the said bishop of Hereford and other above written; as also other barons, knights, and noblemen, and clergy, and also a great multitude of people. After which reading of the scroll, Thomas Crawlay, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon unto the people, and took for his theme the words of the apostle to the Romans, the 11th chapter, that is as followeth; "Be not over-wise in your own conceits, but stand in fear," &c.

Out of these declarations and writings of Walter Brute the bishop, with the monks and doctors above rehearsed, did gather and draw certain articles, to the number of 37, which they sent to the university of Cambridge, to be confuted, unto two learned men, master Colwill, and master Newton, bachelors of divinity. Which master Colwill and Newton did labour in the matter, to the uttermost of their cunning, in replying and answering to the said 37 articles.

What after this became of this Walter Brute, or what end he had, I find it not registered: but like it is, that he for this time escaped.

The Bull of Pope Boniface the Ninth, against the Lollards.

"BOnifacius bishop, servant of the servants of God, To the reverend brother, John, bishop of Hereford, sendeth greeting and apostolical benediction. We mean to write unto our well-beloved son in Christ (Richard, the renowned king of England) in form inclosed within these presents. Therefore we will and command your brotherhood, that as much as ye may ye study and endeavour yourself to exhort and induce the same king to do those things which we have written unto him, as it is said before. And notwithstanding that now many a day you ought to have done it of yourself, and not to look that we should persuade you to that effect by us written; you may proceed as well by our authority, as by your own, forsomuch as it was given you before: that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeal your devotion beareth unto the catholic faith, and to the conserving of the ecclesiastical honour, and also to the execution of your pastoral office.

Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, the 15th kalends of October, the sixth year of our bishoplike dignity."

The Tenor of the Bull, to the renowned Prince Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England and of France, whereof Mention is made above, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

"TO our well-beloved son in Christ, Richard, the noble king of England, we send greeting, &c. It grieveth us from the bottom of our hearts, and our holy mother the church in all places throughout christendom lamenteth. We understand that there be certain heresies sprung, and do without any condign restraint range at their own liberty, to the seducing of the faithful people, and do every day with over-much liberty enlarge their undiscreet bounds. But how much the more carefully we labour for the preservation both of you and your famous kingdom, and also the sincerity of

of the faith, and do with much more ardent deſire covet that the proſperous ſtate of the ſame ſhould be preſerved and inlarged; the ſting of greater ſorrow doth ſo much the more penetrate and moleſt us, foraſmuch as we ſee (alas the while) in our time, and under the regal preſidence of your moſt chriſtian government, a certain crafty and hairbrain ſect of falſe chriſtians, in the ſame your kingdom, to grow and increaſe; which call themſelves, "The poor men of the treaſury of Chriſt and his diſciples," and whom the common people by a more ſounder name call Lollards (as a man would ſay withered darnel) according as their ſins require; and perceive that they may wax ſtrong, and as it were prevail againſt the dioceſans of ſome places, and other governors, as they meet together, not courageouſly addreſſing themſelves againſt them, as they ought to do (whereof chiefly and not undeſervedly I give them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder preſumption and ſtomach among the unlearned people. And foraſmuch as thoſe whom we cannot call men, but the damnable ſhadows or ghoſts of men, do riſe up againſt the ſound faith, and holy univerſal church of Rome; and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confuſion and eternal damnation of ſome of them) they got ſitting upon their mother's lap, the ſaid church of Rome, do riſe up or inveigh againſt the determination of the holy fathers with too much preſumptuous boldneſs, to the ſubverſion of the whole eccleſiaſtical order and eſtate; and have not been afraid, nor are yet afraid, publicly to preach very many erroneous, deteſtable, and heretical articles, for that they are not put to ſilence, reproved, driven out, rooted out, or otherwiſe puniſhed by any that hath authority and the fear and love of God. And alſo they are not afraid openly to write the ſame articles, and ſo being written, to deliver them to your kingly parliament, and obſtinately to affirm the ſame. The venomous and diſdainful recital of which articles, upon good adviſement, at this preſent we paſs over, leſt the ſufferance of ſuch ſenſuality might fortune to renew the wound that reaſon may heal. Yet notwithſtanding, leſt ſo great and contagious an evil ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, and that without deſerved vexation; and alſo that it might not get more heart, and wax more ſtrong, we therefore (according to that our office and duty is, where is ſuch negligence and and ſluggiſhneſs of our prelates being preſent where this thing is) do commit and give in commandment to our reverend brethren, Canterbury and York, archbiſhops, by other our letters; that they ſtand up in the power of God againſt this peſtilent and contagious ſect; and that they lively perſecute the ſame in form of law; root out and deſtroy thoſe that adviſedly and obſtinately refuſe to withdraw their foot from the ſame ſtumbling-block, any reſtraint to the contrary notwithſtanding. But becauſe the aſſiſtance, counſel, favour, and aid of your kingly eſtate and highneſs are requiſite to the execution of the premiſes; we require, exhort, and beſeech the ſame your princely highneſs by the bowels of the mercy of Jeſus Chriſt, by his holy faith, by your own ſalvation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the proſperity aſſured to every man and woman, that not only your kingly ſeverity may readily ſhew, and cauſe to be ſhewed unto our archbiſhops and their commiſſaries (in this behalf requiring the foreſaid due execution) convenient aid and favour, as otherwiſe alſo to cauſe them to be aſſiſted: but alſo you will enjoin your magiſtrates and juſtices of that aſſize and peace, more ſtraitly, that of their own good wills they execute the authority committed unto men, with all ſeverity againſt ſuch damned men, according as they are bound by the office which they are put in truſt with; againſt thoſe I mean, which have determined obſtinately to defile themſelves in their malice and ſins, thoſe to expel, baniſh, and impriſon, and there ſo long to keep them, till condign ſentence ſhall pronounce them worthy to ſuffer puniſhment. For your kingly wiſdom ſeeth that ſuch as they be do not only deceive poor ſimple ſouls (or at the leaſt do what they can to deceive them,) but alſo bring their bodies to deſtruction, and further prepare confuſion and ruinous fall unto their temporal lords. Go to therefore, my ſweet ſon, and endeavour yourſelf to work ſo in this matter, as undoubtedly we truſt you will: that as this firebrand (burning and flaming over ſore) began under your preſidence or government: ſo under your ſevere judgment and virtuous diligence, might, favour, and aid, there may not one ſpark remain hid under the aſhes, but that it be utterly extinguiſhed, and ſpeedily put out.

Given at our palace of St. Peter at Rome, the 15th kalends of October, in the ſixth year of our pontificality."

The King's Commiſſion.

"RIchard, by the grace of God, king of England, and of France, and lord of Ireland, To all thoſe unto whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas lately at the inſtance of the reverend father, William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and legate of the apoſtolical ſee, We, for the redreſs and amendment of all thoſe which would obſtinately preach or maintain, publicly or privily, any concluſions of the holy ſcripture, repugnant to the determination of our holy mother the church, and notoriouſly redounding to the ſubverſion of the catholic faith, or containing any hereſy or error, within the province or biſhoprick of Canterbury, have by our ſpecial letters patents, in the zeal of the faith, given authority and licence unto the foreſaid archbiſhop, and to all and ſingular his ſuffragans, to arreſt all and every of them that will preach or maintain any ſuch concluſions, whereſoever they may be found, and to commit them either to their own priſons, or any other at their own pleaſure, and to keep them in the ſame, until they repent them of the errors and pravities of their hereſies; or till that, of ſuch manner of arreſts, by us or by our council, it ſhould be otherwiſe determined; that is to ſay, to every one of them and their miniſters throughout their cities and dioceſe. And now the reverend father in God, John, biſhop of Hereford, hath for a certainty informed us; that although the ſame biſhop hath according to juſtice convinced a certain fellow named William Swinderby, pretending himſelf to be a chaplain, and one Stephen Bell, a learned man, and hath pronounced them heretics, and excommunicate, and falſe informers among the common people, and hath declared the ſame by the definitive ſentence of the foreſaid biſhop, for that they have preſumed to affirm and preach openly, in divers places within the dioceſe of Hereford, many concluſions of naughty opinions, notoriouſly redounding to the ſubverſion of the catholic ſound faith, and tranquillity of our kingdom: the ſame biſhop notwithſtanding, neither by the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, neither by the ſtrength and force of our commiſſion, was able to revoke the foreſaid William and Stephen, nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacy of them; for that they, after they were upon ſuch heretical pravity convict by the ſame biſhop (to the intent they might delude his judgment and juſtice) conveyed themſelves by and by unto the borders of Wales, with ſuch as were their fautors and accomplices, keeping themſelves cloſe, unto whom the force of our ſaid letters doth in no wiſe extend. Whereupon the ſaid biſhop hath made ſupplication unto us, that we will vouchſafe to provide a ſufficient remedy in that behalf. We therefore which always (by the help of Almighty God) are defenders of the faith, willing to withſtand ſuch preſumptuous and perverſe enterpriſes by the moſt

ſafe way and means we may, give and commit full power and authority to the foreſaid biſhop, and his miniſters, by the the tenor of theſe preſents, to arreſt or take, or cauſe to be arreſted or taken, the foreſaid William and Stephen, in any place within the city and dioceſe of Hereford, and our dominion of Wales, with all the ſpeed that may be; and to commit them either to our priſon, or elſe to the priſon of the ſaid biſhop, or any other priſon at their pleaſure, if ſuch need be, and there to keep them ſafe. And afterwards, unleſs they will obey the commandments of the church, with diligence to bring them before us and our council, or elſe cauſe them to be brought; that we may determine for their further puniſhment, as we ſhall think it requiſite and convenient to be done by the advice of our council, for the defence and preſervation of the catholic faith. And that the foreſaid William and Stephen, being ſuccoured by the aid of their fautors or favourers, ſhould not be able to fly or eſcape to their accuſtomed ſtarting-holes, and that the ſharpneſs of their pains ſo aggravated may give them ſufficient cauſe to return to the lap again of their holy mother the church; we ſtraitly charge and command all and ſingular our ſheriffs, bailiffs, barons, and all other our officers in the city and dioceſe of Hereford, and in any other places being within our dominion of Wales, by the tenor of theſe preſents; that from time to time (where they think it moſt meet) they cauſe it openly to be proclaimed in our name, that none of what ſtate, degree, preheminence, kind, or other condition he ſhall be, do cheriſh openly or ſecretly the foreſaid William and Stephen, until the time that they repent them of their hereſies and errors, and ſhall be reconciled unto the holy church of God: neither that any perſon or perſons, be believers, favourers, or receivers, defenders, or in any caſe wittingly inſtructors of the ſaid William or Stephen, or any other of the reſidue of the heretics that are to be convinced, upon the forfeiture of all that ever they have. And that alſo they giving their attendance be obedient and anſwerable to the foreſaid biſhop and his deputies in this behalf, for the execution of the premiſes: and that they certify us and our council diſtinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and ſingular perſons which ſhall fortune to be found culpable in this behalf, under their ſeals. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our letters patents to be made.

Witneſs ourſelf at Weſtminſter, the ninth day of March, in the fifteenth year of our reign."

Farrington.

Another Letter of the ſaid King againſt Walter Brute.

"RIchard, by the grace of God king of England, and of France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloved and faithful John Chaundos, knight, John Eynfore, knight, Renold de la Bere, knight, Walter Deveros, knight, Thomas de la Bere, knight, William Lucy, knight, Leonard Hakelute, knight, and to the mayor of the city of Hereford; to Thomas Oldcaſtle, Richard Naſh, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, John Skydmore, John Up-Hary, Henry Morton, and to the ſheriff of Hereford, ſendeth ſalutations.

Foraſmuch as it is advertiſed us, that one Walter Brute, and other ſuch children of iniquity, have damnably holden, affirmed, and preached, certain articles and concluſions, being notoriouſly repugnant againſt the holy ſcripture (of the which ſome of them as hereſies, and the reſt as errors, are finally by the church condemned) and that in divers places of the dioceſe of Hereford, and parts near adjoining, both privily, openly, and obſtinately; which thing we perceive not only to redound to the ſubverſion (in a manner) of the catholic faith, which as well we as other catholic princes ought of duty to maintain, but alſo to forewarn us of the ſubverſion of our faithful dioceſans; and that the ſaid biſhop, upon the good deliberation and adviſement of a great number of doctors in divinity, and other learned and ſkilful men in the ſcriptures, of ſpecial devotion, according to his bounden duty, purpoſed to begin and make divers and ſundry proceſſes by law to be ſent unto the foreſaid Walter and his accomplices to appear perſonally before him and other the doctors aforeſaid in the cathedral church of Hereford, the morrow after the tranſlation of S. Thomas of Hereford next enſuing, and to proceed in the ſame place againſt the ſame Walter, in the foreſaid articles and concluſions, for the amendment of his ſoul: and that they now afreſh (becauſe that the ſaid Walter and others of their retinue cleaving and confederating with him, might not ſuffer condign pains according to their demerits) endeavour themſelves to make void and fruſtrate the ſaid godly purpoſe of the ſame biſhop, in ſuch correction and execution as ſhould have been done, and with force to reſiſt and lett the ſame with all the power they may, to the great contempt of us and of our crown, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: we do appoint you, and every of you, immediately as ſoon as this our commiſſion ſhall be delivered unto you, in our behalf and name, to make open proclamation in the dioceſe and parts aforeſaid, where you ſhall think it moſt meet and convenient: that no man be ſo hardy henceforth, of what ſtate or condition ſoever he ſhall be, within the dioceſe and parts aforeſaid, upon pain of forfeiture of all that ever he hath, to make or levy any conventicles, aſſemblies, or confederacies, by any colour; or that they preſume to attempt or procure any other thing, whereby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the ſame biſhops and doctors aforeſaid may be by any means moleſted or lett in the execution of ſuch correction as is to be done, according to the canonical ſanctions; and to arreſt all thoſe which ye ſhall find or take offending in this behalf, or that keep themſelves in any ſuch conventicles; and that they, being committed to priſon, be there kept, till you ſhall have other commandment from us and from our council for their deliverance; and that ye diſtinctly and plainly certify us, and our ſaid council, of all your doing in this behalf under your ſeals, or elſe the ſeals of ſome of you. And therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and every of you, that ye diligently attend upon the premiſes, and that in your deeds ye exeeute the ſame with all diligence and careful endeavour in the form and manner aforeſaid. And further we give ſtrait charge and commandment to all and ſingular ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, conſtables, and other our faithful ſubjects, by the tenor of theſe preſents; that they be attending upon you, counſelling and aiding you, and every of you, as is meet and convenient, in the doing and execution of theſe premiſes. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters patents to be made.

Witneſs myſelf at Weſtminſter the 22d day of September, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign."

By the ſame king and council.

Thus king Richard, by the ſetting on of W. Courtney, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his fellows taking part with the pope and Romiſh prelates, waxed ſomewhat ſtrait and hard to the poor chriſtians of the contrary ſide, of Wickliff, as by theſe letters above prefixed may appear. Albeit, during all the life of the ſaid king I find of none expreſly by name that ſuffered burning. Notwithſtanding ſome there were which by the foreſaid archbiſhop W. Courtney, and other biſhops, had been condemned, and divers alſo abjured, and did

penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the town of Leiceſter, as followeth here to be declared out of the archbiſhop's regiſter and records.

At what time the ſaid archbiſhop William Courtney was in his viſitation at the town of Leiceſter, certain there were accuſed and detected to him, by the monks and other prieſts in the ſaid town. The names of which perſons there detected were, one Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wagſtaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmentar, and Roger Goldſmith, inhabitants of the ſame town of Leiceſter. Theſe with other more were denounced to the archbiſhop for holding the opinion of the ſacrament of the altar, of auricular confeſſion and other ſacraments, contrary to that which the church of Rome doth preach and obſerve. All which parties above named, and many other more, whoſe names are not known, did hold theſe hereſies and errors here under-written, and are of the Romiſh church condemned.

1. That in the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration, there remaineth the body of Chriſt with the material bread.

2. That images ought not to be worſhipped in any caſe, and that no man ought to ſet any candle before them.

3. That no croſs ought to be worſhipped.

4. That maſſes and mattens ought not with an high and loud voice to be ſaid in the church.

5. Item, That no curate or prieſt, taken in any crime, can conſecrate, hear confeſſions, or miniſter any of the ſacraments of the church.

6. That the pope and all prelates of the church cannot bind any man with the ſentence of excommunication, unleſs they know him to be firſt excommunicated of God.

7. That no prelate of the church can grant any pardons.

8. That every layman may in every place preach and teach the goſpel.

9. That it is ſin to give any alms or charity to the friars, preachers, Minorites, Auguſtines or Carmelites.

10. That no oblation ought to be uſed at the funerals of the dead.

11. That it is not neceſſary to make confeſſion of our ſins to the prieſt.

12. That every good man, although he be unlearned, is a prieſt.

Theſe articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manifeſtly in the town of Leiceſter, and other places adjoining. Whereupon the ſaid archbiſhop moniſhed the ſaid Roger and Nicholas, with the reſt, on the next day to make anſwer unto him in the ſaid monaſtery to the foreſaid articles. But the foreſaid Roger and Nicholas, with the reſt, hid themſelves out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the archbiſhop upon Allhallow-day, being the firſt day of November, celebrating the high maſs at the high altar in the ſaid monaſtery, being attired in his Pontificaliabus, denounced the ſaid parties with all their adherents, fautors, favourers, and counſellors, excommunicate and accurſed, which either held, taught or maintained the foreſaid concluſions heretical and erroneous, and that in ſolemn wiſe, by ringing the bells, lighting the candles and putting out the ſame again, and throwing them down to the gronnd, and other circumſtances thereunto belonging. Upon the morrow after (being All-Souls day) he ſent for all the curates and other laymen of the town of Leiceſter, to enquire more diligently of the verity of ſuch matter as they knew, and were able to ſay againſt any perſons whatſoever, concerning the foreſaid articles; as alſo againſt the parties before named and ſpecified upon their oaths, denouncing every one of them ſeverally by their names to be excommunicated and accurſed; and cauſed them alſo in divers pariſh churches in Leiceſter alſo to be excommunicate. And further the ſaid archbiſhop interdicted the whole town of Leiceſter, and all the churches in the ſame, ſo long as any of the foreſaid excommunicate perſons ſhould remain or be within the ſame, and till that all the Lollards of the town ſhould return and amend from ſuch hereſies and errors, obtaining at the ſaid archbiſhop his hands the benefit of abſolution.

At length it was declared and ſhewed to the ſaid archbiſhop, that there was a certain anchoreſs, whoſe name was Matilde, incloſed within the church-yard of St. Peter's church of the ſaid town of Leiceſter, infected (as they ſaid) with the peſtiferous contagion of the foreſaid heretics and Lollards: whereupon, after that the ſaid archbiſhop had examined the foreſaid Matilde, touching the foreſaid concluſions, hereſies, and errors, and found her not to anſwer plainly and directly to the ſame, but ſophiſtically and ſubtilly; he gave and aſſigned unto her a day peremptory, perſonally to appear before him in the monaſtry of St. James at Northampton more fully to anſwer to the ſaid articles, hereſies, and errors, which was the ſixth day of the ſaid month of November; commanding the abbot of the monaſtery of Pratis aforeſaid, that the door of the recluſe, in which the ſaid Matilde was, ſhould cauſe her to be put in ſafe cuſtody. That done, he ſent forth his mandate againſt the Lollards, under this form:

"William by the permiſſion of God, &c. To his well-beloved ſons, the mayor and bailiffs of the town of Leiceſter dioceſe, greeting. We have lately received the king's letters, graciouſly granted us for the defence of the catholic faith, in theſe words following, Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c. We on the behalf of our holy mother the church, by the king's authority aforeſaid, do require you, that you cauſe the ſame Richard, William, Roger, and the reſt to be arreſted, and ſent unto us; that they with their pernicious doctrine do not infect the people of God, &c. Given under our ſeal, &c."

By another inſtrument alſo in the ſame regiſter is mention made of one Margararet Caily nun, which forſaking her order was by the ſaid archbiſhop conſtrained againſt her will, again to enter the ſame, as by this inſtrument hereunder enſuing may appear.

"William by the grace of God, &c. To our reverend brother of God, John by the grace of God biſhop of Ely, greeting, &c. In the viſitation of our dioceſe of Lincoln according to our office, amongſt other enormities worthy reformation, we found one ſheep out of our fold ſtrayed, and amongſt the briars tangled; to wit, Margaret Caily nun profeſſed, in the monaſtery of St. Radegond, within your dioceſe: who caſting off the habit of her religion, was found in ſecular attire, many years being an apoſtate, and leading a diſſolute life. And leſt her blood ſhould be required at our hands, we have cauſed her to be taken and brought unto you, being her paſtor; and ſtraitly injoining you, by theſe preſents we do command, that you admit the ſame Margaret again into her foreſaid monaſtery (although returned againſt her will) or elſe in ſome other place, where for her ſoul's health you ſhall think moſt convenient; and that from henceforth ſhe be ſafely kept, as in the ſtrait examination of the ſame you will yield an account.

Given under our Seal, &c."

By ſundry other inſtruments alſo in the ſame regiſter recorded I find, that the foreſaid Matilde the anchoreſs, upon the ſtrait examination and handling of the foreſaid archbiſhop, before whom peremptorily ſhe was injoined to appear, and till that day of appearance taken out of the reluſe, and committed to ſafe cuſtody, as you heard,

retracted and recanted her foreſaid articles and opinions. For the which ſhe being injoined by forty days penance, was again admitted into the foreſaid recluſe in Leiceſter. The biſhop's letter to the magiſtrates of the town thus beginneth; Willielmus permiſſione divina, &c. Dilectis filiis, &c.

Alſo of another letter of the foreſaid archbiſhop to the dean of the cathedral church of our Lady of Leiceſter being regiſtered, I find that of the number of thoſe eight perſons before recited, whom the archbiſhop himſelf at high maſs did in his pontificalibus ſo ſolemnly curſe with book, bell, and candle: after certain proceſs being ſent out againſt them, or elſe in the mean time being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, William Smith, and Roger Dexter. But in the mean time Alice the wife of the ſaid Roger Dexter, taking hold of the foreſaid articles with her huſband alſo, together with the ſaid William Smith, abjured the ſame. For theſe be the words of the inſtrument: Subſequenter vero præfati Willielmus, Rogerus, & Alicia retus ſuos reſpicientes, ſe noſtro conſpectu præſentarunt, &c. Notwithſtanding, whether they preſented themſelves willingly, or elſe were brought againſt their wills (as moſt like it was) hard penance was enjoined them before they were abſolved. Theſe be the words of the inſtrument.

Sancta mater eccleſia, &c. i. e Seeing our holy mother the church denieth not her lap to any penitent child returning to the unityof her, but rather proffereth to them the ſame: we therefore do receive again the ſaid William, Roger and Alice to grace. And further have cauſed them to abjure all and ſingular the foreſaid articles and opinions, before they received of us the benefit of abſolution, and were looſed from the ſentence of excommunication, wherein they were ſnarled, injoining unto them penance, according to the quantity of the crime, in form as followeth: that is to ſay, That the Sunday next after their returning to their proper goods, they the ſaid William, Roger, and Alice, holding every of them an image of the crucifix in their hands, and in their left hands every one of them a taper of wax, weighing half a pound weight, in their ſhirts, (having none other apparel upon them) do go before the croſs three times, during the proceſſion of the cathedral church of our lady of Leiceſter; that is to ſay, in the beginning of the proceſſion, in the middle of the proceſſion, and in the latter end of the proceſſion; to the honour of him that was crucified, in the memorial of his paſſion, and to the honour of the virgin his mother; who alſo devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, ſhall kiſs the ſame crucifix, ſo held in their hands. And ſo with the ſame proceſſion they entering again into the church, ſhall ſtand during all the time of the holy maſs, before the image of the croſs, with their tapers and croſſes in their hands. And when the maſs is ended, the ſaid William, Roger, and Alice, ſhall offer to him that celebrated that day the maſs. Then upon Saturday next enſuing, the ſaid William, Roger, and Alice,

Anno 1389. ſhall in the full and public market, within the town of Leiceſter, ſtand in like manner in their ſhirts, without any more clothes upon their bodies, holding the foreſaid croſſes in their right hands; which croſſes three times they ſhall (during the market) devoutly kiſs, reverently kneeling upon their knees; that is, in the begnning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the end of the market. And the ſaid William (for that he ſomewhat underſtandeth the Latin tongue) ſhall ſay this anthem with the collect, Sancta Katharina; and the foreſaid Roger and Alice, being unlearned, ſhall ſay devoutly a Pater Noſter, and an Ave Maria. And thirdly, Sunday next, immediately after the ſame, the ſaid William, Roger, and Alice, in their pariſh church of the ſaid town of Leiceſter ſhall ſtand and do, as upon the Sunday before they ſtood and did in the cathedral church of our lady aforeſaid in all things. Which done, the foreſaid William, Roger and Alice, after maſs, ſhall offer to the prieſt or chaplain that celebrated the ſame, with all humility and reverence, the wax-tapers, which they ſhall carry in their hands. And becauſe of the cold weather that now is, leſt the foreſaid penitents might peradventure take ſome bodily hurt ſtanding ſo long naked (being mindful to moderate partly the ſaid our rigour) we give leave, that after their entrances into the churches aboveſaid, whilſt they ſhall be in hearing the foreſaid maſſes, they may put on neceſſary garments to keep them from cold, ſo that their heads and feet notwithſtanding be bare and uncovered. We therefore will and command you together and apart, that you denounce the ſaid William, Roger and Alice, to be abſolved and reſtored again to the unity of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in manner and form aforeſaid. Given at Dorcheſter the ſeventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord God 1389, and the ninth year of our tranſlation.

Unto the narration of theſe aboveſaid we will adjoin the ſtory of one Peter Peteſhul, an Auſtin friar, who obtaining by the pope's privilege (through the means of Walter Dis confeſſor to the duke of Lancaſter) liberty to change his coat and religion, and hearing the doctrine of John Wickliff, and other of the ſame ſort, began at length to preach openly, and to detect the vices of his order, in ſuch ſort as all men wondered to hear the horrible reciting thereof. This being brought to the ears of his order, they to the number of twelve (coming out of their houſes to the place where he was preaching) thought to have withſtood him perforce. Among whom one eſpecially for the zeal of his religion, ſtood up openly in his preaching, and contraried that which he ſaid, who then was preaching in the church of St. Chriſtopher in London. This when the faithful Londoners did ſee, taking grief hereat, they were moved with great ire againſt the ſaid friar, thruſting him with his other brethren out of the church, whom they had not only beaten and ſore wounded, but alſo followed them home to their houſe, minding to have deſtroyed their manſion with fire alſo; and ſo would have done, had not one of the ſheriffs of London, with two of the friars of the ſaid houſe, well known and reported amongſt the Londoners, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this, Peter Pateſhul thus diſturbed, as is aforeſaid, was deſired by the Londoners (forſomuch as he could not well preach amongſt them) to put in writing that which he had ſaid before, and other things more that he knew by the friars: who then at their requeſt writing the ſame, accuſed the friars of murder committed againſt divers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparent and credible, he declared the names of them that were murdered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further that they were Sodomites and traitors both to the king and the realm; with many other crimes, which mine author for tedioufneſs leaveth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the ſaid friars, the Londoners cauſed the ſaid bill to be openly ſet up at St. Paul's church-door in London, which was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the year of our Lord 1387, and in the tenth year of king Richard the ſecond. Ex Chron. Monachi Albaneſis: Cujus eſt exordium, Anno gratiæ milleſimo, &c.

Thus it may appear by this and other above recited, how the goſpel of Chriſt preached by John Wickliff and others, began to ſpread and fructify abroad in London, and other places of the realm; and more would have done, no doubt, had not William Courtney the archbiſhop, and other prelates with the king, ſet them ſo forcibly with might and main togainſtand the courſe thereof. Albeit, as is ſaid before, I find none which yet were put to death therefore, during the reign of this king Richard the ſecond. Whereby it is to be thought of rhis king, that although he cannot utterly be excuſed for moleſting the godly and innocent preachers of that time

time (as by his briefs and letters aforementioned may appear), yet neither was he ſo cruel againſt them, as other that came after him; and that which he did, ſeemed to proceed by the inſtigation of the pope and other biſhops, rather than either by the conſent of his parliament, or advice of his council about him, or elſe by his own nature. For as the decrees of the parliament in all his time were conſtant in ſtopping out the pope's proviſions, and in bridling his authority, as we ſhall ſee, Chriſt willing anon: ſo the nature of the king was not altogether ſo fiercely ſet, if that he, following the guiding thereof, had not ſtood ſo much in fear of the biſhop of Rome, and his prelates, by whoſe importunate letters and calling on he was continually urged to do contrary to that which both right required, and will perhaps in him deſired. But howſoever the doings of this king are to be excuſed, or not, undoubted it is, that queen Anne his wife moſt rightly deſerveth ſingular commendation; who at the ſame time, living with the king, had the goſpels of Chriſt in Engliſh, with four doctors upon the ſame. This Anne was a Bohemian born, and ſiſter to Wincelaus king of Bohemia before: who was married to king Richard about the fifth, ſome ſay the ſixth, year of his reign, and continued with him the ſpace of eleven years. By the occaſion whereof it may ſeem not unpardonable, that the Bohemians coming in with her, or reſorting into the realm after her, peruſed and received here the books of John Wickliff, which afterward they conveyed into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before. Anno 1394.

The ſaid virtuous queen Anne, after ſhe had lived with king Richard about eleven years, in the ſeventeenth year of his reign, changed this mortal life, and was buried at Weſtminſter. At whoſe funeral Thomas Aurundel, then archbiſhop of York, and lord chancellor, made the ſermon. In which ſermon (as remaineth in the library of Worceſter recorded) he intreating of the commendation of her, ſaid theſe words, That it was more joy of her than of any woman ever he knew. For notwithſtanding that ſhe was an alien born, ſhe had in Engliſh all the four goſpels, with the doctors upon them: affirming moreover and teſtifying, that ſhe had ſent the ſame unto him to examine. And he ſaid they were good and true. And further,, with many words of praiſe he did greatly commend her, in that ſhe being ſo great a lady, and alſo an alien, would ſtudy ſo lowly, ſo virtuous books. And he blamed, in that ſermon, ſharply the negligence of the prelates and other men. Inſomuch that ſome ſaid, he would on the morrow leave up the office of chancellor, and forſake the world, and give him to fulfil his paſtoral office, for that he had ſeen and read in thoſe books. And then it had been the beſt ſermon that ever they heard. Hæc ex libro Wigo. In the which ſermon of Thomas Aurundel, three points are to be conſidered: Firſt, the laudable uſe of thoſe old times received, to have the ſcripture and the doctors in our vulgar Engliſh tongue. Secondly, the virtuous exerciſe and alſo example of this godly lady, who had theſe books not for a ſhew hanging at her girdle; but alſo ſeemed by this ſermon to be a ſtudious occupier of the ſame. The third to be noted is, what fruit the ſaid Thomas archbiſhop declared alſo himſelf to receive at the hearing and reading of the ſame books of hers in the Engliſh tongue. Notwithſtanding, the ſame Thomas Aurundel, after this ſermon and promiſe made, became the moſt cruel enemy that might be againſt Engliſh books, and the authors thereof, as followeth after in his ſtory to be ſeen.

For ſhortly after the death of queen Anne, the ſame year (the king being then in Ireland, this Thomas Aurundel archbiſhop of York, and Robert Braybroke the biſhop of London (whether ſent by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the clergy, or whether going of their own accord), croſſed the ſeas to Ireland, to deſire the king in all ſpeedy wiſe to return and help the faith and church of Chriſt, againſt ſuch as holding of Wickliff's teaching, went about, as they ſaid, to ſubvert all their proceedings, and to deſtroy the canonical functions of their holy mother-church. At whoſe complaint, the king hearing the one part ſpeak, and not adviſing the other, was in ſuch ſort incenſed; that incontinently leaving all his affairs uncompleat, he ſped his return toward England. Where he kept his Chriſtmas at Dublin; in the which mean time, in the beginning of the next year following, which was Anno 1395, a parliament was called at Weſtminſter by the commandment of the king. In which parliament certain articles and concluſions were put up by them of the goſpel ſide, to the number of twelve. Which concluſions moreover were faſtened upon the church door of St. Paul in London, and alſo at Weſtminſter: the copy of which concluſions, with the words and contents thereof here under enſue.

The Book of Concluſions or Reformations, exhibited to the Parliament holden at London, and ſet up at Paul's Door, and other places, in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Richard the ſecond, and in the year of our Lord 1395.

THE firſt concluſion: When as the church of England began firſt to dote in temporalities after her ſtep-mother the great church of Rome, and the churches were authoriſed by appropriations, faith, hope, and charity began in divers places to vaniſh and fly away from our church, forſomuch as pride with her moſt lamentable and dolorous genealogy of mortal and deadly ſins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this concluſion is general and approved by experience, cuſtom, and manner, as ye ſhall after hear.

The ſecond concluſion: That our uſual prieſthood, which took its original at Rome, and is feigned to be a power higher than angels, is not that prieſthood which Chriſt retained unto his diſciples. This concluſion is thus proved: Forſomuch as the Romiſh prieſthood is done with ſigns and pontifical rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force and effect, neither having any ground in ſcripture, forſomuch as the biſhop's ordinal and the New Teſtament do nothing at all agree: neither do we ſee that the Holy Ghoſt doth give any good gift through any ſuch ſigns or ceremonies; becauſe that he, together with all noble and good gifts, cannot conſiſt and be in any perſon with deadly ſin. The corollary or effect of this concluſion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery unto all wiſe men, and ſee the biſhops mock and play with the Holy Ghoſt in the giving of their orders; becauſe they give crowns for their characters and marks, inſtead of white hearts, and this character is the mark of antichriſt, brought into the holy church to cloak and colour their idleneſs.

The third concluſion: That the law of chaſtity enjoined unto prieſthood, the which was firſt ordained to the prejudice of women, induceth ſodomy into the church; but we do excuſe us by the bible, becauſe the ſuſpect decree doth ſay, that we ſhould not name it. Both reaſon and experience proveth this concluſion. Reaſon thus: Forſomuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the clergy will have either a natural purgation, or ſome worſe. Experience thus: Forſomuch as the ſecret trial and proof of ſuch men is, that they do delight in women. And whenſoever thou doſt prove or ſee ſuch a man, mark him well, for he is one of that number. The corollary of this concluſion is, that theſe private religions, with the beginners thereof, ought moſt chiefly to be diſannulled, as the original of that ſin and offence. But God of his might doth of privy ſins ſend open vengeance.

The fourth concluſion that moſt harmeth the innocent people, is this: That the feigned miracle of the ſacrament of bread induceth all men, except it be a very few, unto idolatry: forſomuch as they think that the

body which ſhall never be out of heaven, is by the virtue of the prieſt's words eſſentially included in the little bread, the which they do ſhew unto the people. But would to God they would believe that which the evangelical doctor teacheth us in his trialogue, That the bread of the altar is the body of Chriſt accidentally: forſomuch as we ſuppoſe that by that means every faithful man and woman in the law of God may make the ſacrament of that bread without any ſuch miracle. The corollary of this concluſion is, That albeit the body of Chriſt be endowed with the eternal joy; the ſervice of Corpus Chriſti, made by friar Thomas, is not true, but painted full of falſe miracles; neither is it any marvel, forſomuch as friar Thomas, at that time taking part with the pope, would have made a miracle of a hen's egg; and we know it very well, that every lye openly preached and taught, doth turn to the rebuke and opprobry of him, which is always true without any lack.

The fifth concluſion is this: That the exorciſms and hallowings, conſecrations, and bleſſings over the wine, bread, wax, water, oil, ſalt, incenſe, the altar-ſtone, and about the church-walls, over the veſtiment, chalice, mitre, croſs, and pilgrim-ſtaves, are the very practices of necromancy, rather than of ſacred divinity. This concluſion is thus proved: Becauſe that by ſuch exorciſms the creatures are honoured to be of more force and power than by their own proper nature; for we do not ſee any alteration or change in any creature ſo exorciſed, except it be by falſe faith, which is the principal point of deviliſh art. The corollary of this is, that if the book of exorciſation or conjuring of holy water, which is ſprinkled in the church, were altogether faithful and true; we think certainly that holy water uſed in the church, were the beſt medicine for all kind of ſickneſs and ſores: The contrary whereof daily experience doth teach us.

The ſixth concluſion, which containeth much pride, is, That a king and biſhop both in one perſon, a prelate and juſtice in temporal cauſes, a curate and officer in worldly office, doth make every kingdom out of good order. This concluſion is manifeſt, becauſe the temporality and the ſpirituality are two parts of the holy univerſal church; and therefore he which addicteth himſelf to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other, "For no man can ſerve two maſters:" wherefore to be called Amphroditæ, which are men of both kinds, or Ambodextri, which is ſuch as can play with both hands, were good names for ſuch men of double eſtates. The corollary of this concluſion is, That thereupon we the procurators of God in this caſe do ſue unto the parliament, that it may be enacted, that all ſuch as be of the clergy (as well of the higheſt degree as of the loweſt) ſhould be fully excuſed, and occupy themſelves with their own cure and charge, and not with others.

The ſeventh concluſion that we mightily affirm is: That ſpiritual prayers made in the church for the ſouls of the dead (preferring any one by name more than another) is a falſe foundation of alms, whereupon all the alms of England are falſely founded. This concluſion is proved by two reaſons: The one is, that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to be a work proceeding from mere charity: and perfect charity excepteth no perſon, becauſe thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf. Whereby it appeareth that the benefit of any temporal gift, beſtowed and given unto prieſts, and houſes of alms, is the principal cauſe of any ſpecial prayers, the which is not far different from Simony. The other reaſon is, that every ſpecial prayer, made for men condemned to eternal puniſhment, is very diſpleaſant before God. And albeit it be doubtful, yet it is very likely unto the faithful chriſtian people, that the founders of every ſuch houſe of alms, for their wicked endowing of the ſame, are for the moſt part paſſed by the broad-way. The corollary is, That every prayer of force and effect, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all ſuch whom God would have ſaved, and to live. The merchandiſe of ſpecial prayers now uſed for the dead, maketh mendicant poſſeſſioners and other hireling prieſts, which otherwiſe were ſtrong enough to work and to ſerve the whole realm, and maintaineth the ſame in idleneſs, to the great charge of the realm, becauſe it was proved in a certain book which the king hath, that a hundred houſes of alms are ſufficient for the whole realm. And thereby might peradventure great increaſe and profit come unto the temporality.

The eighth concluſion, needful to tell the people beguiled, is, That pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations made unto blind croſſes or roods, or to deaf images made either of wood or ſtone, are very near of kin unto idolatry, and far different from alms. And albeit that theſe things which are forbidden and imagined are the book of errors unto the common people; notwithſtanding the uſual and common image of the Trinity is moſt eſpecially abominable. This concluſion God himſelf doth openly manifeſt, commanding alms to be given to the poor and needy man, for he is the image of God in a more perfect ſimilitude and likeneſs than any block or ſtone. For God did not ſay, Let us make a block or ſtone unto our likeneſs and image, but, Let us make man; forſomuch as the ſupreme and higheſt honour, which the clergy call Latria, pertaineth only to the Godhead; and the inferior honour, which the clergy call Dulia, pertaineth unto men and angels, and to none other inferior creature. The corollary is, That the ſervice of the croſs, celebrated twice every year in our church, is full of idolatry: for if rood, tree, nails, and ſpear, ought ſo profoundly to be honoured and worſhipped, then were Judas's lips (if any man could get them) a marvellous goodly relic. But thou pilgrim, we pray thee, tell us when thou doſt offer to the bones of the ſaints, and holy men which are laid up in any place, whether doſt thou relieve thereby the holy man who is already in joy, or that alms-houſe which is ſo well endowed, whereas they are canoniſed (the Lord knoweth how); and to ſpeak more plain, every faithful chriſtian may well judge and ſuppoſe that the ſtrokes of that ſame man, whom they call Saint Thomas, were no cauſe of martyrdom, nor yet be.

The ninth concluſion, that keepeth the people low is: That auricular confeſſion which is ſaid to be ſo neceſſary for ſalvation, and the feigned power of abſolution, exalteth and ſetteth up the pride of prieſts, and giveth them opportunity of other ſecret talks, which we will not at this time talk of; forſomuch as both lords and ladies do witneſs, that for fear of their confeſſors they dare not ſpeak the truth: and in time of confeſſion is good opportunity miniſtered of wooing, or to play the bawds, or to make other ſecret conventions to deadly ſin. They affirm and ſay, that they are commiſſaries ſent of God to judge and diſcern of all manner of ſin, to pardon and cleanſe whatſoever pleaſe them. They ſay alſo, that they have the keys of heaven and hell, and that they can excommunicate, curſe and bleſs, bind and looſe, at their own will and pleaſure: inſomuch that for a ſmall reward, or for twelve-pence, they will ſell the bleſſing of heaven by charter and clauſe of warrantiſe, ſealed by their common ſeal. This concluſion is ſo common in uſe, that it needeth not any probation. The corollary hereof is, That the pope of Rome, which feigned himſelf to be the profound treaſurer of the whole church, having that ſame worthy jewel which is the treaſure of the paſſion of Chriſt in his own keeping and cuſtody, together with the merits of all the ſaints in heaven, whereby he giveth feigned indulgences and pardons A pœna & culpa, is a treaſurer almoſt baniſhed out of charity, whereby he may deliver all captives being in purgatory at his pleaſure, and make them not to come there. But here every faithful chriſtian may eaſily perceive that there is much falſehood hid in our church.

The tenth: That man-ſlaughter (either by law or by any pretended law of juſtice for any temporal cauſe or ſpiritual revelation) is expreſly contrary to the New Teſtament, which is the law of grace, full of mercy. This concluſion is evidently proved by the examples of the preaching of Chriſt here on earth, who chiefly teacheth every man to love his enemies, and have compaſſion upon them, and not to kill and murder them. The reaſon is this, that for the moſt part when as men do fight, after the firſt ſtroke, charity is broken; and whoſoever dieth without charity goeth the right way to hell. And beſides that, we do well underſtand and know, that none of the clergy, by any lawful reaſon, can deliver any from the puniſhment of death for one deadly ſin, and not for another: but the law of mercy, which is the New Teſtament, forbiddeth all manner of murder. For in the goſpel it is ſpoken unto our forefathers, "Thou ſhalt not kill." The corollary is, It is a very robbing of the people, when lords purchaſe indulgences and pardons A pœna & culpa, unto ſuch as do help their armies to kill and murder the chriſtian people in foreign countries for temporal gain; as we do ſee certain ſoldiers which do run among the heathen people, to get themſelves fame and renown by the murder and ſlaughter of men. More do they deſerve evil thanks at the hands of the King of peace, forſomuch as by humility and peace our faith is multiplied and increaſed; for murderers and manquellers Chriſt doth hate and menaceth, "He that ſtriketh with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword."

The eleventh concluſion is, which is ſhame to tell, That the vow of chaſtity, made in our church by women that are frail and unperfect in nature, is the cauſe of bringing in many horrible offences and vices, incident unto the nature of man. For albeit the murder of their children born before their time, and before they are chriſtened, and the deſtruction of their nature by medicine, are filthy and foul ſins; yet they accompanying among themſelves, or with unreaſonable beaſts, or with any creatuee not having life, do paſs unto ſuch an unſeemlineſs, that they ought to be puniſhed by infernal torments. The corollary is, That widows, and ſuch as take the mantle and the ring, deliciouſly fed, we would that they were married, becauſe that we cannot excuſe them from private offence of ſin.

The twelfth, That the multitude of arts not neceſſary (uſed in this our church) cauſeth much ſin and offence in waſte, curioſity, and diſguiſing in curious apparel: experience and reaſon partly doth ſhew the ſame, forſomuch as nature, with a few arts, is ſufficient for man's uſe and neceſſity.

This is the whole tenor of our embaſſage, which Chriſt hath commanded us to execute at this time, moſt fit and convenient for many cauſes. And albeit that theſe matters be here briefly noted and touched: yet notwithſtanding they are more at large declared in another book, with many other more in our own proper tongue, which we would ſhould be common to all chriſtian people; wherefore we earneſtly deſire and beſeech God for his great goodneſs ſake, that he will wholly reform our church (now altogether out of frame) unto the perfection of her firſt beginning and original. Ex Archivis Regiis.

After theſe concluſions were thus propoſed in the parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dublin into England, toward the latter end of the parliament. Who at his return called certain nobles unto him, Richard Sturie, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latimer, John Mountacute, &c. whom he did ſharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten, for that he heard them to be favourers of that ſide; charging them ſtraitly never to hold, maintain, nor favour any more thoſe opinions and concluſions. And namely of Richard Sturie he took an oath, that he ſhould never from that day favour or defend any ſuch opinions; which oath being taken, the king then anſwered, And I ſwear (ſaith he) again to thee, that if thou doſt ever break thine oath, thou ſhalt die for it a ſhameful death, &c. Ex Chron. D. Alban.

All this while W. Courtney, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was yet alive, who was a great ſtirrer in theſe matters. But yet pope Urban, the great maſter of the catholic ſect, was dead and buried ſix years before. After whom ſucceeded in the ſchiſmatical ſee of Rome pope Boniface the ninth, who, nothing inferior to his predeceſſor in all kind of cruelties, left no diligence unattempted to ſet forward that which Urban had begun, in ſuppreſſing them that were the ſetters forth of the light of the goſpel: and had written ſundry times to king Richard, as well for the repealing of the acts of parliament againſt his proviſions, Quare impedit, & Premunire facies: as alſo that he ſhould aſſiſt the prelates of England in the cauſe of God (as he pretended) againſt ſuch whom he falſely ſuggeſted to be Lollards and traitors to the church, to the king, and the realm, &c. Thus the courteous pope, whom he could not reach with his ſword, at leaſt with cruel ſlander of his malicious tongue, would work his poiſon againſt them; which letters he wrote to the king in the year of our Lord 1396, which was the year before the death of William Courtney, archbiſhop of Canterbury. After whom ſucceeded in that ſee Thomas Arundel, brother to the earl of Arundel, being firſt biſhop of Ely, afterward archbiſhop of York, and lord chancellor of England, and at laſt made archbiſhop of Canterbury, about the year of our Lord 1397. The next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1398, and the ninth year of the pope, I find in certain records of the biſhop of Durham a certain letter of king Richard the ſecond, written to the ſaid pope Boniface, which, becauſe I judged not unworthy to be ſeen, I thought here to annex the ſame, proceeding in form as followeth. An. 1389.

To the moſt holy Father in Chriſt, and Lord, Lord Boniface the Ninth, by the Grace of God High Pope of the moſt holy Romiſh and univerſal Church, his humble and devout Son Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, greeting, and deſiring to help the Miſeries of the afflicted Church, and kiſſing of thoſe his bleſſed Feet.

"WHO will give my head water, and mine eyes ſtreaming tears, that I may bewail the decay and manifold troubles of our mother, which have chanced to her by her own children in the diſtreſs of this preſent ſchiſm and diviſion. For the ſheep have forgotten the proper voice of their ſhepherds, and hirelings have thruſt in themſelves to feed the Lord's flock, who are clothed with the apparel of the true ſhepherd, challenging the name of honour and dignity, reſembling ſo the true ſhepherd, that the poor ſheep can ſcarce know whom they ought to follow, or what paſtor as a ſtranger they ought to flee, and whom they ſhould ſhun as an hireling. Wherefore we are afraid leſt the holy ſtandard of the Lord be forſaken of his hoſt, and ſo that city, being full of riches, become ſolitary and deſolate, and leſt the land or people which was wont to ſay (flouriſhing in her proſperities) I ſat as a queen, and am not a widow, be deſtitute of the preſence of her huſband; and as it were ſo bewitched, that ſhe ſhall not be able to diſcern his face; and ſo wrapped in amazes, that ſhe ſhall not know where to turn her, that ſhe might more eaſily find him; and that ſhe ſhall with weeping ſpeak that ſaying of the ſpouſe, "I ſought him whom my ſoul loveth, I ſought him, and found him not." For now we are compelled ſo to wander, that if any man ſay, Behold, here is Chriſt, or there, we may not believe him

him ſo ſaying; and ſo many ſhepherds have deſtroyed the Lord's vineyard, and made his amiable portion a vaſt wilderneſs.

This multitude of ſhepherds is become very burdenous to the Lord's flock. For when two ſtrive to be chief, the ſtate of both their dignities ſtands in doubt, and in ſo doing they give occaſion to all the faithful in Chriſt, of a ſchiſm and diviſion of the church. And although both parties go about to ſubdue unto their power the whole church militant, yet contrary to both their purpoſe, by working this way, there beginneth to riſe now a diviſion in the body of the church, like as when the diviſion of the quick innocent body was naked, when the two harlots did ſtrive before Solomon; like as the ten tribes of Iſrael followed Jeroboam the intruder, and were withdrawn from the kingdom for Solomon's ſin: even ſo of old time the deſire of ruling hath drawn the great power of the world from the unity of the church. Let yourſelves remember, we beſeech you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romiſh church in the time of the fraction of the primarch of Conſtantinople; and how Mahomet with his fellows, by occaſion of ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical dignity, deceived a great part of chriſtians, and withdrew them from the empire and ruling Chriſt.

And now in theſe days, where the ſame ſupremacy is, hath withdrawn itſelf from the obedience of it, inſomuch that now in very few realms the candle that burns before the Lord remaineth, and that for David's ſake, his ſervant. And although now remain a few countries profeſſing the obedience of Chriſt's true vicar; yet peradventure if every man were left to his own liberty, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or, what is worſe, would utterly refuſe it by ſuch doubtful evidence alledged on both ſides: and this is the ſubtil craft of the crooked ſerpent, that is to ſay, under the pretence of unity to procure ſchiſms, as the ſpider of a wholeſome flower gathers poiſon, and Judas learned of peace to make war.

Wherefore it is lively believed of wiſe men, that except this peſtilent ſchiſm be withſtood by and by, the keys of the church will be deſpiſed, and they ſhall bind the conſcience but of a few: and when either none dare be bold to correct his fault, or to reform things contrary to God's law, ſo by this means at length temporal lords will take away the liberties of the church, and peradventure the Romans will come and take away their place, people, and lands: they will ſpoil their poſſeſſions, and bring the men of the church into bondage, and they ſhall be contemned, reviled, and deſpiſed, becauſe the obedience of the people, and devotions towards them, will almoſt be taken away, when the greater part of the church, left to their own liberty, ſhall wax prouder than they be wont, leaving a wicked example to them that do ſee it. For when they ſee the prelates ſtudy more for covetouſneſs than they were wont, to purſe up money, to oppreſs the ſubjects, in their puniſhings to ſeek for gain, to confound laws, to ſtir up ſtrife, to ſuppreſs truth, to vex poor ſubjects with wrong corrections, in meat and drink intemperate, in feaſtings paſt ſhame; what marvel is it if the people deſpiſe them as the foulеſt forſakers of God's law? But all theſe things do follow, if the church ſhould be left long in this doubtfulneſs of a ſchiſm, and then ſhould that old ſaying be verified, "In thoſe days there was no king in Iſrael, but every one did that that ſeemed right and ſtreight to himſelf." Micheas did ſee the people of the Lord ſcattered in the mountains, as they had been ſheep without a ſhepherd: for when the ſhepherd is ſmitten, the ſheep of the flock ſhall be ſcattered: the great ſtroke of the ſhepherd is the miniſhing of his juriſdiction, by which the ſubjects are drawn from his obedience.

When Jaſon had the office of the high prieſt, he changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the cuſtoms of the heathen, the prieſts leaving the ſacrifice of the holy altar, and applying themſelves to wreſtling, and other exerciſes of the Grecians, and deſpiſing thoſe things that belonged to the prieſts, did labour with all their might to learn ſuch things of the Grecians; and by that means the place, people, and holy ointing of prieſts, which in times paſt were had in great reverence of kings, were trodden under foot of all men, and robbed by the king's power, and was prophaned by thruſting in for money. Therefore let the higheſt vicar of Chriſt look unto this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authority above others.

If you mark well, moſt holy father, you ſhall find that Chriſt rebuked ſharply two brethren, coveting the ſeat of honour: he taught them not to play the lords over the people, but the more grace they were prevented with, to be ſo much more humble than other, and more lowly to ſerve their brethren. To him that aſked his coat, to give the cloak; to him that ſmote him on the one cheek, to turn the other to him. For the ſheep that are given to his keeping he muſt forſake all earthly things, and to ſhed his own blood, yea, and if need required, to die.

Theſe things I ſay be thoſe that adorn the higheſt biſhop, if they be in him; not his white horſe, nor his imperial crown, becauſe he among all men is moſt bound to all the ſheep of Chriſt. For the fear of God therefore, and for the love of the flock which ye guide, conſider theſe things diligently, and do them wiſely, and ſuffer us no longer to waver betwixt two: although not for your own cauſe, to whom peradventure the fulneſs of your own power is known; yet in pitying our weakneſs, if thou be he, tell us openly, and ſhew thyſelf to the world, that all we may follow one. Be not to us a bloody biſhop, leſt by your occaſion man's blood be ſhed, leſt hell ſwallow ſuch a number of ſouls, and leſt the name of Chriſt be evil ſpoken of by infidels, through ſuch a worthy perſonage.

But peradventure ye will ſay, For our righteouſneſs it is manifeſt enough, and we will not put it to other mens diſputation. If this bald anſwer ſhould be admitted, the ſchiſm ſhould continue ſtill: ſeeing neither part is willing to agree to the other, and where the world is as it were equally divided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to give place to the other without much bloodſhed. The incarnation of Chriſt and his reſurrection was well enough known to himſelf and his diſciples; yet he aſked of his Father to be made known to the world. He made alſo the goſpel to be written, and the doctrine of the apoſtles, and ſent his apoſtles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the ſame thing might be known to all men. The foreſaid reaſon is the ſubtilty of Mahomet, the which knowing himſelf guilty of his ſect, utterly forbad diſputations. If ye have ſo full truſt of your righteouſneſs, put it to the examinations of worthy perſons in a general council, to the which it belongeth by right to define ſuch doubts, or elſe commit it unto able perſons, and give them full power to determine all things concerning that matter, or at the leaſt, by forſaking the office of both parties, leave the church of God free, ſpeedily to provide for a new ſhepherd.

We find that kings have forſaken their temporal kingdoms, only upon reſpect of devotion, and have taken the apparel of monks profeſſion. Therefore let Chriſt's vicar (being a profeſſor of moſt high holineſs) be aſhamed to continue in his ſeat of honour, to the offence of all people, and the prejudice and hurt of the Romiſh church, and the devotion of it, and cutting away kingdoms from it.

But if you ſay, It is not requiſite the cauſe of God's church ſhould be called in controverſy, and therefore we cannot ſo eaſily go from it, ſeeing our conſcience gainſayeth it.

To the which we anſwer, If it be the cauſe of God and the church, let the general council judge of it; but if it be a perſonal cauſe (as almoſt all the world probably thinketh) if ye were the followers of Chriſt, ye would rather chuſe a temporal death, than to ſuffer ſuch a wavering. I ſay not, to the hurt of ſo many, but to the endleſs deſtruction of ſouls, to the offence of the whole world, and to an everlaſting ſhame of the apoſtolical dignity. Did not Clement named, or (that I may more truly ſpeak) ordained of St. Peter to the apoſtolic dignity, and to be biſhop, reſign his right, that his deed might be taken of his ſucceſſors for an example? Alſo pope Siricius gave over his popedom to be comfort of the 11,000 virgins. Therefore much more ought you (if need require) give over your popedom, that you might gather together the children of God, which be ſcattered abroad. For as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right even to bloodſhed: ſo it is ſometimes neceſſary for a man to wink at his own cauſe, and to forſake it for a greater profit, and by that means better to procure peace. Should not he be thought a devil, and Chriſt's enemy of all men, that would agree to an election made of him for the apoſtolical dignity and popedom, if it ſhould be to the deſtruction of chriſtians, diviſion of the church, the offence and loſs of all faithful people? If ſuch miſchiefs ſhould be known to all the world by God's revelation, to come to paſs by ſuch receiving of the popedom and apoſtolical dignity: then by the like reaſon why ſhould he not be judged of all men an apoſtata, and forſaker of his faith, which chuſeth dignity, or worldly honour, rather than the unity of the church? Chriſt died that he might gather together the children of God, which are ſcattered abroad: but ſuch an enemy of God and the church wiſheth his ſubjects bodily to die in battle, and the more part of the world to periſh in ſoul, rather than forſaking to be pope; to live in a lower ſtate, although it were honourable.

If the fear of God, the deſire of the heavenly kingdom, and the earneſt love of the unity of the church, do move your heart, ſhew indeed that your works may bear record to the truth. Clement and Siricius, moſt holy popes, not only are not reproved, but rather are reverenced of all men, becauſe they gave over their right for profitable cauſes, and for the ſame cauſe all the church of holy men ſhew forth their praiſe. Likewiſe your name ſhould live for ever and ever, if ye would do the like for a neceſſary cauſe, that is to ſay, for the unity of God's church. Give no heed to the unmeaſurable crying of them that ſay, that the right chuſing of popes is loſt, except ye defend your parts manfully: but be afraid, leſt ſuch ſtirrers up of miſchief look for their own commodity or honour, that is to ſay, that under your wing they might be promoted to riches and honour. After this ſort Achitophel was joined with Abſalom in perſecuting his own father, and falſe uſurping of his kingdom.

Furthermore, there ſhould be no jeopardy to that election, becauſe both parties ſtick ſtiffly to the old faſhion of election, and either of them covet the pre-eminence of the Romiſh church, counſelling all chriſtians to obey them. And although through their giving over the faſhion of chuſing the pope ſhould be changed for a time, it were to be borne, rather than to ſuffer any longer this diviſion in God's church. For that faſhion in chuſing is not ſo neceſſarily required to the ſtate of a pope, but the ſucceſſor of the apoſtle, as neceſſary cauſe required might come in at the door by another faſhion of chuſing, and that canonical enough. And this we are taught manifeſtly by examples of the fathers; for Peter the apoſtle appointed after him Clement, and that not by falſe uſurping of power, as we ſuppoſe. And it was thought that the faſhion of appointing popes was lawful unto the time of pope Hilary; which decreed that no pope ſhould appoint his ſucceſſor.

Afterward the election of the pope went by the clergy and people of Rome, and the emperor's council agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the election of the bleſſed Gregory. But Martinus pope, with the conſent of the holy ſynod, granted Charles the power to chuſe the pope. But of late Nicolas the ſecond was the firſt whom Martin makes mention of in his councils to be choſen by the cardinals. But all the biſhops of Lombardy (for the moſt part) withſtood this election, and choſe Cadulus to be pope, ſaying, That the pope ought not be choſen but of the precinct of Italy. Wherefore we think it not a ſafe way ſo earneſtly to ſtick to the traditions of men, in the faſhion of chuſing the pope, and ſo oft to change, leſt we be brought to break God's traditions concerning the unity of the church. Yea rather it were better yet to ordain a new faſhion of his election, and meeter for him as it hath been afore. But all things concerning the ſame election might be kept ſafe, if God's honour were looked for afore your own, and the peace of the church uprightly ſought: for ſuch a diſhonouring ſhould be moſt honour to you, and that giving place ſhould be the getting of a greater dignity, and the willing depoſing of your honour ſhould obtain you the entry of everlaſting honour, and ſhould procure the love of the whole world toward you, and you ſhould deſerve to be exalted continually, as David was in humbling himſelf. O how monſtrous a ſight, and how foul a monſter is a man's body diſfigured with two heads? So if it were poſſible, the ſpouſe of Chriſt ſhould be made ſo monſtrous if ſhe were ruled with two ſuch heads: but that is not poſſible, ſhe is ever altogether fair, in whom no ſpot is found; therefore we muſt caſt away that rotten member, and thruſter in his ſecond head. We cannot ſuffer any longer ſo great a wickedneſs in God's houſe, that we ſhould ſuffer God's coat, that wants a ſeam, by any means to be torn by the hands of two, that violently draw it in ſunder. For if theſe two ſhould be ſuffered to reign together, they would ſo betwixt them tear in pieces that little coat of the Lord, that ſcarce one piece would hang to another. They paſs the wickedneſs of the ſoldiers that crucified Chriſt; for they willing to have the coat whole, ſaid, Let us not cut it, but let us caſt lots for it, whoſe it ſhall be. But theſe two popes ſuffering their right and title to be tried by no lot nor way (although not in words yet in deeds), they pronounced this ſentence, It ſhall neither be thine nor mine, but let it be divided; for they choſe rather, as it appeareth, to be lords (though it be but in a little part, and that to the confuſion of the unity of the church) than, in leaving that lording, to ſeek for the peace of the church.

We do not affirm this, but we ſhew almoſt the whole judgment of the world of them, being moved ſo to think by lively conjectures. We looked for amendment of this intolerable confuſion, by the ſpace theſe two the inventers of this miſchief lived. But we looked for peace, and behold trouble: for neither in their lives nor in their deaths they procured any comfort, but rather dying as it were in a doubt betwixt two ways, left to their ſucceſſors matter of contention continual.

But now for the ſpace of ſeven years, whereas of their ſucceſſors we deſired and looked for that they ſhould bear good grapes; and they bring forth wild grapes, in this matter we fall into a deep deſpair. But inaſmuch as we hear the comfort of the Lord, which promiſed that miſerably he would deſtroy thoſe wicked men, and let his vineyard to other huſbandmen which will bring him fruit at their times appointed, and hath promiſed faithfully that he will help his ſpouſe in her need to the end of the world: we leaning on the ſure hope of this promiſe, and in hope contrary to hope believing, by God's grace will put our helping hands to the eaſing of this miſery, when a convenient time ſhall ſerve, as much as our kingly power is able; and altho' our wit doth not perceive how theſe things afore re-

hearſed may be amended, yet we being encouraged to this by the hope of God's promiſe, will do our endeavour: like as Abraham believed, his ſon being ſlain by ſacrifice, that the multitude of his ſeed ſhould increaſe to the number of the ſtars, according to God's promiſe.

Now therefore the times draw near to make an end of this ſchiſm, leſt a third election of a ſchiſmatic againſt the apoſtle's ſucceſſor make a cuſtom of the doing, and ſo the pope of Avignon ſhall be double Romiſh pope, and he ſhall ſay with his partakers, as the patriarch of Conſtantinople ſaid unto Chriſt's vicar when he forſook him: "The Lord be with thee, for the Lord is with us." And is much to be feared of all chriſtian men: for that phariſee begins now to be called the pope of Avignon among the people.

But peradventure it would be thought of ſome men, that it belongeth not to ſecular princes to bridle outrages of the pope. To whom we anſwer, That naturally the members put themſelves in jeopardy to ſave the head, and the parts labour to ſave the whole. Chriſt ſo decked his ſpouſe, that her ſides ſhould cleave together, and ſhould uphold themſelves, and by courſe of time and occaſion of things they ſhould correct one another, and cleave together tunably. Did not Moſes put down Aaron, becauſe he was unfaithful? Solomon put down Abiathar, who came by lineal deſcent from Anathoth, and removed his prieſthood from his kindred to the ſtock of Eleazar in the perſon of Sadock, which had his beginning from Eli the prieſt? 3 Reg. 2. Otho emperor depoſed pope John XII. becauſe he was lecherous. Henry the emperor put down Gratianus, becauſe he uſed ſimony in buying and ſelling ſpiritual livings. And Otho depoſed pope Bennet I. becauſe he truſted in himſelf. Therefore by like reaſon, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romiſh pope in default of the church; if the quality of his fault require it, or the neceſſity of the church by this compel to help the church oppreſſed by tyranny?

In old times ſchiſms, which roſe about making the pope, were determined by the power of ſecular princes, as the ſchiſm betwixt Symmachus and Laurence was ended in a council before Theodoricus king of Italy. Henry the emperor, when two did ſtrive to be pope, depoſed them both, and received the third being choſen at Rome to be pope, that is to ſay, Clement the ſecond, which crowned him with the imperial crown. And the Romans promiſed him that from thenceforth they would promote none to be pope without his conſent. Alexander alſo overcame four popes ſchiſmatics, all which Frederic the emperor corrected.

Thus look on the regiſter of popes and their deeds, and ye ſhall find that ſchiſms moſt commonly have been decided by the power of ſecular princes, and ſchiſmatics caſt out, and ſometimes new popes made, and ſometimes the old ones caſt out of their dignities, and reſtored to their dignities again. If it were not lawful for ſecular princes to bridle the outrages of ſuch a pope lawfully made, and afterwards becoming a tyrant: in ſuch a caſe he might oppreſs overmuch the church, he might change Chriſtendom into heathens, and make the labour of Chriſt crucified to be in vain: or elſe truly God ſhould not have provided for his ſpouſe in earth by all means as much as is poſſible by ſervice of men to withſtand dangers. Therefore we counſel you, with ſuch a loving affection as becomes children, that ye conſider in your heart well, leſt in working by this means ye prepare a way to antichriſt thro' your deſire to bear rule, and ſo by this means, as we fear the one of theſe two ſhall chance, either ye ſhall cauſe all the princes of the world to riſe againſt you to bring in the true follower of Chriſt to have the ſtate of the apoſtolic dignity, or, that is worſe, the whole world, deſpiſing the ruling of one ſhepherd, ſhall leave the Romiſh church deſolate.

But God keep this from the world, that the deſire of honour of two men ſhould bring ſuch a deſolation into the church of God; for them that departing away, which the apoſtle propheſied, ſhould come before the coming of antichriſt were at hand: which ſhould be the laſt diſpoſition of the world, peaceably to receive antichriſt with honour.

Conſider therefore the ſtate of your moſt excellent holineſs, how ye received the power from God to the building of the church, and not to the deſtruction of it; that Chriſt hath given you wine and oil to heal the wounded; and hath appointed you his vicar in theſe things which pertain to gentleneſs, and hath given us theſe things which ſerve to rigour. For we bear not the ſword without a cauſe, to the puniſhment of evil doers, the which power ordained of God we have received, ourſelves being witneſs: beſeeching you to receive our counſel effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may return to their places from whence they came, and ſo the waters may begin to be made ſweet with ſalt: leſt the ax ſwim on the water, and the wood ſink, and leſt the fruitful olive degenerate into a wild olive, and the leproſy of Naaman that nobleman cleave continually to the houſe of Gehazi, and leſt the pope and the phariſees crucify Chriſt again. Chriſt the ſpouſe of the church, which was wont to bring the chief biſhop into the holieſt place, increaſe your holineſs, or rather reſtore it being loſt. Written, &c." Ex Fragm. lib. cujuſd. Dunelm.

This epiſtle of king Richard the ſecond, written to pope Boniface the ninth, in the time of the ſchiſm, about the year as appeared 1397, as it contained much good matter of wholeſome counſel to be followed, ſo how little it wrought with the pope, the ſequel afterward declared. For the ſchiſm notwithſtanding continued long after, in which neither of the popes would give over their hold, or yield any thing to good counſel given them, for any reſpect of public wealth. Such a ſtroke beareth ambition in this apoſtolical ſee, which we are wont ſo greatly to magnify. But of this enough, which I leave and refer to the conſideration of the Lord, ſeeing men will ot look upon it.

And thus much touching the time and race of this king Richard, with the tragical ſtory of his depoſing. The order and manner whereof purpoſely I pretermit, only contented briefly to lay together a few ſpecial things done before his fall, ſuch as may be ſufficient, in a brief ſum, both to ſatisfy the reader inquiſitive of ſuch ſtories, and alſo to forewarn other princes to beware of the like dangers. In ſuch as write the life and acts of this prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the favouring and advancing of certain perſons about him, and ruled all by their counſel, which were then greatly abhorred and hated in the realm: the names of whom were Robert Vere earl of Oxford, whom the king made duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevil archbiſhop of York, Michael de la Pool earl of Suffolk, Robert Triſilian lord chief juſtice, Nicholas Brembre, with others.

Theſe men, being hated and diſdained of divers of the nobles, and of the commons, the king alſo by favouring them, was leſs favoured himſelf. Inſomuch that the duke of Gloceſter, named Thomas Woodſtock, the king's uncle, with the earl of Warwick and earl of Derby, ſtood up in arms againſt thoſe counſellers and abuſers (as they named them) of the king. Inſomuch that the king for fear was conſtrained againſt his mind to remove out of his court, Alexander Nevil archbiſhop of York, John Ford biſhop of Dureſme, friar Thomas Ruſhoke biſhop of Chicheſter, the king's confeſſor, with the lord Haringworth, lord Burnel, and Bemond, lord Vere, and divers other.

And furthermore, in the parliament the ſame year following Robert Triſilian the juſtice was hanged and drawn. Alſo Nicholas Brembre knight, James Saliſbury alſo and James Barneſe both knights, John Bewcemp the king's ſteward, and John Blake eſquire in like manner: all theſe by the counſel of the lords being caſt in the parliament againſt the king's mind, did ſuffer, which was in the 11th of his reign, he being yet under governors;

but conſequently after the ſame, the king claiming his own liberty, being come to the age of twenty, began to take more upon him. And this was one thing that ſtirred up the king's ſtomach againſt the nobles. Ex Chron. Alban.

2. Another thing that ſtirred him up as much againſt the Londoners, was this, for that he would have borrowed of them a thouſand pounds, and they denied him, to their double and treble diſadvantage, as after enſued upon it. Ibidem. Another occaſion, beſides this between the king and the Londoners, happened thus, by reaſon of one of the biſhop of Saliſbury's ſervants, named Roman, and a baker's man; who then carrying a baſket of horſe-bread in Fleet-ſtreet, the foreſaid Roman took a horſe-loaf out of the baſket. The baker aſking him why he did ſo, the biſhop's luſty yeoman turned back and brake his head; whereupon the neighbours came out, and would have arreſted this Roman, but he eſcaped away unto the biſhop's houſe. Then the conſtable would have had him out; but the biſhop's men ſhut faſt the gates, that they ſhould not approach; thus much people gathered together, threatening to burſt open the gates, and fire the houſe, unleſs they had the foreſaid party to them brought out. Whereby much ado there was, till at length the mayor and ſheriffs came and quieted the rage of the commons, and ſent every man home to his houſe, charging them to keep peace. Here as yet was no great harm done, but if the biſhop for his part had been quiet, and had not ſtirred the coals of debate, which were well ſlacked already, all had been ended without further perturbation. But the ſtomach of the biſhop not yet digeſted (although his man had done the wrong) having no great cauſe ſo to do, whoſe name was John Waitam, being then treaſurer of England, went to Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop the ſame time of York, the lord chancellor of England, to complain of the Londoners. Where is to be noted or rather revealed, by the way, a privy myſtery, which although it be not in this ſtory touched of the writers, yet it touched the hearts of the biſhops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriouſly known to be favourers of Wickliff's ſide, as partly before this is to be ſeen, and in the ſtory of S. Alban's more plainly doth appear: where the author of the ſaid hiſtory, writing upon the 15th year of king Richard's reign, reporteth in theſe words of the Londoners, that they were "Not right believers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers, ſuſtainers of the Lollards, depravers of religious men, with-holders of tithes, and impoveriſhers of the common people," &c.

Thus the Londoners, being noted and ſuſpected of the biſhops, were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the ſaid biſhops, which were the more ready to find and take all occaſions to work againſt them, as by their doing herein may well appear. For the biſhop of Saliſbury, and archbiſhop of York having no greater matter againſt them than was declared, with a grievous complaint went to the king, complaining of the mayor and ſheriffs of London. What treſpaſs the mayor and ſheriffs had done, as ye have heard before, ſo may you judge. Now what followed after let us hear. The king, incenſed not a little, with the complaint of the biſhops, conceived eftſoons againſt the mayor and ſheriffs, and againſt the whole city of London, a great ſtomach; inſomuch that the mayor and both the ſheriffs were ſent for, and removed from their office, Sir Edward Darlington then was made warden and governor of the city; who alſo, for his gentleneſs ſhewed to the citizens, was alſo depoſed, and another, named Sir Baldwin Radington, placed in that room. Moreover, ſo much grew the king's diſpleaſure againſt the city, that he alſo removed from London the courts, and terms, to be kept at York, that is to ſay, the chancery, the exchequer, the king's-bench, the hanaper, and the common pleas; where the ſame continued from Midſummer till Chriſtmas, to the great decay of London; which was anno 1393.

3. Another great cauſe, which purchaſed the king much evil will amongſt his ſubjects, was the ſecret murdering of his own uncle named Thomas Woodſtock, duke of Gouceſter, of whom mention was made before: where was declared, how the ſaid duke, with the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Derby, with other, were up in armour againſt certain wicked counſellors about the king. Whereupon the king, watching afterward his time, came into Chelmsford, and ſo to the place near by, whereby the duke lay, where with his own hands he arreſted the ſaid duke his uncle, and ſent him down by water immediately to Calais; and there, through the king's commandment, by ſecret means he was put to death, being ſtrangled under a featherbed, the earl Marſhal being then keeper of Calais, whereby great indignation roſe in many mens hearts againſt the king.

With the ſame duke of Gloceſter alſo, about the ſame time, was arreſted and impriſoned the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Arundel, who, being condemned by parliament, were then executed, whereby great grudge and great indignation roſe in the hearts of many againſt the king. An. 1397.

Fourthly, to omit here the blank charts ſent over all the land by the king; and how the king was ſaid to let out his realm to farm: over and beſide all theſe above premiſed, fell another matter, which was the principal occaſion of this miſchief; The baniſhment, I mean, of Henry earl of Derby, made duke of Hereford a little before, being ſon of John of Gaunt the duke of Lancaſter (who died ſhortly after the baniſhment of his ſon, and lieth buried in the church of St. Paul in London) and the duke of Norfolk; who was before earl of Nottingham, and after by this king made duke of Norfolk the year before. At which time the king made five dukes, a marquiſs, and four earls, to wit, the duke of Hereford, which was before earl of Derby; duke of Awmerle, which was before duke of Rutland; duke of Southrey, who was before earl of Kent; duke of Exeter, which was before earl of Huntingdon; and this duke of Norfolk, being before earl of Nottingham, as is aforeſaid, &c. The occaſion of baniſhing the foreſaid dukes was this.

About this preſent time the duke of Hereford did appreach the duke of Norfolk upon certain words to be ſpoken againſt the king; whereupon caſting their gloves one againſt the other, they appointed to fight out the quarrel, a day being for the ſame appointed, at Coventry. But the king took up the matter in his own hands, baniſhing the duke of Norfolk for ever, which after died at Venice; and the other duke, which was the duke of Hereford, for ten years. Beſides theſe, alſo was exiled into France Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury by act of parliament, in the ſame year, for points of treaſon, as we have heard before expreſſed. All which turned to the great inconvenience of this king, as in the event following may appear.

The cauſes and preparatives thus premiſed, it followed the year after, which was anno 1399, and laſt year of this king, that the king, upon certain affairs to be done, took his voyage into Ireland. In which mean time Henry of Bolingbroke, earl of Derby and duke of Hereford, and with him the aforeſaid archbiſhop Thomas Arundel (which before were both exiled) returning out of France to Calais, came into England, challenging the dukedom of Lancaſter, after the death of his father. With them alſo came the ſon and heir of the earl of Arundel, being yet but young. Theſe together ſetting out for Calais, arrived at Ravenſpur in the north. At the knowledge whereof much people gathered unto them.

In this mean time, as the duke was hovering on the ſea to enter the land, lord Edmond duke of York, the king's uncle, to whom the king committed the cuſtody of this

realm

realm (having intelligence thereof) called to him the biſhop of Chicheſter, named Edmund Stafford, chancellor of the realm, and William Scrope, earl of Wiltſhire, lord treaſurer; alſo John Buſhey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, and John Ruſchel, with divers other, conſulting with them what was beſt in that caſe to be done. Who then gave their advice (whether wilful or unſkilful, it is not known, but very unfruitful) that he ſhould leave London, and go to St. Alban's, there to wait for more ſtrength, able to encounter with the duke. But as the people out of divers quarters reſorted thither, many of them proteſted, that they would do nothing to the harm and prejudice of the duke of Lancaſter, who, they ſaid, was unjuſtly expulſed. The reſt of the council, John Buſhey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, William Scrope, treaſurer, hearing and underſtanding how the commons were minded to join with the duke of Hereford, left the duke of York and the lord chancellor, and fled to the caſtle of Briſtol. Where it is to be underſtood, that theſe four were they, to whom the common fame ran, that the king had let out his realm to farm; and were ſo hated of the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them, more than for the king, this commotion was among the people.

As this broil was in England, the noiſe thereof ſounding to the king's ears, being then in Ireland, for haſty ſpeed of returning into England, he left in Ireland both his buſineſs, and moſt of his ordnance alſo behind him; and ſo paſſing the ſeas, landed at Milford-haven, not daring, as it ſeemed, to come to London.

On the contrary ſide, unto Henry duke of Hereford, being landed, as is ſaid, in the north, came the earl of Northumberland, lord Henry Percy, and Henry his ſon, the earl of Weſtmorland, lord Radulph Nevil, and other lords more to a great number, ſo that the multitude roſe to 60,000 able ſoldiers. Who, firſt making toward the caſtle of Briſtol, took the foreſaid Buſhey, Grene, Scrope, and Bagot; of whom three incontinently were beheaded; Bagot eſcaped away, and fled to Ireland.

The king in this mean while lying about Wales, deſtitute and deſolate, without comfort or counſel; who neither durſt come to London, neither would any man come to him; and perceiving moreover, the commons, that were up in ſuch a great power againſt him, would rather die, than give over that they had begun, for fear of themſelves; ſeeing therefore no other remedy, called to him lord T. Percy, earl of Worceſter, and ſteward of his houſhold, willing him, with other of his family, to provide for themſelves in time. Who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, commanding every man to ſhift for himſelf. Although Fabian and ſome others ſay, that he did this of his own accord, contrary to his allegiance. The king, compaſſed on every ſide with miſeries, ſhifted from place to place, the duke ſtill following him; till at length, being at the caſtle of Conway, the king deſired to talk with Tho. Arundel archbiſhop, and the earl of Northumberland; to whom he declared, "That he would reſign up his crown, on condition that an honourable living might be for him provided, and life promiſed to eight perſons, which he ſhould name." Which being granted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the caſtle of Flint, where (after talk had with the duke of Lancaſter) he was brought the ſame night by the duke and his army to Cheſter, and from thence was conveyed ſecretly into the Tower, there to be kept till the next parliament. By the way as he came near to London, divers evil diſpoſed men of the city being warned thereof, gathered themſelves, thinking to have ſlain him, for the great cruelty he had uſed before toward the city; but by the policies of the mayor and rulers of the city, the madneſs of the people was ſtayed. Not long after followed the duke, and alſo began the parliament. In which parliament the earl of Northumberland, with many other earls and lords, were ſent to the king in the Tower, to take of him a full reſignation, according to his former promiſe, and ſo they did. This done, divers accuſations and articles were laid and engroſſed againſt the ſaid king; to the number of thirty-three, ſome ſay, thirty-eight, which to the matter not greatly material in them contained, I overpaſs. And the next year after he was had to Pomfret caſtle, and there famiſhed to death.

King HENRY the Fourth.

AND thus king Richard, by common aſſent being depoſed from his rightful crown, the duke of Lancaſter was led by Thomas Arundel, the archbiſhop, to the ſeat royal; who there ſtanding up, and croſſing himſelf on the forehead and the breaſt, ſpake in words as followeth:

In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry of Lancaſter, claim the realm of England, and the crown, with all the appurtenances, as I that am deſcended by right line of the blood, coming from that good lord king Henry the third. And though the right that God of his grace hath ſent to me, with the help of my kin and of my friends to recover the ſame, which was in point to be undone for default of good governance, and due juſtice, &c.

After which words the archbiſhop, aſking the aſſent of the people, being joyful of their new king, took the duke by the hand, and placed him in the kingly throne, which was Anno 1399, and ſhortly after, by the foreſaid archbiſhop, he was crowned alſo for king of England. Ex Chron. D. Alban.

The next year after followed a parliament holden at Weſtminſter; in which parliament one William Sautre, a good man, and a faithful prieſt, inflamed with zeal of true religion, required he might be heard for the commodity of the whole realm. But the matter being ſmelt before by the biſhop, they obtained that the matter ſhould be referred to the convocation: where the ſaid William Sautre being brought before the biſhops and notaries thereunto appointed, the convocation was deferred to the Saturday next enſuing.

When Saturday was come, that is to ſay, the 12th day of February, Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of his council provincial, being aſſembled in the ſaid chapter-houſe, againſt one Sir William Sautre, othewiſe called Chatris chaplain, perſonally then and there appearing by the commandment of the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, objected, That the ſaid Sir William before the biſhop of Norwich had once renounced and abjured divers and ſundry concluſions heretical and erroneous; and that after ſuch abjuration made, he publicly and privily held, taught, and preached the ſame concluſions, or elſe ſuch like, diſagreeing to the catholic faith, and to the great peril and pernicious example of others. And after this he cauſed ſuch-like concluſions, holden and preached, as is ſaid, by the ſaid Sir William without renunciation, then and there to be read unto the ſaid archbiſhop, by Mr. Robert Hall, chancellor unto the ſaid biſhop, in a certain ſcroll written, in tenor of words as followeth.

Sir William Chatris, otherwiſe called Sautre, pariſh prieſt of the church of St. Scithe the virgin, in London, publicly and privily doth hold theſe concluſions underwritten.

Imprimis, He ſaith, that he will not worſhip the croſs on which Chriſt ſuffered, but only Chriſt that ſuffered upon the croſs.

2. Item, That he would ſooner worſhip a temporal king than the foreſaid wooden croſs.

3. Item

3. Item, That he would rather worſhip the bodies of the ſaints, than the very croſs of Chriſt on which he hung, if it were before him.

4. Item, That he would rather worſhip a man truly contrite, than the croſs of Chriſt.

5. Item, That he is bound rather to worſhip a man that is predeſtinate, than an angel of God.

6. Item, That if any man would viſit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Thomas, or elſe and whither elſe, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit; he is not bound to keep his vow, but he may diſtribute the expences of his vow upon the alms of the poor.

7. Item, That every prieſt and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, than to ſay the canonical hours.

8. Item, That after the pronouncing of the ſacramental words of the body of Chriſt, the bread remaineth of the ſame nature that it was before, neither doth it ceaſe to be bread.

To which concluſions or articles being thus read, the archbiſhop of Canterbury required the ſame Sir William to anſwer. And then the ſaid William aſked a copy of ſuch articles or concluſions, and a competent ſpace to anſwer unto the ſame. Whereupon the ſaid archbiſhop commanded a copy of ſuch articles or concluſions be delivered then and there unto the ſaid Sir William, aſſigning the Thurſday then next enſuing to him to deliberate and make anſwer in.

When Thurſday the ſaid day of appearance was come, maſter Nicholas Riſhton, auditor of the cauſes and buſineſs belonging to the ſaid archbiſhop (then being in the parliament houſe at Weſtminſter, otherwiſe let) continued the ſaid convocation, with all matters riſing, depending, and appertinent thereunto, by commandment of the ſaid biſhop, until the next morrow at eight of the clock.

When the morrow came, being Friday, the foreſaid Sir William Sautre, in the chapter-houſe before the ſaid biſhop and his council provincial then and there aſſembled, making his perſonal appearance, exhibited a certain ſcroll, containing the anſwer unto certain articles or concluſions given him, as is aforeſaid, by the ſaid biſhop; and ſaid, that unto the foreſaid archbiſhop he delivered the ſame as his anſwer in that behalf, under the tenor of ſuch words as follow.

"I William Sautre, prieſt unworthy, ſay and anſwer, that I will not, nor intend not, to worſhip the croſs whereon Chriſt was crucified, but only Chriſt that ſuffered upon the croſs; ſo underſtanding me, That I will not worſhip the material croſs, or the groſs corporal matter; yet notwithſtanding I will worſhip the ſame as a ſign, token, and memorial, of the paſſion of Chriſt; Adoratione vicaria. And that I will rather worſhip a temporal king, than the foreſaid wooden croſs, and the material ſubſtance of the ſame. And that I will rather worſhip the bodies of ſaints, than the very croſs of Chriſt whereon he hung; with this addition, that if the very ſame croſs were afore me, as touching the material ſubſtance. And alſo that I will rather worſhip a man truly confeſſed and penitent, than the croſs on which Chriſt hung, as touching the material ſubſtance.

And that alſo I am bound, and will rather worſhip him whom I know to be predeſtinate, truly confeſſed and contrite, than an angel of God; for that the one is a man of the ſame nature with the humanity of Chriſt, and ſo is not a bleſſed angel. Notwithſtanding I will worſhip both of them, according as the will of God is I ſhould.

Alſo, That if any man hath made a vow to viſit the ſhrines of the apoſtles Peter and Paul, or to go on pilgrimage unto St. Thomas's tomb, or any-whither elſe, to obtain any temporal benefit or commodity; he is not bound ſimply to keep his vow upon the neceſſity of ſalvation; but he may give the expences of his vow in alms amongſt the poor, by the prudent counſel of his ſuperior, as I ſuppoſe.

And alſo I ſay, that every deacon and prieſt is more bound to preach the word of God, than to ſay the canonical hours, according to the primitive order of the church.

Alſo, touching the interrogation of the ſacrament of the altar, I ſay, that after the pronouncing of the ſacramental words of the body of Chriſt, there ceaſeth not to be very bread ſimply, but remains bread, holy, true, and the bread of life; and I believe the ſaid ſacrament to be the very body of Chriſt, after the pronouncing of the ſacramental words.

When all theſe anſwers were thoroughly by maſter Robert Hall directly and publicly there read, the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury inquired of the ſaid Sir William, whether he had abjured the foreſaid hereſies and errors objected againſt him, as before is ſaid, before the biſhop of Norwich, or not; or elſe had revoked and renounced the ſaid, or ſuch like concluſions or articles, or not? To which he anſwered and affirmed, that he had not. And then conſequently (all other articles, concluſions, and anſwers above written immediately omitted) the ſaid archbiſhop examined the ſame Sir William Sautre, eſpecially upon the ſacrament of the altar.

Firſt, Whether in the ſacrament of the altar, after the pronouncing of the ſacramental words, remaineth very material bread or not? Unto which interrogation, the ſame Sir William ſomewhat wavering ſaid, that he knew not that. Notwithſtanding he ſaid, that there was very bread, becauſe it was the bread of life which came down from heaven.

After that the ſaid archbiſhop demanded of him, Whether in the ſacrament, after the ſacramental words, rightly pronounced of the prieſt, the ſame bread remaineth, which did before the words pronounced, or not? And to this queſtion the foreſaid William anſwered in like manner as before, ſaying, That there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life, &c.

And that the foreſaid archbiſhop aſked him, Whether the ſame material bread before conſecration, by the ſacramental words of the prieſt rightly pronounced, be tranſubſtantiated from the nature of bread into the very body of Chriſt, or not? Whereunto Sir William ſaid, That he knew not what the matter meant.

And then the ſaid archbiſhop aſſigned unto the ſaid Sir William time to deliberate, and more fully to make his anſwer, till the next day; and continued this convocation then and there till the morrow. Which morrow, being the 19th of February, the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the ſaid Chapter-houſe of Saint Paul in London, before his council provincial there aſſembled, eſpecially aſked and examined the ſame Sir William Sautre, there perſonally preſent, upon the ſacrament of the altar, as before. And the ſame Sir William again in like manner as before anſwered.

After this, among other things, the ſaid biſhop demanded of the ſame William, If the ſame material bread, being upon the altar, after the ſacramental words, being of the prieſt rightly pronounced, is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt, or not? And the ſaid Sir William ſaid, he underſtood not what he meant.

Then the ſaid archbiſhop demanded, Whether that material bread, being round and white, prepared and diſpoſed for the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt upon the altar, wanting nothing that is meet and requiſite thereunto, by the virtue of the ſacramental words, being of the prieſt rightly pronounced, be altered and changed into the very body of Chriſt, and ceaſeth any more to be material and very bread, or not? Then the ſaid Sir William deridingly anſwered, ſaid, He could not tell.

Then conſequently the ſaid archbiſhop demanded, Whether he would ſtand to the determination of the holy church, or not, which affirmeth, that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration, being rightly pronounced of the prieſt, the ſame bread, which before in nature was bread, ceaſeth any more to be bread? To this interrogation Sir William ſaid, "That he would ſtand to the determination of the church, where ſuch determination was not contrary to the will of God."

This done, he demanded of him again, What his judgment was concerning the ſacrament of the altar? Who ſaid and affirmed, "That after the words of conſecration, by the prieſt truly pronounced, remained very bread, and the ſame bread which was before the words ſpoken." And this examination about the ſacrament laſted from eight o'clock the ſame day till eleven, or thereabouts; inſomuch that during all this time the ſaid William would no otherwiſe anſwer, neither yet touching the ſame ſacrament receive catholic information, according to the inſtitution of the pope's church, and his chriſtian faith. Wherefore the ſaid archbiſhop, by the counſel and aſſent of his whole convent, then and there preſent, did promulgate and give ſentence, by the mouth of Robert Hall, againſt the ſame Sir William Sautre (being perſonally preſent, and refuſing to revoke his hereſies, that is to ſay, his true doctrine, but conſtantly defended the ſame) under the tenor of words as followeth:

IN the name of God, Amen. We Thomas, by the grace of God, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of England, and legate of the ſee apoſtolical, by the authority of God Almighty, and bleſſed Saint Peter and Paul, and of holy church, and by our own authority, ſitting for tribunal or chief judge, having God alone before our eyes, by the counſel and conſent of the whole clergy, our fellow brethren and ſuffragans, aſſiſtants under us in this preſent council provincial, by this our ſentence definitive do pronounce, decree, and declare by theſe preſents, thee William Sautre, otherwiſe called Chawtrey, pariſh prieſt pretenſed, perſonally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of hereſy, judicially and lawfully convict as an heretic, and as an heretic to be puniſhed.

Which ſentence definitive being thus read, the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury continued in the ſame provincial council till Wedneſday next and immediately enſuing, to wit, the 24th of February, which being expired, the biſhop of Norwich according to the commandment of the ſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſented unto the foreſaid W. Sautre by a certain friend of his, being preſent at the council, a certain proceſs incloſed and ſealed with his ſeal, giving the names of credible witneſſes ſealed with their ſeals, the tenor whereof followeth in this wiſe:

Memorandum, That upon the laſt day of April, in the year of our Lord 1399, in the 7th indiction, and 10th year of the papacy of pope Boniface the 2d, in a certain chamber within the manor-houſe of the ſaid biſhop of Norwich, at South Helingham (where the regiſter of the ſaid biſhop is kept) before the 9th hour, in a certain chapel within the ſaid manor ſituate, and the firſt day of May then next and immediately enſuing, in the foreſaid chamber, Sir W. Chautris, pariſh prieſt of the church of St. Margaret in the town of Lynn, appeared before the biſhop of Norwich, in the preſence of John de Derlington, archdeacon of Norwich, doctor of the decrees, Friar Walter Diſſe, and John Rikinghal, profeſſors in divinity, William Carlton, doctor of both laws, and William Friſeby, with Hugh Bridham, public notaries, and there publicly affirmed and held the concluſions, as before is ſpecified.

All and ſingular the premiſes the foreſaid William affirmeth upon mature deliberation. And afterwards, to wit, the 19th day of May, in the year, indiction, and papacy aforeſaid, in the chapel within the manor-houſe of the ſaid Henry biſhop of Norwich, ſituate at South Helingham, the foreſaid William revoked and renounced all and ſingular the foreſaid his concluſions; abjuring and correcting all ſuch hereſies and errors, taking his oath upon a book before the foreſaid Henry the biſhop of Norwich, that from that time forward he would never preach, affirm, nor hold privily nor apertly, the foreſaid concluſions; and that he would pronounce, according to the appointment of the ſaid biſhop, the foreſaid concluſions to be erroneous and hereſies, in the pariſh churches of Lynn and Timey, and in other places at the aſſignment of the ſaid biſhop; and further ſware, that he would ſtand to the ordinance of the ſaid biſhop touching the premiſes, in the preſence of the diſcreet and worſhipful afore-recited, with divers other more.

As concerning the firſt concluſion, that he ſaid he would not worſhip the croſs, &c. he confeſſed himſelf to have erred, and that the article was erroneous, and ſubmitted himſelf.

And as touching the ſecond article, that he ſaid he would rather worſhip a king, &c. he confeſſed himſelf to have erred, and the article to be erroneous, and ſubmitted himſelf, and ſo forth of all the reſt.

Then next after this, upon the 25th day of May, in the year of our Lord aforeſaid, in the church-yard of the chapel of St. James, within the town of Lynn, the foreſaid William, in preſence of the foreſaid biſhop and clergy, and the people of the ſaid town of Lynn ſtanding round about, publicly declared in the Engliſh tongue, the foreſaid concluſions to be erroneous and hereſies, as was contained in a certain ſcroll. And after this, the 26th day of May, in the year aboveſaid, in the church of the hoſpital of St. John's in the town of Lynn, the ſaid Sir William, before the ſaid biſhop ſitting as judge, ſware and took his oath upon the holy evangeliſts, that he would never after that time preach openly and publicly the foreſaid concluſions, nor would hear the concluſions of any of the ſubjects of his dioceſe of Norwich, without the ſpecial licence of the ſaid biſhop, &c. In the preſence of friar John Smermen, Mr. John Rikinghal doctor of divinity, William Carlton doctor of both laws, and Thomas Bulton officer of the liberty of Lynn aforeſaid, with divers others.

The Tenor of the Scroll and Recantation.

1. 2. "IMprimis, Touching the firſt and ſecond, where I ſaid, that I would adore rather a temporal prince, and the lively bodies of the ſaints, than the wooden croſs whereupon the Lord did hang; I do revoke and recant the ſame, as being therein deceived.

3. To this I ſay, that the article is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it; the which I renounce, and aſk forgiveneſs thereof, and ſay that it is a precious relic, and that I ſhall hold it while I live, and that I ſwear here.

4. I know well that I erred wrongfully by falſe information; for I know well, that a deacon or a prieſt is more bound to ſay his matins and hours, than to preach; for thereto he is bounden by right; wherefore I ſubmit me, &c.

5. Touching that article, I know right well that I erred by falſe information. Wherefore I aſk forgiveneſs.

6. As concerning vows, I ſay that opinion is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it; for a man is holden to hold his vow, &c.

7. To the ſeventh article I ſay, that I did it by authority of prieſthood, wherethrough I know well that I gave guilt, and treſpaſſed; wherefore I ſubmit me to God and to holy church, and to you father, ſwear that I ſhall never hold it more.

8. To the eighth I ſay, that I held it by falſe and wrong information. But now I know well that it is hereſy, and that bread, anon as the word of the ſacrament is ſaid, is no longer bread material, but that it is turned into very Chriſt's body; and that I ſwear here.

9. I ſay, that this is falſe and erroneous, &c.

10. I ſay as I ſaid, &c."

This being done the 22d of February aforeſaid, in the year of our Lord 1400, in the chapter-houſe of Saint Paul in London aforeſaid; the aforeſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the convocation of his prelates and clergy, and ſuch like men there being preſent, cauſed the fore-recited proceſs of the biſhop of Norwich to be read openly and publicly to Sir William Sautre, otherwiſe called Chautris. And afterward he aſked the ſaid Sir William, whether he plainly underſtood and knew ſuch proceſs and the contents within the ſame; and he ſaid, yea. And further he demanded of him, if he would or could ſay or object any thing againſt the proceſs. And he ſaid, no. And after that incontinent, the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury demanded and objected againſt the ſaid Sir William, as divers others more did; That after he had before the biſhop of Norwich revoked and abjured judicially divers errors and hereſies, among other errors and hereſies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed, "That in the ſame ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration made by the prieſt, as he taught, there remained material bread;" which hereſy amongſt others as errors alſo he abjured before the foreſaid biſhop of Norwich. Hereunto the foreſaid William anſwered ſmiling, or in mocking wiſe, ſaying, and denying that he knew of the premiſes. Notwithſtanding, he publicly affirmed, that he held and taught the foreſaid things after the date of the ſaid proceſs made by the ſaid biſhop of Norwich, and that in the ſame council alſo he held the ſame. Then finally it was demanded of the ſaid Sir William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into hereſy, and why they ſhould not further proceed unto his degradation according to the canonical ſanctions? Whereunto he anſwered nothing, neither could he alledge any cauſe to the contrary.

Whereupon the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the counſel and aſſent of the whole council, and eſpecially by the counſel and aſſent of the reverend fathers and biſhops, as alſo priors, deans, archdeacons, and other worſhipful doctors and clerks then and there preſent in the council, fully determined to proceed to the degradation and actual depoſing of the ſaid William Sautre, as refallen into hereſy, and as incorrigible, according to the ſentence definitive put in writing, the tenor whereof is in words as followeth.

"In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas, by the grace of God archbiſhop of Canterbury, legate of the ſee apoſtolical, and metropolitan of all England, do find and declare, That thou William Sautre, otherwiſe called Chautris, prieſt, by us with the counſel and aſſent of all and ſingular our fellow brethren and whole clergy, by this our ſentence definitive declared in writing, haſt been for hereſy convict and condemned, and art (being again fallen into hereſy) to be depoſed and degraded by theſe preſents."

And from that day, being Wedneſday, there was in the ſaid council provincial nothing further proſecuted, but was continued with all dependents till the Friday next enſuing. Which Friday approaching, maſter Nicholas Riſhton, by the commandment of the ſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, being then buſied, as he ſaid, in the parliament houſe, continued this council and convocation, with all incidents, dependents, and occaſions growing and annexed thereunto, the next day, to wit, Saturday next, and immediately after enſuing. Upon Saturday, being the 26th of the ſaid month of February, the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury ſat in the biſhop's ſeat of the foreſaid church of St. Paul in London, and ſolemnly apparelled in his pontifical attire, ſitting with him as his aſſiſtants theſe reverend fathers and biſhops, of London, Lincoln, Hereford, Exeter, Menevenſis & Roffenſis epiſcopi, above-mentioned, commanded and cauſed the ſaid Sir William Sautre, apparelled in prieſtly veſtments, to be brought and appear before him. That done, he declared and expounded in Engliſh to all the clergy and people there in great multitude aſſembled; That all proceſs was finiſhed and ended againſt the ſaid Sir William Sautre. Which thing finiſhed, before the pronouncing of the ſaid ſentence of relapſe againſt the ſaid Sir William, as is premiſed, he often then and there recited and read. And for that he ſaw the ſaid William in that behalf nothing abaſhed; he proceeded to his degradation and actual depoſition in form as followeth.

IN nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti. We Thomas, by God's permiſſion, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apoſtolic ſee, do denounce thee William Sautre, otherwiſe called Chautris, chaplain feigned, in the habit and apparel of a prieſt. as an heretic, and one re-fallen into hereſy, by this our ſentence definitive, by counſel, aſſent, and authority to be condemned; and by concluſion of all our fellow brethren, fellow biſhops, prelates, council provincial, and of the whole clergy, do degrade and deprive thee of thy prieſtly order. And in ſign of degradation and actual depoſition from thy prieſtly dignity, for thine incorrigibility and want of amendment, we take from thee the paten and chalice, and do deprive thee of all power and authority of celebrating the maſs; and alſo we pull from thy back the caſule, and take from thee the veſtment, and deprive thee of all manner of prieſtly honour.

Alſo, we Thomas, the aforeſaid archbiſhop, by authority, counſel, and aſſent, which upon the foreſaid William we have, being deacon pretenſed, in the habit and apparel of a deacon, having the New Teſtament in thy hands, being an heretic, and twice fallen, condemned by ſentence as is aforeſaid, do degrade and put thee from the order of a deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, we take from thee the book of the New Teſtament, and the ſtole; and do deprive thee of all authority in reading of the goſpel, and of all and all manner of dignity of a deacon.

Item, we Thomas, archbiſhop aforeſaid, by authority, counſel, and aſſent, which over thee, the foreſaid William, we have, being a ſub-deacon pretenſed, in the habit and veſtment of a ſub-deacon, an heretic, and twice fallen, condemned by ſentence, as is foreſaid, do degrade and put thee from the order of a ſub-deacon; and in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, we take from thee the albe and maniple, and do deprive thee of all manner of ſub-diaconal dignity.

Alſo, we Thomas, archbiſhop aforeſaid, by counſel, aſſent, and authority which we have over thee the foreſaid William, an acolyte pretenſed, wearing the habit of an acolyte, an heretic, twice fallen, by our ſentence, as is aforeſaid, condemned, do degrade, and put from thee all order of an acolyte; and in ſign and token of this thy degradation, and actual depoſition, we take from thee the candleſtic and taper, and alſo orceolum, and do deprive thee of all and all manner of dignity of an acolyte.

Alſo, we Thomas, archbiſhop aforeſaid, by aſſent, counſel, and authority, which upon the foreſaid William we have, an exorciſt pretenſed, in the habit of an exorciſt, or holy-water clerk, being an heretic, twice fallen, and by our ſentence, as is aforeſaid, condemned,

do

do degrade and depoſe thee from the order of an exorciſt; and in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, we take from thee the book of conjurations, and do deprive thee of all and ſingular dignity of an exorciſt.

Alſo, we Thomas, archbiſhop aforeſaid, by aſſent, counſel, and authority, as is aboveſaid, do degrade and depoſe thee the foreſaid William, reader, pretenſed, clothed in the habit of a reader, an heretic, twice fallen, and by our ſentence as is aforeſaid, condemned from the order of a reader; and in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, we take from thee the book of the divine lections (that is, the book of the church legend) and do deprive thee of all and ſingular manner of dignity of ſuch a reader.

Item, we Thomas, archbiſhop of Canterbury aforeſaid, by authority, counſel, and aſſent, the which we have, as is aforeſaid, do degrade and put thee the foreſaid William Sautre, ſexton pretenſed, in the habit of a ſexton, and wearing a ſurplice, being an heretic, twice fallen, by our ſentence definitive condemned, as aforeſaid, from the order of a ſexton; and in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, for the cauſes aforeſaid, we take from thee the keys of the church-door, and thy ſurplice, and do deprive thee of all and ſingular manner of commodities of a door-keeper.

And alſo, by the authority of omnipotent God, the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and by authority, counſel, and aſſent, of our whole council provincial above written, we do degrade thee, and depoſe thee, being here perſonally preſent before us, from orders, benefices, privileges, and habit, in the church; and for thy pertinency incorrigible we do degrade thee before the ſecular court of the high conſtable and marſhal of England, being perſonally preſent; and do depoſe thee from all and ſingular clergy honours and dignities whatſoever, by theſe writings. Alſo, in token of thy degradation and depoſition, here actually we have cauſed thy crown and eccleſiaſtical tonſure in our preſence to be raſed away, and utterly to be aboliſhed, like unto the form of a ſecular lay-man; and here we do put upon the head of thee the foreſaid William the cap of a lay ſecular perſon; beſeeching the court aforeſaid, that they will receive favourably the ſaid William unto them thus re-committed.

Thus William Sautre, the ſervant of Chriſt, being utterly thruſt out of the pope's kingdom, and metamorphoſed from a clerk to a ſecular layman, was committed (as ye have heard) unto the ſecular power. Which ſo done, the biſhops, yet not herewith contented, ceaſe not to call upon the king, to cauſe him to be brought forth to ſpeedy execution. Whereupon the king, ready enough and too much to gratify the clergy, and to retain their favours, directeth out a terrible decree againſt the ſaid William Sautre, and ſent it to the mayor and ſheriffs of London, to be put in execution; the tenor whereof hereunder enſueth.

The Decree of the King againſt William Sautre.

THE decree of our ſovereign lord the king and his council in the parliament, againſt a certain new ſprun-gup heretic. To the mayor and ſheriffs of London, &c. Whereas the reverend father Thomas, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apoſtolic ſee, by the aſſent, conſent, and counſel of other biſhops, and his brethren ſuffragans, and alſo of all the whole clergy within his province or dioceſe, gathered together in his provincial council, the due order of the law being obſerved in all points in this behalf, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive ſentence, William Sautre, ſome time chaplain, fallen again into his moſt damnable hereſy, the which before time the ſaid William had abjured, thereupon to be a moſt manifeſt heretic, and therefore hath decreed that he ſhould be degraded, and hath for the ſame cauſe really degraded him from all prerogative and privilege of the clergy, decreeing to leave him unto the ſecular power; and hath really ſo left him according to the laws and canonical ſanctions ſet forth in this behalf, and that alſo our holy mother the church hath no further to do in the premiſes: we therefore being zealous in religion, and reverend lovers of the catholic faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the holy church, and the laws and liberties of the ſame, to root all ſuch errors and hereſies out of our kingdom of England, and with condign puniſhment to correct and puniſh all heretics or ſuch as be convict; provided always, that both according to the law of God and man, and the canonical inſtitutions in this behalf accuſtomed, ſuch heretics convict and condemned in form aforeſaid ought to be burned with fire: We command you, as ſtrictly as we may, or can, firmly enjoining you that you do cauſe the ſaid William, being in your cuſtody, in ſome public or open place within the liberties of your city aforeſaid (the cauſe aforeſaid being publiſhed unto the people) to be put into the fire, and there in the ſame fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifeſt example of other chriſtians. Fail not in the execution thereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon: Teſte Rege, apud Weſtm. 38. Febr. An. Regni ſui.

Thus it may appear how kings and princes have been blinded and abuſed by the falſe prelates of the church, inſomuch that they have been their ſlaves and butchers, to ſlay Chriſt's poor innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for princes not to have knowledge and underſtanding themſelves, but to be led by other mens eyes, and ſpecially truſting to ſuch guides, who through hypocriſy both deceive them, and through cruelty devour the people.

As king Henry the fourth, who was the depoſer of king Richard, was the firſt of all Engliſh kings that began the unmerciful burning of Chriſt's ſaints for ſtanding againſt the pope: ſo was this William Sautre, the true and faithful martyr of Chriſt, the firſt of all them in Wickliff's time, which I find to be burned in the reign of the foreſaid king, which was in the year of our Lord 1400.

After the martyrdom of this godly man, the reſt of the ſame company began to keep themſelves more cloſely for fear of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the pope's prelacy. Such was the reign of this prince, that to the godly he was ever terrible, in his actions immeaſurable, of few men heartily beloved; but princes never lack flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his reign ever quiet, but full of trouble, blood and miſery. Such was their deſire of Richard again in the reign of this king, that many years after he was rumoured to be alive (of them which deſired belike that to be true which they knew to be falſe) for which divers were executed. For the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years together almoſt no year paſſed without ſome conſpiracy againſt the king. Long it were here to recite the blood of all ſuch nobles and others, which was ſpilt in the reign of this king, as the earl of Kent, earl of Saliſbury, earl of Huntingdon, named John Holland, &c. as writeth the ſtory of St. Alban's. But the Engliſh writers differ ſomething in their names, and make mention of four earls, of Surrey, of Exeter, of Saliſbury, and lord Spencer earl of Glouceſter. Ex lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti

And the next year following Sir John Clarendon knight, with two of his ſervants, the prior of Laund, with eight friars, were hang'd and quartered. And after theſe Henry Percy the younger, the earl of Worceſter named Thomas Percy his uncle, lord Kinderton, and lord Richard de Vernova. The earl of Northumberland

land ſcarce eſcaped with his pardon, An. 1403. In the which year the priſon in Cornhill, called the Tun, was turned into the conduit there now ſtanding.

To let paſs other more hanged and quartered the ſame time, as Blunt knight, and Benet Keley knight, and Thomas Winterſel eſquire; alſo the ſame year was taken and executed Sir Bernard Brookes knight, Sir John Shilley knight, Sir John Mandelin, and William Frierby. After all theſe lord Henry earl of Northumberland, and lord Bardolf, conſpiring the king's death, were taken in the north and beheaded, which was in the eighth year of this king Henry.

John Badby, artificer.

IN the year of our Lord 1409, on Sunday being the firſt day of March, in the afternoon, the examination following of one John Badby taylor, being a layman, was made in a certain houſe or hall within the precinct of the preaching friars of London, in an utter cloiſter, upon the crime of hereſy, and other articles repugnant to the determination of the erroneous church of Rome, before Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury and other his aſſiſtants, as the archbiſhop of York, of London, of Wincheſter, of Oxford, of Norwich, of Saliſbury, of Bath, of Bangor, et Menevenſis Epiſcopi, and alſo Edmund duke of York, Thomas Bewford, the chancellor of England, lord de Roos the clerk of the rolls, and a great number of other lords both ſpiritual and temporal, being then at the ſelf-ſame time preſent; maſter Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the inſtrument read by the foreſaid maſter Morgan, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is ſuch.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it manifeſt to all men by this preſent public inſtrument, that in the year after the incarnation of our Lord, according to the courſe and computation of the church of England, otherwiſe in the year 1409, in the ſecond indiction, in the third year of the popedom of the moſt holy father in Chriſt and lord, lord Gregory the 11th, by the divine permiſſion pope, the ſecond day of January, in the chapel Carvariæ, of St. Thomas martyr, nigh unto the cathedral church of Worceſter, being ſituate in the ſaid dioceſe, in the preſence of me the public notary, and of the witneſſes under written, the foreſaid John Badby, a layman, of the ſaid dioceſe of Worceſter, appearing perſonally before the reverend father in Chriſt and lord, lord Thomas, by the grace of God biſhop of Worceſter, ſitting in the ſaid chapel for chief judge, was detected of and upon the crime of hereſy being heretically taught, and openly maintained by the foreſaid John Badby: that is, that the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, conſecrated by the prieſt upon the altar, is not the true body of Chriſt by virtue of the words of the ſacrament. But that after the ſacramental words ſpoken by the prieſts to make the body of Chriſt, the, material bread doth remain upon the altar as in the beginning, neither is turned into the very body of Chriſt after the ſacramental words ſpoken of the prieſts. Which John Badby being examined, and diligently demanded by the foreſaid reverend father concerning the premiſes, in the end did anſwer, That it was impoſſible that any prieſt ſhould make the body of Chriſt, and that he believed firmly that no prieſt could make the body of Chriſt by ſuch words ſacramentally ſpoken in any ſuch ſort. And alſo he ſaid expreſly that he would never while he lived believe that any prieſt could make the body of Chriſt ſacramentally, unleſs that firſt he ſaw manifeſtly the like body of Chriſt to be handled in the hands of the prieſt upon the altar, in his corporal form. And furthermore he ſaid, that John Baker of Briſtol had as much power and authority to make the like body of Chriſt, as any prieſt had. Moreover he ſaid, That when Chriſt ſat at ſupper with his diſciples, he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to diſtribute it to his diſciples; and he ſaid expreſly, that he did not this thing. And alſo he ſpake many other words teaching and fortifying the hereſy in the ſame place, both grievous, and alſo out of order, and horrible to the ears of the hearers, ſounding againſt the catholic faith

Upon which occaſion the ſame reverend father admoniſhed and requeſted the ſaid John Badby oftentimes and very inſtantly to charity; forſomuch as he would willingly that he ſhould have forſaken ſuch hereſy and opinion holden, taught, and maintained by him, in ſuch ſort againſt the ſacrament, to renounce and utterly abjure them, and to believe other things which the holy mother the church doth believe. And he informed the ſaid John onthat behalf both gently and yet laudably. Yet the ſaid John Badby, although he were admoniſhed and requeſted both often and inſtantly by the ſaid reverend father, ſaid and anſwered expreſly, That he would never believe otherwiſe than before he had ſaid, taught, and anſwered. Whereupon the foreſaid reverend father biſhop of Worceſter ſeeing, underſtanding, and perceiving the foreſaid John Badby to maintain and fortify the ſame hereſy, being ſtubborn and proceeding in the ſame ſtubbornneſs, pronounced the ſaid John to be before this time convicted of ſuch an hereſy, and that he hath been and is an heretic, and in the end declared it in theſe words.

"In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas biſhop of Worceſter do accuſe thee John Badby, being a layman of our dioceſe, of and upon the crime of hereſy, before us ſitting for chief judge, being oftentimes confeſſed and convicted of and upon that that thou haſt taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou doſt teach, boldly affirm, and defend; that the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, conſecrated upon the altar by the prieſt, is not the true body of Chriſt; but after the ſacramental words, to make the body of Chriſt, by virtue of the ſaid ſacramental words pronounced, to have been in the crime of hereſy; and we do pronounce thee both to have been and to be an heretic, and do declare it finally by theſe writings."

Theſe things were done accordingly as is above written, and are recited in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforeſaid, being preſent the ſame time John Malune, prior of the cathedral church of Worceſter, John Dudle monk, and Haul the ſub-prior of the ſaid church, Thomas Penings of the order of the Carmelites, Thomas Fekenham of the order of the preaching friars, William Pomfret of the order of the Minorites, being profeſſors and maſters of divinity: William Hailes, Gualter of London, John Swipperdew, being public notaries, and William Beuchampe and Thomas Gerbis being knights, Richard Wiſh of Tredington, Thomas Wilbe of Hembury, John Weſton of Yewly, being parſons of churches, and Thomas Baleinges, the maſter of St. Wolſton in Worceſter, and alſo Henry Haggley, John Penerel, Thomas Trogmorton, and William Waſleborn eſquires, of the dioceſe of Worceſter, and Norwich, and many other worſhipful and honeſt men being witneſſes and called ſpecially to the things aforeſaid.

And I John Chew, clerk of the dioceſe of Bath and Wells, and by the authority apoſtolical, public notary of the ſaid biſhop, have in teſtimony of the premiſes put my hand and ſeal to the examination, interrogation, monition, and anſwer to the ſame John Badby, and to his obſtinacy, and alſo to the proceedings of all and ſingular other doings as is aforeſaid, which againſt him before the ſaid biſhop were handled and done, in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforeſaid, which with the forenamed witneſſes was perſonally preſent: and the ſame, even as I heard them and ſaw them to be done (being occupied with other matters) I cauſed to be written and publiſhed, and into this public form have compiled the ſame. I the foreſaid notary am alſo privy unto the words and examinations interlined be-

tween ſeven or eight lines of the beginning of this inſtrument; which lines I alſo the foreſaid notary do approve and make good.

And I Walter London, clerk of the dioceſe of Worceſter, and, by the authority apoſtolical, public notary, to all and ſingular the foreſaid things as afore by the foreſaid notary is recited, and in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforeſaid handled and done, being with other the fore-recited witneſſes perſonally preſent, and to all and every of the ſame (as I ſaw and heard them to be done, being thereunto faithfully deſired and required): In teſtimony of the premiſes, have ſigned and ſubſcribed according to the accuſtomed manner. Hæc ex Reg. Cant.

And when the articles, in the foreſaid inſtrument contained, were by the archbiſhop of Canterbury publicly and vulgarly read and approved; he publicly confeſſed and affirmed, that he had both ſaid and maintained the ſame. And then the archbiſhop, to convince the conſtant purpoſe of the ſaid John Badby, commanded the ſame articles again to be read, often inſtructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the ſooner to the religion that he was of. And furthermore, the ſaid archbiſhop ſaid and affirmed there openly to the ſame John, That he would (if he would live according to the doctrine of Chriſt) gage his ſoul for him at the judgment day. And after that again he cauſed thoſe articles in the ſaid inſtrument expreſſed to be read by the foreſaid Philip Morgan, and the ſaid archbiſhop himſelf expounded the ſame in Engliſh as before; whereunto John Badby anſwered: As touching the firſt article concerning the body of Chriſt, he expreſly ſaid, That after the conſecration at the altar, there remaineth material bread, and the ſame bread which was before: notwithſtanding (ſaid he) it is a ſign or ſacrament of the living God.

Alſo, when the ſecond article was expounded unto him, That it was impoſſible for any prieſt, &c. To this article he anſwered and ſaid, That it could not ſink into his mind that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, unleſs he ſhould deny the incarnation of Chriſt.

Alſo being examined of the third article concerning Jack Baker, he ſaid, That if Jack Baker were a man of good living, and did love and fear God, he hath as much power ſo to do, as hath the prieſt: and ſaid further, That he hath heard it ſpoken of ſome doctors of divinity, that if he ſhould receive any ſuch conſecrated bread, he were worthy to be damned, and were damned in ſo doing.

Furthermore he ſaid, That he would believe the omnipotent God in Trinity; and ſaid moreover, That if every hoſt being conſecrated at the altar were the Lord's body, that then there be 20,000 gods in England. But he believed (he ſaid) in one God omnipotent, which thing the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury denied not.

And when the other concluſion was expounded, "That Chriſt ſitting with his diſciples at ſupper," &c. To this he anſwered and ſaid, That he would greatly marvel, that if any man had a loaf of bread, and ſhould break the ſame and give to every man a mouthful, that the ſame loaf ſhould afterwards be whole.

When all theſe things were thus finiſhed, and all the ſaid concluſions were often read in the vulgar tongue; the foreſaid archbiſhop demanded of him, whether he would renounce and forſake his opinions and ſuch like concluſions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Chriſt and catholic faith? He anſwered, That, according to that he had ſaid before, he would adhere and ſtand to thoſe words, which before he had made anſwer unto. Then the archbiſhop oftentimes required the ſaid John, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that he would forſake thoſe opinions and concluſions, and that henceforth he would cleave to the chriſtian faith; which thing to do, in the audience of the lords and others that were preſent, he expreſly denied and refuſed.

After all this, when the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of London had conſulted together, to what ſafe keeping the ſaid John Badby (until the Wedneſday next) might be committed; it was concluded, that he ſhould be put into a certain chamber or ſafe houſe within the manſion of the friars preachers, and ſo he was: and then the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſaid, That he himſelf would keep the key thereof in the mean time. And when the foreſaid Wedneſday was expired, being the 15th day of March, and that the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, with his fellow brethren and ſuffragants, were aſſembled in the church of St. Paul in London; the archbiſhop of Canterbury, taking the epiſcopal ſeat, called unto him the archbiſhop of York, Richard London, Henry Wincheſter, Robert Chicheſter, Alexander Norwich, and the noble prince Edmund the duke of York, Ralph earl of Weſtmorland, Thomas Beaufort knight, lord chancellor of England, and the lord Beamond, with other noblemen as well ſpiritual as temporal, that ſtood and ſat by, whom to name would be long. Before whom the ſaid John Badby was called perſonally to anſwer unto the articles premiſed in the foreſaid inſtrument. Who when he came perſonally before them, the articles were read by the official of the court of Canterbury, and by the archbiſhop (in the vulgar tongue) expounded publicly and expreſly: and the ſame articles, as he had before ſpoken and depoſed, he ſtill held and defended, and ſaid, That whilſt he lived, he would never retract the ſame. And furthermore, he ſaid ſpecially to be noted, That the lord duke of York, perſonally there preſent, as is aforeſaid, and every man elſe for the time being, is of more eſtimation and reputation than the ſacrament of the altar, by the prieſt in due form conſecrated. And whilſt they were thus in his examination, the archbiſhop conſidering and weighing that he would in no wiſe be altered, and ſeeing moreover his countenance ſtout and heart confirmed, ſo that he began to perſuade others as it appeared in the ſame, theſe things conſidered, the arch-prelate, when he ſaw that by his allurements it was not his power, either by exhortations, reaſons, or arguments, to bring the ſaid John Badby from his conſtant truth to his catholic faith (executing and doing the office of his great maſter) proceeded to confirm and ratify the former ſentence given before by the biſhop of Worceſter againſt the ſaid John Badby, pronouncing him for an open and public heretic. And thus ſhifting their hands of him, they delivered him to the ſecular power; and deſired the ſaid temporal Lords, then and there preſent very inſtantly, that they would not put the ſame John Badby to death for that his offence, nor deliver him to be puniſhed or put to death, in the preſence of all the lords above recited.

Theſe things thus done and concluded by the biſhops in the forenoon: in the afternoon, the king's writ was not far behind: By the force whereof John Badby, ſtill perſevering in his conſtancy unto his death, was brought into Smithfield, and there being put in an empty barrel, was bound with iron chains faſtened to a ſtake, having dry wood put about him.

And as he was thus ſtanding in the pipe or tun (for as yet Perillus' bull was not in uſe among the biſhops) it happened that the prince, the king's eldeſt ſon, was there preſent; who, ſhewing ſome part of the good Samaritan, began to endeavour and aſſay how to ſave the life of him, whom the hypocritical levites and phariſees ſought to put to death. He admoniſhed and counſelled him, that having reſpect unto himſelf he ſhould ſpeedily withdraw himſelf out of theſe dangerous labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatenings, the which might have daunted any man's ſtomach. Alſo Courtney, at that time chancellor of Oxford, preached unto him, and informed him of the faith of holy church.

In this mean ſeaſon the prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield brought with all ſolemnity the ſacrament of

God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and ſo ſhewed the ſacrament to the poor man being at the ſtake. And then they demanding of him how he believed in it? he anſwered, That he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the tun put over him, and fire put unto him. And when he felt the fire, he cried mercy (calling belike upon the Lord) and ſo the prince immediately commanded to take away the tun, and quench the fire. The prince, his commandment being done, aſked him if he would forſake hereſy, to take him to the faith of holy church? which thing if he would do, he ſhould have goods enough, promiſing alſo unto him a yearly ſtipend out of the king's treaſury, ſo much as ſhould ſuffice his contentation.

But this valiant champion of Chriſt, neglecting the prince's fair words, as alſo contemning all mens devices, refuſed the offer of worldly promiſes, being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly deſire. Wherefore, when as yet he continued unmoveable in his former mind, the prince commanding him ſtraight to be put into the pipe or tun, and that he ſhould not afterward look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even ſo was he nothing at all abaſhed at their torments, but, as a valiant champion of Chriſt, he perſevered invincible to the end. Not without a great and moſt cruel battle, but with much greater triumph of victory; the Spirit of Chriſt having always the upper hand in his members, maugre the fury, rage, and power of the whole world.

This godly martyr John Badby, having thus conſummated his teſtimony and martyrdom in fire, the perſecuting biſhops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themſelves as yet either not ſtrong enough, or elſe not ſharp enough againſt the poor innocent flock of Chriſt, to make all things ſure and ſubſtantial on their ſide, in ſuch ſort, as this doctrine of the goſpel now ſpringing ſhould be ſuppreſſed for ever, laid their conſpiring heads together; and having now a king for their own purpoſe, ready to ſerve their turns in all points (during the time of the ſame parliament above-recited yet continuing) the foreſaid biſhops and clergy of the realm exhibited a bill unto the king's majeſty; ſubtilly declaring, what quietneſs had been maintained within this realm by his moſt noble progenitors, who always defended the ancient rites and cuſtoms of the church, and enriched the ſame with large gifts, to the honour of God and the realm: and contrarywiſe, what trouble and diſquietneſs was now riſen by divers, as they term them, wicked and perverſe men, teaching and preaching openly and privily a certain new, wicked, and heretical kind of doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of holy church. Whereupon the king, always oppreſſed with blind ignorance, by the crafty means of ſubtle pretences of the clergy, granted in the ſaid parliament (by conſent of the nobility aſſembled) a ſtatute to be obſerved, called Ex Officio, as followeth:

The Statute Ex Officio.

That is to ſay, that no man within this realm, or other the king's majeſty's dominions, preſume to take upon him to preach privily or apertly, without ſpecial licence firſt obtained of the ordinary of the ſame place (curates in their own pariſh churches, and perſons heretofore privileged, and others admitted by the canon law, only excepted). Nor that any hereafter do preach, maintain, teach in form openly or in ſecret, or make or write any book contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of the holy church. Nor that any hereafter make any conventicles or aſſemblies, or keep and exerciſe any manner of ſchools touching this ſect, wicked doctrine and opinion.

And further, that no man hereafter ſhall by any means favour any ſuch preacher, any ſuch maker of unlawful aſſemblies, or any ſuch book-maker or writer; and finally any ſuch teacher, informer, or ſtirrer up of the people. And that all and ſingular perſons having any the ſaid books, writings, or ſchedules, containing the ſaid wicked doctrines and opinions, ſhall, within forty days after this preſent proclamation and ſtatute, really and effectually deliver, or cauſe to be delivered all and ſingular the ſaid books and writings unto the ordinary of the ſame place. And if it ſhould happen any perſon or perſons, of what kind, ſtate or condition ſoever he or they be, to do or attempt any manner of thing contrary to this preſent proclamation or ſtatute, or not to deliver the ſame books in form aforeſaid:

That then the ordinary of the ſame place in his own dioceſe, by authority of the ſaid proclamation and ſtatute, ſhall cauſe to be arreſted and detained under ſafe cuſtody the ſaid perſon or perſons in this caſe defamed and evidently ſuſpected, or any of them, until he or they ſo offending have by order of law purged him or themſelves as touching the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf; or until he or they have denied and recanted (according to the laws eccleſiaſtical) the ſaid wicked ſect, preachings, teachings, and heretical and erroneous opinions. And that the ſaid ordinary by himſelf or his commiſſaries proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of law againſt the ſaid perſons ſo arreſted and remaining under ſafe cuſtody, and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the ſaid arreſt (all delays and excuſes ſet apart) according to the order and cuſtom of the canon law. And if any perſon, in any cauſe above mentioned, ſhall be lawfully convicted before the ordinary of the dioceſe or his commiſſaries; that then the ſaid ordinary may lawfully cauſe the ſaid perſon ſo convicted (according to the manner and quality of his fact) to be laid in any of his own priſons, and there to be kept ſo long as to his diſcretion ſhall be thought expedient.

And further, The ſaid ordinary (except in caſes by the which according to the canon law the party offending ought to be delivered unto the ſecular power) ſhall charge the ſaid perſon with ſuch a fine of money to be paid unto the king's majeſty, as he ſhall think competent for the manner and quality of his offence. And the ſaid dioceſan ſhall be bound to give notice of the ſaid fine, into the king's majeſty's exchequer by his letters patent under his ſeal; to the intent that the ſaid fine may be levied to the king's majeſty's uſe of the goods of the perſon ſo convicted.

And further, If any perſon within this realm and other the king's majeſty's dominions ſhall be convicted before the ordinary of the place, or his commiſſaries, of the ſaid wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, ſchools, and heretical and erroneous informations, or any of them; and will refuſe to abjure and recant the ſaid wicked ſect, preachings, teachings, opinions, ſchools and informations; or if after his abjuration once made, the relapſe be pronounced againſt him by the dioceſan of the place, or his commiſſaries (for ſo by the canon law he ought to be left to the ſecular power, upon credit given to the ordinary or his commiſſaries); that then the ſheriff of the ſame county, the mayor, ſheriffs, or ſheriff, or the mayor, or bailiffs of the ſame city, village or borough of the ſame county, and neareſt inhabiting to the ſaid ordinary, or his ſaid commiſſaries, ſhall perſonally be preſent, as oft as they ſhall be required, to confer with the ſaid ordinary or his commiſſaries in giving ſentence againſt the ſaid perſons offending, or any of them: And, after the ſaid ſentence ſo pronounced, ſhall take unto them the ſaid perſons ſo offending, and any of them, and cauſe them openly to be burned in the ſight of all the people; to the intent that this kind of puniſhment may be a terror unto other, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical opinions, or authors and favourers thereof, be no more maintained within this realm and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of chriſtian religion, and de-

ENGRAVED
for the
PRIMITIVE MARTYRS.

The Burning of
JOHN BADBY *in* SMITHFIELD.

T Smith del et sculp.

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crees of holy church. In all which and ſingular the premiſes, concerning the ſtatute aforeſaid, let the ſheriff, mayors, and bailiffs of the ſaid counties, cities, villages, and boroughs be attendant, aiding and favouring the ſaid ordinaries and their commiſſaries."

Furthermore for the more fortification of this ſtatute of the king aforeſaid, concurreth alſo another conſtitution made much about the ſame time by the archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel. So that no induſtry nor policy of man here did lack to ſet the matter forward, but ſpecially on the biſhops parts, who left no means unattempted how to ſubvert the right ways of the Lord.

Firſt, In moſt diligent and exquiſite execution of the king's ſtatute ſet forth; the execution whereof they did ſo exactly apply, that marvel it is to conſider, all other laws of kings (commonly be they never ſo good) to be ſo coldly kept, and this only among all the reſt ſo nearly followed. But herein is to be ſeen the diligence of the Romiſh prelates, which never let any thing fall, that maketh for the dignity of their eſtate.

Secondly, Beſide their vigilant care in ſeeing the king's ſtatute to be executed, no leſs induſtrious alſo were they in adding thereto more conſtitutions of their own, as from time to time appeareth as well by other archbiſhops hereafter, and by pope Martin, as alſo by this conſtitution here preſent made by Thomas Arundel the archbiſhop.

The Conſtitution of Thomas Arundel againſt the followers of God's truth.

THOMAS, by the permiſſion of God, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the ſee apoſtolic: to all and ſingular our reverend brethren fellow biſhops, and our ſuffragans, and to abbots, priors, deans of cathedral churches, archdeacons, provoſts, and canons; alſo to all parſons, vicars, chaplains, and clerks in pariſh churches, and to all laymen, whom and whereſoever dwelling within our province of Canterbury, greeting, and grace to ſtand firmly in the doctrine of the holy mother-church.

It is a manifeſt and plain caſe, that he doth wrong and injury to the moſt reverend council, who ſo revolteth from the things being in the ſaid council once diſcuſſed and decided. And whoſoever dare preſume to diſpute of the ſupreme or principal judgment here in earth, in ſo doing incurreth the pain of ſacrilege, according to the authority of civil wiſdom and manifold tradition of human law. Much more then they, who truſting in their own wits, are ſo bold to violate, and with contrary doctrine to reſiſt, and in word and deed to contemn the precepts of laws and canons, rightly made, and proceeding from the key-bearer and porter of eternal life and death; bearing the room and perſon, not of pure man, but of true God, here in earth: which alſo have been obſerved hitherto of the holy fathers our predeceſſors unto the glorious effuſion of their blood, and voluntary ſprinkling out of their brains, are worthy of greater puniſhment, deſerving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members from the body of the church militant.

For ſuch ought to conſider what is in the Old Teſtament written; "Moſes and Aaron among the prieſts," that is, were chief heads among them. And in the New Teſtament, among the apoſtles there was a certain difference. And though they were all apoſtles, yet was it granted of the Lord to Peter, that he ſhould bear preeminence above the other apoſtles; and alſo the apoſtles themſelves would the ſame, that he ſhould be the chieftain over all the reſt. And being called Cephas, that is, head, ſhould be a prince over the apoſtles. Unto whom it was ſaid, "Thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren:" as though he would ſay, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to err and ſtray out of the way of faith, of juſt living, or right converſation, do thou confirm and reduce him in the right way again. Which thing no doubt the Lord would never have ſaid unto him, if he had not ſo minded, that the reſt ſhould be obedient unto him.

And yet all this notwithſtanding, we know and daily prove that we are ſorry to ſpeak, how the old ſophiſter, the enemy of mankind (foreſeeing and fearing leſt the ſound doctrine of the church, determined from ancient times, by the holy forefathers, ſhould withſtand his malice, if it might keep the people of God in unity of faith under one head of the church), doth therefore endeavour by all means poſſible to extirpate the ſaid doctrine, feigning vices to be virtues. And ſo, under falſe pretences of verity diſſimuled, he ſoweth diſcord in catholic people, to the intent that ſome going one way, ſome another, he in the mean time may gather to himſelf a church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the univerſal mother holy church. In the which, Satan transforming himſelf into an angel of light, bearing a lying and deceitful balance in his hand, pretending great righteouſneſs, in contrarying the ancient doctrine of the holy mother church, and refuſing the traditions of the ſame determined and appointed by holy fathers; perſuading men, by feigned forgeries, the ſame to be naught, and ſo inducing other new kinds of doctrine, leading to more goodneſs, as he by his lying perſuaſions pretendeth, although he in truth neither willeth nor mindeth any goodneſs, but rather that he may ſow ſchiſms, whereby divers opinions, and contrary to themſelves, being raiſed in the church, faith thereby may be diminiſhed, and alſo the reverend holy myſteries thro' the ſame contention of words may be profaned with Pagans, Jews, and other infidels, and wicked miſcreants.

And ſo that figure in Apoc. 6. is well verified, ſpeaking of him that ſat on the black horſe, bearing a pair of balances in his hand, by the which heretics are underſtood. Who, at the firſt appearance, like to weights or balance, make as though they would ſet forth right and juſt things, to allure the hearts of the hearers. But afterward appeareth the black horſe; that is to ſay, their intention, full of curſed ſpeaking. For they under a divers ſhew and colour of a juſt balance, with the tail of a black horſe ſprinkling abroad hereſies and errors, do ſtrike. And being poiſoned themſelves, under colour of good, raiſe up infinite ſlanders, and by certain perſons, fit to do miſchief, do publiſh abroad as it were the ſugared taſte of honey mixed with poiſon, thereby the ſooner to be taken; working and cauſing through their ſleight and ſubleties, that error ſhould be taken for verity, wickedneſs for holineſs, and for the true will of Chriſt: yea, and moreover, the foreſaid perſons thus pricked out do preach before they be ſent, and preſume to ſow the ſeed, before the ſeed diſcreetly be ſeparate from the chaff. Who not pondering the conſtitutions and decrees of the canons, provided for the ſame purpoſe againſt ſuch peſtilent ſowers, do prefer ſacrifice diabolical (ſo to term it) before obedience to be given to the holy church militant.

We therefore conſidering, and weighing, that error which is not reſiſted ſeemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his boſom too wide, which reſiſteth not the viper thinking there to thruſt out her venom: and willing moreover to ſhake off the duſt from our feet, and to ſee to the honour of our holy mother church, whereby one uniform holy doctrine may be ſown and planted in the church of God (namely in this our province of Canterbury) ſo much as in us doth lie, to the increaſe of faith and ſervice of God, firſt rooting out the evil weeds and offendicles, which by the means of perverſe preaching and doctrine have ſprung up hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow; purpoſing by ſome convenient way with all diligence poſſible to withſtand them in time, and to provide for the peril of ſouls, which we ſee to riſe

under

under pretence of the premiſes; alſo to remove all ſuch obſtacles, by which the ſaid our purpoſe may be ſtopped; by the advice and aſſent of all our ſuffragans and other prelates, being preſent in this our convocation of the clergy, as alſo of the procurators of them that be abſent, and at inſtant the petition of the procurators of the whole clergy within this our province of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part, adding thereunto puniſhment and penalties condign as be here under written, we will and command, ordain, and decree:

That no manner of perſon, ſecular or regular, being authorized to preach by the laws now preſcribed, or licenſed by ſpecial privilege, ſhall take upon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any means preach unto the clergy or laity, either within the church or without in Engliſh, except he firſt preſent himſelf, and be examined of the ordinary of the place where he preacheth. And ſo being found a fit perſon, as well in manners as knowledge, he ſhall be ſent by the ſaid ordinary to ſome one church or more, as ſhall be thought expedient by the ſaid ordinary, according to the quality of the perſon. Nor any perſon aforeſaid ſhall preſume to preach, except firſt he give faithful ſignification in due form of his ſending and authority, that is, that he that is authorized do come in due form appointed him in that behalf; and thoſe that affirm they come by ſpecial privilege, do ſhew their privilege unto the parſon or vicar of the place where they preach. And thoſe that pretend themſelves to be ſent by the ordinary of the place, ſhall likewiſe ſhew the ordinary's letters madeunto him for that purpoſe, under his great ſeal. Let us always underſtand, the curate (having the perpetuity) to be ſent of right unto the people of his own cure. But if any perſon aforeſaid ſhall be forbidden by the ordinary of the place, or any other ſuperior, to preach by reaſon of his errors or hereſies, which before peradventure he had preached and taught; that then and from thenceforth he abſtain from preaching within our province, until he have purged himſelf, and be lawfully admitted again to preach by the juſt arbitrement of him that ſuſpended and forbad him. And ſhall always after that carry with him, to all places whereſoever he ſhall preach, the letters teſtimonial of him that reſtored him.

Moreover, the pariſh-prieſts or vicars temporal, not having perpetuities, nor being ſent in form aforeſaid, ſhall ſimply preach in the churches where they have charge, only thoſe things which are expreſsly contained in the provincial conſtitution ſet forth by John our predeceſſor, of good memory, to help the ignorance of the prieſts, which beginneth, Ignoranti Sacerdotum. Which book of conſtitutions we would ſhould be had in every pariſh-church in our province of Canterbury, within three months next after the publication of theſe preſents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the prieſts themſelves yearly, and at the times appointed.

And leſt this wholeſome ſtatute might be thought hurtful to ſome, by reaſon of payment of money, or ſome other difficulty: we therefore will and ordain, That the examinations of the perſons aforeſaid, and the making of their letters by the ordinary, be done gratis and freely, without any exaction of money at all by thoſe to whom it ſhall appertain: And if any man ſhall willingly preſume to violate this our ſtatute grounded upon the old law, after the publication of the ſame, he ſhall incur the ſentence of greater excommunication ipſo facto: whoſe abſolution we ſpecially reſerve by tenor of theſe preſents to us and our ſucceſſors.

But if any ſuch preacher, deſpiſing this wholeſome ſtatute, and not weighing the ſentence of greater excommunication, do the ſecond time take upon him to preach; ſaying and alledging, and ſtoutly affirming, that the ſentence of greater excommunication aforeſaid cannot be appointed by the church in the perſons of the prelates of the ſame; That then ſuperiors of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the communion of all faithful chriſtians.

And that the ſaid perſon hereupon lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure after the manner of the church) be pronounced an heretic by the ordinary of the place. And that from henceforth he be reputed and taken for an heretic and ſchiſmatic, and that he incur (ipſo facto) the penalties of hereſy and ſchiſmacy, expreſſed in the law; and chiefly that his goods be adjudged confiſcate by the law, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it ſhall appertain. And that his fautors, receivers, and defenders, being convicted, in all caſes be likewiſe puniſhed, if they ceaſe not off within one month being lawfully warned thereof by their ſuperiors.

Furthermore, no clergyman, or parochians of any pariſh or place within our province of Canterbury, ſhall admit any man to preach within their churches, church-yards, or other places whatſoever, except firſt there be manifeſt knowledge had of his authority, privilege, or ſending thither, according to the order aforeſaid; otherwiſe the church, church-yard, or what place ſoever, in which it was ſo preached, ſhall ipſo facto receive the eccleſiaſtical interdict, and ſo ſhall remain interdicted, until they that ſo admitted and ſuffered him to preach have reformed themſelves, and obtained the place ſo interdicted to be releaſed in due form of law, either from the ordinary of the place, or elſe his ſuperior.

Moreover, like as a houſholder caſteth wheat into the ground (well ordered for that purpoſe) thereby to get the more increaſe: even ſo we will and command, That the preacher of God's word, coming in form aforeſaid, preaching either unto the clergy or laity, according to his matter proponed, ſhall be of good behaviour, ſowing ſuch ſeed as ſhall be convenient for his auditory. And chiefly preaching to the clergy, he ſhall touch the vices commonly uſed amongſt them; and to the laity he ſhall declare the vices commonly uſed among them, and not otherwiſe. But if he preach contrary to this order, then ſhall he be ſharply puniſhed by the ordinary of that place, according to the quality of that offence.

Item, Foraſmuch as the part is vile that agreeth not with the whole; we do decree and ordain, That no preacher aforeſaid, or any other perſon whatſoever, ſhall otherwiſe teach or preach concerning the ſacrament of the altar, matrimony, confeſſion of ſins, or any other ſacrament of the church, or article of the faith, than that already is diſcuſſed by the holy mother-church, nor ſhall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the church; nor ſhall to his knowledge privily or apertly pronounce blaſphemous words concerning the ſame; nor ſhall teach, preach, or obſerve any ſect, or kind of hereſy whatſoever, contrary to the wholeſome doctrine of the church. He that ſhall wittingly and obſtinately attempt the contrary after the publication of theſe preſents, ſhall incur the which (except in point of death) he ſhall not be abſolved, until he hath reformed himſelf by abjuration of his hereſy, at the diſcretion of the ordinary in whoſe territory he ſo offended, and hath received wholeſome penitence for his offences. But if the ſecond time he ſhall ſo offend, being lawfully convicted, he ſhall be pronounced an heretic, and his goods confiſcate, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it ſhall appertain.

The penance before-mentioned ſhall be after this manner: if any man, contrary to the determination of the church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our conſtitutions provincial, do openly or privily teach or preach any kind of hereſy or ſect: he ſhall in the pariſh church of the ſame place where he ſo preached, upon one Sunday, or other ſolemn day, or more, at the diſcretion of the ordinary, and as his offence is more or leſs,

expreſly

expreſsly revoke what he ſo preached, taught, or affirmed, even at the time of the ſolemnity of the maſs, when the people are moſt aſſembled, and there ſhall effectually and without fraud preach and teach the very truth determined by the church: and further ſhall be puniſhed after the quality of his offence, as ſhall be thought expedient to the diſcretion of the ordinary.

Item, Foraſmuch as a new veſſel, being long uſed, favoureth after the head, we decree and ordain, that no ſchool-maſters and teachers whatſoever, that inſtruct children in Grammar, or others whoſoever in primitive ſciences, ſhall in teaching them intermingle any thing concerning the catholic faith, the ſacrament of the altar, or other ſacraments of the church, contrary to the determination of the church. Nor ſhall ſuffer their ſcholars to expound the holy ſcriptures (except the text as hath been uſed in ancient time), nor ſhall permit them to diſpute openly or privily concerning the catholic faith or ſacraments of the church. Contrarywiſe, the offender herein ſhall be grievouſly puniſhed by the ordinary of the place, as a favourer of errors and ſchiſms.

Item, For that a new way doth more frequently lead aſtray, than an old way: we will and command, that no book or treatiſe made by John Wickliff, or other whomſoever about that time or ſince, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in ſchools, halls, hoſpitals, or other places whatſoever, within our province of Canterbury aforeſaid, except the ſame be firſt examined by the univerſity of Oxford or Cambridge, or at the leaſt by twelve perſons, whom the ſaid univerſities or one of them ſhall appoint to be choſen at our diſcretion, or the laudable diſcretion of our predeceſſors: and the ſame being examined as aforeſaid, to be expreſsly approved and allowed by us or our ſucceſſors, and in the name and authority of the univerſity, to be delivered unto the ſtationers to be copied out, and the ſame to be ſold at a reaſonable price, the original thereof always after to remain in ſome cheſt of the univerſity. But if any man ſhall read any ſuch kind of books in ſchools or otherwiſe as aforeſaid, he ſhall be puniſhed as a ſower of ſchiſm, and a favourer of hereſy, as the quality of the fault ſhall require.

Item, It is a dangerous thing (as witneſſeth bleſſed St. Jerom) to tranſlate the text of the holy ſcripture out of one tongue into another: for in the tranſlation the ſame ſenſe is not always eaſily kept, as the ſame St. Jerom confeſſeth, that although he were inſpired, yet oftentimes in this he erred: we therefore decree and ordain, that no man hereafter by his own authority tranſlate any text of the ſcripture into Engliſh, or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatiſe, and that no man read any ſuch book, libel, or treatiſe, now lately ſet forth in the time of John Wickliff, or ſince, or hereafter to be ſet forth, in part or in whole, privily, or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the ſaid tranſlation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or (if the caſe ſo require) by the council provincial. He that ſhall do contrary to this, ſhall likewiſe be puniſhed as a favourer of error and hereſy.

Item, For that Almighty God cannot be expreſſed with any philoſophical terms, or otherwiſe invented of man: and St. Auguſtine ſaith, That he hath oftentimes revoked ſuch concluſions as have been moſt true, becauſe they have been offenſive to the ears of the religious: we do ordain and ſpecially command, that no manner of perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he be, do alledge or propone any concluſions or propoſitions contrary to the catholic faith, or repugnant to good manners (except neceſſary doctrine pertaining to their faculty of teaching or diſputing in their ſchools or otherwiſe), although they defend the ſame with never ſo curious terms and words. For as ſaith bleſſed St. Hugh of the ſacraments, That which oftentimes is well ſpoken is not well underſtood. If any man therefore, after the publication of theſe preſents, ſhall be convict wittingly to have proponed ſuch concluſions or propoſitions, except (being moniſhed) he reform himſelf in one month by virtue of this preſent conſtitution, he ſhall incur the ſentence of greater excommunication ipſo facto, and ſhall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, until he hath confeſſed his fault openly in the ſame place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the ſaid concluſion or propoſition in one church or more, as ſhall be thought expedient to the ordinary.

Item, No manner of perſon ſhall preſume to diſpute upon the articles determined by the church, as is contained in the decrees, decretals, or conſtitutions provincial, or in the general councils: but only to ſeek out the true meaning thereof, and that expreſsly, whether it be openly or in ſecret: nor ſhall call in doubt the authority of the ſaid decretals or conſtitutions, or the authority of him that made them, nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: and chiefly concerning the adoration of the holy croſs, the worſhipping of images of ſaints going on pilgrimage to certain places, or to the relics of ſaints, or againſt the oaths, in caſes accuſtomed to be given in both common places, that is to ſay, ſpiritual and temporal. But of all it ſhall be commonly taught and preached, that the croſs and image of the crucifix, and other images of ſaints, in the honour of them whom they repreſent, are to be worſhipped with proceſſion, bowing of knees, offering of frankincenſe, kiſſing, oblations, lighting of candles, and pilgrimages, and with all other kind of ceremonies and manners that have been uſed in the time of our predeceſſors, and that giving of oaths in caſes expreſſed in the law, and uſed of all men to whom it belongeth in both common places, ought to be done upon the book of the goſpel of Chriſt. Contrary unto this whoſoever doth preach, teach, or obſtinately affirm (except he recant in manner and form aforeſaid) ſhall forthwith incur the penalty of hereſy, and ſhall be pronounced an heretic in all effect of law.

Item, we do decree and ordain, that no chaplain be admitted to celebrate in any dioceſe within our province of Canterbury, where he was not born, or received not orders; except he bring with him his letters of orders, and letters commendatory from his ordinary, and alſo from other biſhops in whoſe dioceſe of a long time he hath been converſant, whereby his converſation and manners may appear; ſo that it may be known, whether he hath been defamed with any new opinions touching the catholic faith, or whether he be free from the ſame: otherwiſe, as well he that celebrateth, as he that ſuffereth him to celebrate, ſhall be ſharply puniſhed at the diſcretion of the ordinary.

Finally, Becauſe thoſe things which newly and unaccuſtomably creep up, ſtand in need of new and ſpeedy help; and where more danger is, there ought to be more wary circumſpection and ſtronger reſiſtance; and not without good cauſe, the leſs noble ought diſcreetly to be cut away, that the more noble may the more perfectly be nouriſhed: conſidering therefore, and in lamentable wiſe ſhewing unto you how the ancient univerſity of Oxford, which as a fruitful vine was wont to extend forth her fruitful branches to the honour of God, the great defence and protection of the church: now partly being become wild, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being undiſcreetly eaten of ancient fathers, that thought themſelves ſkilful in the law of God, had ſet on edge the teeth of their children: and our province is infected with divers and unfruitful doctrines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of Lollardy, to the great reproof and offence of the ſaid univerſity, being known in foreign countries, and to the great irkſomeneſs of the ſtudents there, and to the great damage and loſs of the church of England, which in times paſt by her virtue, as with a ſtrong wall, was wont to be defended, and now is like to run into ruin not to be recovered: at the ſupplication therefore of the whole clergy of our province of Canterbury, and by the con-

ſent and aſſent of all our brethren and ſuffragans, and other the prelates in this convocation aſſembled, and the proctors of them that are abſent, leſt the river being cleanſed, the fountain ſhould remain corrupt, and ſo the water coming from thence ſhould not be pure, intending moſt wholeſomely to provide for the honour and utility of the holy mother the church and the univerſity aforeſaid; we do ordain and decree, that every warden, provoſt, or maſter of every college, or principal of every hall within the univerſity aforeſaid, ſhall once every month at the leaſt diligently inquire in the ſaid college, hall, or other place where he hath authority, whether any ſcholar or inhabitant of ſuch college or hall, &c. have holden, alledged, or defended, or by any means proponed any concluſion, propoſition, or opinion, concerning the catholic faith, ſounding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the church, otherwiſe than appertaineth to neceſſary doctrine. And if he ſhall find any ſuſpected or defamed therein, he ſhall according to his office admoniſh him to deſiſt. And if after ſuch monition given, the ſaid party offend again in the ſame, or ſuch like, he ſhall incur ipſo facto (beſides the penalties aforeſaid) the ſentence of greater excommunication. And nevertheleſs, if it be a ſcholar that offendeth the ſecond time, whatſoever he ſhall afterward do in the ſaid univerſity, ſhall not ſtand in effect. And if he be a doctor, a maſter, or bachelor, he ſhall forthwith be ſuſpended from any ſcholar's act, and in both caſes ſhall loſe the right that he hath in the ſaid college or hall whereof he is, ipſo facto; and by the warden, provoſt, maſter, principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he ſhall be expelled, and a catholic by lawful means forthwith placed in his place. And if the ſaid wardens, provoſts, or maſters of colleges, or principals of halls, ſhall be negligent concerning the inquiſition and executions of ſuch perſons ſuſpected and defamed by the ſpace of ten days, from the time of the true or ſuppoſed knowledge of the publication of theſe preſents: that then they ſhall incur the ſentence of greater excommunication, and nevertheleſs ſhall be deprived ipſo facto of all the right which they pretend to have in the colleges, halls, &c. and the ſaid colleges and halls to be effectually vacant. And after lawful declaration hereof made by them to whom it ſhall appertain, new wardens, provoſts, maſters, or principals, ſhall be placed in their places, as hath been accuſtomed in colleges and halls, being vacant in the ſaid univerſity. But if the wardens themſelves, provoſts, maſters, or principals aforeſaid, be ſuſpected and defamed of and concerning the ſaid concluſions or propoſitions, or be favourers and defenders of ſuch as do therein offend, and do not ceaſe, being thereof warned by us, or by our authority, or by the ordinary of the place: that then by law they be deprived as well of all ſuch privilege ſcholaſtical within the univerſity aforeſaid, as alſo of their right and authority in ſuch college, hall, &c. beſides other penalties afore-mentioned, and that they incur the ſaid ſentence of greater excommunication.

But if any man in any caſe of this preſent conſtitution, or any other above expreſſed, do raſhly and wilfully preſume to violate theſe our ſtatutes in any part thereof (although there be another penalty expreſsly there limited), yet ſhall he be made altogether unable and unworthy by the ſpace of three years after (without hope of pardon) to obtain any eccleſiaſtical benefice within our province of Canterbury: and nevertheleſs, according to all his demerits, and the quality of his exceſs, at the diſcretion of his ſuperior, he ſhall be lawfully puniſhed.

And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertain, conſidering with ourſelves, that although there be a kind of equality in the crime of hereſy, and offending the prince, as is avouched in divers laws; yet the fault is much alike, and to offend the Divine Majeſty requireth greater puniſhment, than to offend the prince's majeſty; and where it is ſufficient (for fear of danger that might enſue by delays) to convince by judgment the offender of the prince's majeſty, proceeding againſt him fully and wholly, with a citation ſent by meſſenger, by letters, or edict, not admitting proof by witneſſes, and ſentence definitive to be: We do ordain, will, and declare, for the eaſier puniſhment of the offenders in the premiſes, and for the better reformation of the church divided and hurt, that all ſuch as are defamed, openly known, or vehemently ſuſpected in any of the caſes aforeſaid, or in the article of the catholic faith, ſounding contrary to good manners, by the authority of the ordinary of the place, or other ſuperior, be cited perſonally to appear either by letters, public meſſenger, being ſworn, or by edict openly ſet at that place where the offender commonly remaineth, or in the pariſh-church, if he have any certain dwelling-houſe; otherwiſe in the cathedral church of the place where he was born, and in the pariſh-church of the ſame place where he ſo preached and taught: And afterwards certificate being given, that the citation was formerly executed againſt the party cited being abſent, and neglecting his appearance, it ſhall be proceeded againſt him fully and plainly without ſound or ſhew of judgment, and without admitting proof by witneſſes and other canonical probations. And alſo after lawful information had, the ſaid ordinary (all delays ſet apart) ſhall ſignify, declare, and puniſh the ſaid offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in form aforeſaid; and further, ſhall do according to juſtice, the abſence of the offender notwithſtanding.

Given at Oxford.

Who would have thought by theſe laws and conſtitutions ſo ſubſtantially founded, ſo circumſpectly provided, ſo diligently executed, but that the name and memory of this perſecuted ſort ſhould utterly have been rooted up, and never could have ſtood? And yet ſuch be the works of the Lord, paſſing all men's admiration, all this notwithſtanding, ſo far was it off that the number and courage of theſe good men was vanquiſhed, that rather they multiplied daily and increaſed. For ſo I find in regiſters recorded, that theſe foreſaid perſons, whom the kings and the catholic fathers did ſo greatly deteſt for heretics, were in divers countries of this realm diſperſed, and increaſed; eſpecially at London, in Lincolnſhire, in Norfolk, in Herefordſhire, in Shrewſbury, in Calais, and divers other quarters more, with whom the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, the ſame time, had much ado, as by his own regiſters doth appear. Albeit ſome there were that did ſhrink, many did revolt and renounce, for danger of the law. Among whom was John Purvey, which recanted at Paul's croſs, of whom more followeth (the Lord willing) to be ſaid in the year 1421. Alſo John Edward, prieſt, of the dioceſe of Lincoln, who revoked in the Greenyard at Norwich; Richard Herbert, and Emmot Willy of London; alſo John Becket, who recanted at London. Item, John Seynons of Lincolnſhire, who was cauſed to revoke at Canterbury. The articles of whom, which commonly they did hold, and which they were conſtrained to abjure, more eſpecially were theſe which follow:

Their Articles.

Firſt, That the office of the holy croſs (ordained by the whole church) celebrated doth contain idolatry.

Item, They ſaid and affirmed, that all they which do reverence and worſhip the ſign of the croſs, do commit idolatry, and are reputed as idolaters.

Item, They ſaid and affirmed, that the true fleſh and blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is not in the ſacra-

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ment of the altar, after the words ſpoken by the prieſt truly pronounced.

Item, They ſaid and affirmed the ſacrament of the altar to be ſacramental bread, not having life, but only inſtituted for a memorial of Chriſt's paſſion.

Item, They ſaid and affirmed, that the body of Chriſt, which is taken on the altar, is a figure of the body of Chriſt as long as we ſee the bread and wine.

Item, They ſaid and affirmed, that the decree of the prelates and clergy in the province of Canterbury, in their laſt convocation, with the conſent of the king and the nobles in the laſt parliament againſt him that was burnt lately in the city of London, was not ſufficient to change the purpoſe of the ſaid John, when the ſubſtance of material bread is even as before in the ſacrament of the altar it was, no change being made in the nature of bread.

Item, That any layman may preach the goſpel in every place, and may teach it by his own authority, without the licence of his ordinary.

Item, That it is ſin to give any thing to the preaching friars, to the Minorites, to the Auguſtines, to the Carmelites.

Item, That we ought not to offer to the funerals of the dead.

Item, That the confeſſion of ſins to the prieſt is unneedful.

Item, That every good man (though he be unlearned) is a prieſt.

Item, That the infant (though he die unbaptized) ſhall be ſaved.

Item, That neither the pope, nor the prelate, neither any ordinary, can compel any man to ſwear by any creature of God, or by the Bible-book.

Item, That the biſhop, the ſimple man, the prieſt, and layman, be of like authority (as long as they live well).

Item, That no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any prelate.

William Thorpe.

THUS much briefly being ſignified by the way, touching theſe which have been forced in time of this king to open abjuration: next cometh to our hands the worthy hiſtory of maſter William Thorpe, a valiant warrior under the triumphant banner of Chriſt, with the proceſs of his examination before the foreſaid Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, written by the ſaid Thorpe, and ſtoried by his own pen, at the requeſt of his friends, as by his own words in the proceſs hereof may appear. In whoſe examination (which ſeemeth firſt to begin anno 1407), thou ſhalt have, good reader, both to learn and to marvel. To learn, in that thou ſhalt hear truth diſcourſed and diſcuſſed, with the contrary reaſons of the adverſary diſſolved. To marvel, for thou ſhalt behold here in this man the marvellous force and ſtrength of the Lord's might, Spirit, and grace, working and fighting in his ſoldiers, and alſo ſpeaking in their mouths, according to the word of his promiſe, Luke 21. To the text of the ſtory we have neither added nor diminiſhed: but as we have received, copied out, and corrected by maſter William Tindal (who had his own hand writing), ſo we have here ſent it, and ſet it out abroad. Although for the more credit of the matter, I rather wiſhed it in his own natural ſpeech, wherein it was firſt written. Notwithſtanding, to put away all doubt and ſcruple herein, this I thought before to premoniſh and teſtify to the reader, touching the certainty hereof, that they be yet alive which have ſeen the ſelf-ſame copy in his own old Engliſh, reſembling the true antiquity both of the ſpeech and of the time. The name of whom, as for record of the ſame, to avouch, is M. Whitehead; who, as he hath ſeen the true ancient copy in the hands of George Conſtantine, ſo hath he given credible relation of the ſame, both to the printer and to me. Furthermore, the ſaid maſter Tindal (albeit he did ſomewhat alter and amend the Engliſh thereof, and frame it after our manner), yet not fully in all words, but that ſomething doth remain ſavouring of the old ſpeech of that time. What the cauſes were why this good man, and ſervant of Chriſt, W. Thorpe, did write it, and pen it out himſelf, it is ſufficiently declared in his own preface, ſet before his book, which is here prefixed in manner as followeth:

The Preface of William Thorpe.

THE Lord God that knoweth all things, knoweth well that I am right ſorrowful to write to make known this ſentence beneath written: whereby of mine even chriſtian, ſet in high ſtate and dignity, ſo great blindneſs and malice may be known; that they which do preſume of themſelves to deſtroy vices, and to plant in men virtues, neither dread to offend God, nor luſt to pleaſe him, as their works do ſhew. For certainly the bidding of God and his law, which in the praiſing of his moſt holy name he commandeth to be known and kept of all men and women, young and old, after the cunning and power that he hath given to them, the prelates of this land and their miniſters, with the convent of prieſts chiefly conſenting to them, enforce them moſt buſily to withſtand, and deſtroy the holy ordinance of God. And therethrough God is greatly wroth and moved to take hard vengeance, not only upon them that do the evil, but alſo on them that conſent to theſe antichriſt's limbs: which know, or might know their malice and falſhood, and dreſs them not to withſtand their malice and their great pride. Nevertheleſs, four things move me to write this ſentence beneath.

The firſt thing that moveth me hereto is this, That whereas it was known to certain friends, that I came from the priſon of Shrewſbury, and as it befel indeed that I ſhould to the priſon of Canterbury, then divers friends in divers places ſpake to me full heartily and full tenderly, and commanded me then if it ſo were that I ſhould be examined before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that if I might in any wiſe, I ſhould write mine appoſing, and mine anſwering. And I promiſed to my ſpecial friends, that if I might, I would gladly do their bidding as I might.

The ſecond thing that moveth me to write this ſentence is this: Divers friends, which have heard that I have been examined before the archbiſhop, have come to me in priſon, and counſelled me buſily, and coveted greatly that I ſhould do the ſame thing. And other brethren have ſent to me, and required on God's behalf, that I ſhould write out and make known both mine appoſing and mine anſwering, for the profit (as they ſay) upon my knowledging may come thereof. But this they bade me, that I ſhould be buſy in all my wits, to to go as near the ſentence and the words as I could, both that were ſpoken to me, and that I ſpake: peradventure this writing may come another time before the archbiſhop and his council. And of this counſelling I was right glad: for in my conſcience I was moved to do this thing, and to aſk hitherto the ſpecial help of God. And ſo then I conſidering the great deſire of divers friends of ſundry places, according all in one, I occupied all my mind and my wits ſo buſily, that through God's grace I perceived, by their meaning and their charitable deſire, ſome profit might come therethrough. For ſoothfaſtneſs and truth hath theſe conditions: whereſoever it is impugned, it hath a ſweet ſmell, and thereof cometh a ſweet ſavour. And the more violently the enemies dreſs themſelves to oppreſs and to withſtand the truths, the greater and the ſweeter ſmell cometh thereof. And therefore this heavenly ſmell of God's will not as a

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ſmoke paſs away with the wind: but it will deſcend and reſt in ſome clean ſoul that thirſteth thereafter. And thus ſome deal by this writing may be perceived through God's grace, how that the enemies of the truth (ſtanding boldly in their malice) inforce them to withſtand the freedom of Chriſt's goſpel, for which freedom Chriſt became man, and ſhed his heart blood. And therefore it is great pity and ſorrow, that many men and women do their own wayward will, and buſy them not to know nor to do the pleaſant will of God.

The men and women that hear the truth and ſoothfaſtneſs, and hear or know of this (perceiving what is now in the church) ought herethrough to be the more moved in all their wits to able them to grace, and to ſet leſſer price by themſelves, that they without tarrying forſake wilfully and bodily all the wretchedneſs of this life, ſince they know not how ſoon, nor when, nor where, nor by whom God will teach them, and aſſay their patience. For, no doubt, whoever will live piouſly, that is, charitably in Jeſus Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer now here in this life perſecution, in one wiſe or another: that is, if we ſhall be ſaved, it behoveth us to imagine full buſily the vility and foulneſs of ſin, and how the Lord God is diſpleaſed therefore: and ſo of this vility and hideouſneſs of ſin, it behoveth us to buſy us in all our wits, to abhor and hold in our mind a great ſhame of ſin ever, and ſo then we ought to ſorrow heartily therefore, and ever fleeing all occaſion thereof. And then it behoveth us to take upon us ſharp penance, continuing therein, to obtain of the Lord forgiveneſs of our foredone ſins, and grace to abſtain us hereafter from ſin. And if we inforce us not to do this wilfully, and in convenient time, the Lord (if he will not utterly deſtroy and caſt us away) will in divers manners move tyrants againſt us, to conſtrain us violently to do penance, which we would not do wilfully. And truſt that this doing is a ſpecial grace of the Lord, and a great token of life and mercy. And no doubt whoever will not apply himſelf (as is ſaid before) to puniſh himſelf wilfully, neither will ſuffer patiently, meekly, and gladly, the rod of the Lord, howſoever that he will puniſh him: their wayward wills and their impatiency are unto them earneſt of everlaſting damnation. But becauſe there are but few in number that do able them thus faithfully to grace, to live here ſo ſimply and purely, and without gall of malice and of grudging; therefore the lovers of this world hate and purſue them that they know patient, meek, chaſte, and wilfully poor, hating and fleeing all worldly vanities and fleſhly luſts. For ſurely their virtuous conditions are even contrary to the manners of this world.

The third thing that moveth me to write this ſentence is this: I thought I ſhall buſy me in myſelf to do faithfully that all men and women (occupying all their buſineſs in knowing and in keeping of God's commandments) able them ſo to grace, that they might underſtand truly the truth, and have and uſe virtue and prudence, and ſo deſerve to be lightened from above with heavenly wiſdom: ſo that all their words and their works may be hereby made pleaſant ſacrifices unto the Lord God; and not only for help of their own ſouls, but alſo for the edification of holy church. For I doubt not, but all they that will apply them to have this foreſaid buſineſs, ſhall profit full meekly both to friends and foes. For ſome enemies of the truth, through the grace of God, ſhall through charitable folks be made aſtoniſhed in their conſcience, and peradventure converted from vices to virtues: and alſo they that labour to know and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, and to ſuffer patiently all adverſities, ſhall hereby comfort many friends.

And the fourth thing that moveth me to write this ſentence is this: I know by my ſudden and unwarned appoſing and anſwering, that all they that will of good heart without feigning able themſelves wilfully and gladly, after their cunning and their power, to follow Chriſt patiently, travailing buſily, privily and apertly in work and in word, to withdraw whomſoever that they may from vices planting in them, if they may, virtues comforting them, and furthering them that ſtand in grace; ſo that therewith they be not borne up in vainglory through preſumption of their wiſdom, nor inflamed with any worldly proſperity, but ever meek and patient; purpoſing to continue ſtedfaſtly in the will of God, ſuffering wilfully and gladly, without any grudging whatſoever rod the Lord will chaſtiſe them with; that then this good Lord will not forget to comfort all ſuch men and women in all their tribulations, and at every point of temptation that any enemy purpoſed for to do againſt them. To ſuch faithful lovers ſpecially, and patient followers of Chriſt, the Lord ſendeth by his wiſdom from above them which the adverſaries of the truth may not know nor underſtand. But through their old and new unſhamefaced ſins, thoſe tyrants and enemies of ſoothfaſtneſs ſhall be ſo blinded and obſtinate in evil, that they ſhall ween themſelves to do pleaſant ſacrifices unto the Lord God in their malicious and wrongful purſuing and deſtroying of innocent mens and womens bodies; which men and women, for their virtuous living, and for their true knowledging of the truth, and their patient, wilful, and glad ſuffering of perſecution for righteouſneſs, deſerve through the grace of God to be heirs of the endleſs bliſs of heaven. And for the fervent deſire and great love that theſe men have, as to ſtand in ſoothfaſtneſs and witneſs of it, tho' they be ſuddenly and unwarnedly brought forth to be appoſed of their adverſaries; the Holy Ghoſt yet, that moveth and ruleth them through his charity, will in that hour of their anſwering ſpeak in them, and ſhew his wiſdom, that all their enemies ſhall not gainſay, nor againſtand, lawfully.

And therefore all they that are ſtedfaſt in the faith of God, yea, which through diligent keeping of his commandments, and for their patient ſuffering of whatſoever adverſity that cometh to them, hope ſurely in his mercy, purpoſing to ſtand continually in perfect charity; for thoſe men and women dread not ſo the adverſities of this life, that they will fear after their cunning and their power, to knowledge prudently the truth of God's word, when, where, and to whom they think their knowledging may profit. Yea, and though therefore perſecution come to them in one wiſe or another, certainly they patiently take it, knowing their converſation to be in heaven. It is an high reward, and a ſpecial grace of God, to have and enjoy the everlaſting inheritance of heaven, for the ſuffering of one perſecution in ſo ſhort time as is the term of this life. For lo, this heritage and endleſs reward is the Lord God himſelf, which is the beſt thing that may be. This ſentence witneſſeth the Lord God himſelf, whereas he ſaid to Abraham, I am thy reward: and as the Lord ſaid, he was and is the reward of Abraham, ſo he is of all other his ſaints. This moſt bleſſed and beſt reward, he grant to us all for his holy name, that made us of nought, and ſent his only moſt dear worthy Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to redeem us with his moſt precious heart blood. Amen.

The Examination of William Thorpe, penned with his own Hand.

KNOWN be it to all men that read or hear this writing, that on the Sunday next after the feaſt of St. Peter, that we call Lammas, in the year of our Lord 1407, I William Thorpe, being in priſon in the caſtle of Saltwood, was brought before Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury, and chancellor then of England. And when that I came to him, he ſtood in a great chamber,

ber, and much people about him: and when that he saw me, he went fast into a closet, bidding all secular men that followed him to go forth from him soon, so that no man was left then in that closet but the archbishop himself, and a physician that was called Masveren, parson of St. Dunstan's in London, and two other persons unknown to me, which were ministers of the law. And I standing before them, by and by the archbishop said to me; William, I know well that thou hast this twenty winters and more travelled about busily in the north country, and in divers other countries of England, sowing about false doctrine, having great business, if thou might, with thine untrue teaching and shrewd will, to infect and poison all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withstanded and brought into my ward, so that I shall now sequester thee from thine evil purpose, and lett thee to invenom the sheep of my province. Nevertheless St. Paul saith; "If it may be, as much as in us is, we ought to have peace with all men." Therefore William, if thou wilt meekly and of good heart, without any feigning, kneel down, and lay thy hand upon a book and kiss it, promising faithfully, as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine ordinance, and fulfil it duly by all thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet find me gracious unto thee. Then said I to the archbishop: "Sir, since ye deem me an heretic, and out of belief, will you give me here audience to tell my belief?" And he said, "Yes, tell on." And I said, "I believe that there is not but one God Almighty, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead, are three persons, that is, the Father, the Son, and the soothful Holy Ghost. And I believe that all these three persons are even in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace and of all goodness. For whatsoever that the Father doth, or can, or will, that thing also the Son doth, and can, and will; and in all their power, cunning, and will, the Holy Ghost is equal to the Father, and to the Son."

Over this I believe, that through counsel of this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time before ordained for the salvation of mankind, the second person of this Trinity was ordained to take the form of man, that is, the kind of man. And I believe, that this second person, our Lord Jesus Christ, was conceived through the Holy Ghost in the womb of the blessed virgin Mary, without man's seed. And I believe that after nine months Christ was born of this most blessed virgin, without any pain or breaking of the cloister of her womb, and without filth of her virginity.

And I believe, that Christ our Saviour was circumcised in the eighth day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law, and his name was called Jesus, which was so called of the angel, before that he was conceived in the womb of Mary his mother.

And I believe that Christ, as he was about thirty years old, was baptized in the flood of Jordan, of John Baptist: and in the likeness of a dove the Holy Ghost descended there upon him, a voice heard from heaven saying, "Thou art my well-beloved Son, in thee I am full pleased."

And I believe that Christ was moved then of the Holy Ghost to go into the desart, and there he fasted forty days and forty nights without bodily meat and drink. And I believe that by and by after this fasting, when the manhood of God hungered, the fiend came to him, and tempted him in gluttony, in vain glory, and in covetise: but in all those temptations Christ concluded the fiend, and withstood him. And then without tarrying Jesus began to preach, and to say unto the people; "Do ye penance, for the realm of heaven is now at hand."

I believe that Christ in all his time here lived most holily, and taught the will of his Father most truly: and I believe that he suffered therefore most wrongfully greatest reproofs and despisings.

And after this, when Christ would make an end here of this temporal life, I believe in the day next before that he would suffer passion in the morn, in form of bread and of wine he ordained the sacrament of his flesh and his blood; that is, his own precious body, and gave it to his apostles to eat: commanding them, and by them all their after comers, that they should do it in this form that he shewed to them, use themselves, and teach and commune forth to other men and women this most worshipful and holiest sacrament, in mindfulness of his holiest living, and of his most true preaching, and of his wilful and patient suffering of the most painful passion.

And I believe that this Christ our Saviour, after that he had ordained this most worthy sacrament of his own precious body, went forth wilfully against his enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently upon him, and to bind him, and to lead him forth as a thief, and to scorn him and buffet him, and all to blow or file him with their spittings. Over this, I believe that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his enemies to ding out with sharp scourges the blood that was between his skin and his flesh: yea without grudging Christ suffered the cruel Jews to crown him with most sharp thorns, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked Jews to draw him out upon the cross, and to nail him thereupon hand and foot. And so through his pitiful nailing, Christ shed out wilfully for man's blood, the blood that was in the veins. And then Christ gave wilfully his spirit into the hands or power of his Father, and so, as he would, and when he would, Christ died wilfully for man's sake upon the cross. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfully, painfully, and most shamefully put to death, as to the world, there was left blood and water in his heart, as before ordained, that he would shed out this blood and this water for man's salvation. And therefore he suffered the Jews to make a blind knight to thrust him in the heart with a spear, and this blood and water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for man's love: and after this, I believe that Christ was taken down from the cross and buried. And I believe that on the third day by the power of his Godhead, Christ rose again from death to life. And the fortieth day thereafter, I believe that Christ ascended up into heaven, and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the Father Almighty. And the fiftieth day after his upgoing, he sent to his apostles the Holy Ghost, that he had promised them before. And I believe that Christ shall come and judge all mankind, some to everlasting peace, and some to everlasting pains.

And as I believe in the Father, and in the Son, that they are one God Almighty; so I believe in the Holy Ghost, that he is also with them the same God Almighty.

And I believe an holy church, that is, all they that have been, and that now are, and always to the end of the world shall be, a people the which shall endeavour them to know and to keep the commandments of God, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving and seeking to please him: and I believe, that all they that have had, and yet have, and all they that yet shall have the foresaid virtues, surely standing in the belief of God, hoping stedfastly in his merciful doings, continuing to their end in perfect charity, wilfully, patiently, and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ chiefly and his apostles, all these have their names written in the book of life.

Therefore I believe, that the gathering together of this people, living now here in this life, is the holy church of God, fighting here on earth against the fiend, the prosperity of the world, and their filthy lusts. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this church beforesaid, and every part thereof, neither coveteth, nor willeth, nor loveth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to do his pleasing will meekly, gladly, and wilfully; and with all mine heart I

ſubmit myſelf unto this holy church of Chriſt, to be ever ſubmiſſive and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of every member thereof, after my knowledge and power, by the help of God, Therefore, I knowledge now and evermore ſhall, if God will, that with all my heart, and with all my might, I will ſubmit me only to the rule and governance of them, whom after my knowledge I may perceive by the having and uſing of the beforeſaid virtues, to be members of the holy church. Wherefore theſe articles of belief and of all other (both of the old law, and of the new, which after the commandment of God any man ought to believe), I believe verily in my ſoul, as a ſinful deadly wretch, of my cunning and power, ought to believe: praying the Lord God for his holy name to increaſe my belief, and to help my unbelief.

And becauſe to the praiſing of God's name, I deſire above all things to be a faithful member of holy church. I make this proteſtation before you all four that are now here preſent, coveting that all men and women that now be abſent know the ſame: that is, what thing ſoever before this time I have ſaid or done, or what thing here I ſhall do or ſay at any time hereafter, I believe that the old law and the new law, given and ordained by counſel of the three Perſons of the Trinity, were given and written to the ſalvation of mankind. And I believe, that theſe laws are ſufficient for man's ſalvation. And I believe every article of theſe laws, to the intent that theſe articles ordained and commanded of theſe three Perſons of the moſt bleſſed Trinity are to be believed.

And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of theſe God's laws, meekly, gladly, and wilfully, I ſubmit me with all mine heart; that whoſoever can or will by authority of God's law, or by open reaſon, tell me that I have erred or now err, or any time hereafter ſhall err in any article of belief (from which inconvenience God keep me for his goodneſs) I ſubmit me to be reconciled, and to be ſubmiſſive and obedient unto thoſe laws of God, and to every article of them. For by authority ſpecially of theſe laws I will, through the grace of God, be united charitably unto theſe laws. Yea, Sir, and over this, I believe and admit all the ſentences, authorities and reaſons of the ſaints and doctors according unto the holy ſcripture, and declaring it truly.

I ſubmit me wilfully and meekly to be ever obedient, after my cunning and power, to all theſe ſaints and doctors, as they are obedient in work and in word to God and to his law, and further not (to my knowledge), not for any earthly power, dignity or ſtate, through the help of God. But, Sir, I pray you, tell me, if after your bidding I ſhall lay my hand upon the book, to what intent; to ſwear thereby? And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, yea, wherefore elſe? And I ſaid to him Sir, a book is nothing elſe but a thing coupled together of divers creatures, and to ſwear by any creature, both God's law and man's law is againſt it.

But, Sir, this thing I ſay here to you before theſe your clerks, with my foreſaid proteſtation, that how, where, when, and to whom men are bound to ſwear or to obey in any wiſe after God's law, and ſaints, aud true doctors, according with God's law; I will through God's grace be ever ready thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you, Sir, for the charity of God, that ye will before that I ſwear (as I have here rehearſed to you) tell me how or whereto that I ſhall ſubmit me: and ſhew me that whereof ye will correct me, and what is the ordinance that ye will thus oblige me to fulfil.

And the archbiſhop ſaid unto me: I will ſhortly that now thou ſwear here to me, that thou ſhalt forſake all the opinions which the ſect of the Lollards hold, and is ſlandered with: ſo that after this time, neither privily nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I ſhall (after thou haſt ſworn) rehearſe to thee here. Nor ſhalt thou favour any man or woman, young or old, that holdeth any theſe foreſaid opinions: but after thy knowledge and power thou ſhalt force thee to withſtand all ſuch diſtroublers of holy church in every dioceſe that thou comeſt in; and them that will not leave their falſe and damnable opinions, thou ſhalt put them up, publiſhing them and their names, and make them known to the biſhop of the dioceſe that they are in, or to the biſhop's miniſters. And over this I will that thou preach no more unto the time that I know by good witneſs and true, that thy converſation be ſuch, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truly in one, contrarying all the lewd learning that thou haſt taught herebefore.

And I hearing theſe words thought in my heart that this was an unlawful aſking; and deemed myſelf curſed of God, if I conſented hereto, and I thought how Suſan ſaid, Anguiſh is to me on every ſide. And in that I ſtood ſtill, and ſpake not; the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Anſwer one way or other: and I ſaid, Sir, if I conſented to you thus as ye have herebefore rehearſed to me, I ſhall become an appealer, or every biſhop's eſpy, ſomoner of all England. For if I ſhould thus put up the names of men and women, I ſhould herein deceive full many perſons: yea, Sir, as it is likely by the doom of my conſcience, I ſhould herein be cauſe of the death both of men and women, yea both bodily and ghoſtly. For many men and women that ſtand now in the way of ſalvation, if I ſhould for the learning and reading, or their belief publiſh them therefore up to the biſhops or to their unpiteous miniſters, I know ſome deal by experience that they ſhould be ſo diſtroubled and diſſeiſed with perſecution or otherwiſe, that many of them, I think, would rather chuſe to forſake the way of truth than to be travailed, ſcorned, ſlandered or puniſhed, as biſhops and their miniſters now uſe to conſtrain men and women to conſent to them.

But I find in no place in holy ſcripture, that this office, that ye would now infeoff me with, accordeth to any prieſt of Chriſt's ſect, nor to any other chriſtian man; and therefore to do this were to me a full noyous bond to be bounden with, and over-grievous charge, For I ſuppoſe, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea, Sir, might juſtly to my confuſion ſay to me, that I were a traitor to God and to them: ſince (as I think in mine heart) many men and women truſt ſo mickle in this caſe, that I would not for ſaving of my life do thus to them. For if I thus ſhould do, full many men and women would (as they might full truly) ſay that I had falſely and cowardly forſaken the truth, and ſlandered ſhamefully the word of God. For if I conſented to you to do hereafter your will, for bondchief or miſchief that may befall unto me in this life, I deem in my conſcience, that I were worthy heretofore to be curſed of God and alſo of all his ſaints: from which inconvenience keep me and all chriſtian people, Almighty God, now and ever for his holy name. And then the archbiſhop ſaid unto me: Oh, thine heart is full hard indurate, as was the heart of Pharaoh, and the devil hath overcome thee, and perverted thee, and he hath ſo blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou haſt no grace to know the truth, nor the meaſure of mercy that I have proferred to thee. Therefore, as I perceive now by thy fooliſh anſwer, thou haſt no will to leave thine old errors.

But I ſay to thee, lewd loſſel, either quickly conſent thou to mine ordinance, and ſubmit thee to ſtand to my decrees, or by St. Thomas thou ſhalt be degraded, and follow thy fellow into Smithfield. And at this ſaying I ſtood ſtill, and ſpake not; but I thought in mine heart, that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy bring me to ſuch an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this menacing of the archbiſhop. And I conſidered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet ſorrowful that he had made William Sautre wrongfully to be burnt: and as I conſidered, that the archbiſhop thirſted yet after more ſhedding of innocent blood: and fait therefore I was moved in all my wits, to hold the archbiſhop neither for prelate nor for prieſt of God: and for that mine

inward

inward man was thus altogether departed from the archbiſhop, methought I ſhould not have any dread of him. But I was right heavy and ſorrowful, for that there was no audience of ſecular men by; but in my heart I prayed the Lord God to comfort me and ſtrengthen me againſt them that there were againſt the ſoothfaſtneſs. And I ſuppoſe to ſpeak no more to the archbiſhop and his clerks than me need behoved: and all thus I prayed God for his goodneſs to give me then and always grace to ſpeak with a meek and an eaſy ſpirit: and whatſoever thing that I ſhould ſpeak, that I might thereto have true authorities of the ſcriptures or open reaſon. And for that I ſtood thus ſtill and nothing ſpake, one of the archbiſhop's clerks ſaid, What thing muſeſt thou? Do thou as my lord hath now commanded to thee here.

And yet I ſtood ſtill and anſwered him not: and then ſoon after the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I have ſaid to thee? And I ſaid then to him, Sir, my father and my mother, on whoſe ſouls God have mercy, if it be his will, ſpent mickle money, in divers places about my learning, for the intent to have made me a prieſt to God. But when I came to years of diſcretion, I had no will to be a prieſt, and therefore my friends were right heavy to me, and then methought their grudging againſt me was ſo painful to me, that I purpoſed therefore to have left their company. And when they perceived this in me, they ſpake ſometimes full fair and pleaſant words to me: but for that they might not make me conſent of good heart to be a prieſt, they ſpake to me full oftentimes very grievous words, and menaced me in divers manners, ſhewing to me full heavy cheer. And thus one while in fair manner, another while in grievous, they were long time, as methought, full buſy about me, ere I conſented to them to be a prieſt.

But, at the laſt, when in this matter they would no longer ſuffer mine excuſations, but either I ſhould conſent to them, or I ſhould ever bear their indignation, yea their curſe, as they ſaid, then I ſeeing this, prayed them that they would give me licence to go to them that were named wiſe prieſts, and of virtuous converſation, to have their counſel, and to know of them the office and the charge of prieſthood. And hereto my father and my mother conſented full gladly, and gave me their bleſſing and good leave to go, and alſo money to ſpend in this journey. And ſo I went to thoſe prieſts whom I had heard to be of beſt name, and of moſt holy living, and beſt learned, and moſt wiſe of heavenly wiſdom; and ſo I communed with them unto the time that I perceived, by their virtuous and continual occupations, that their honeſt and charitable works paſſed their fame which I had heard before of them.

Wherefore, Sir, by the example of the doctrine of them, and ſpecially for the godly and innocent works which I perceived then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power, I have exerciſed me then and in this time, to know perfectly God's laws, having a will and deſire to live thereafter, which willeth that all men and women ſhould exerciſe themſelves faithfully thereabout. If then, Sir, either for pleaſure of them that are neither ſo wiſe, nor of ſo virtuous converſation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mens knowledge in this land, as theſe men were of whom I took my counſel and information, I ſhould now forſake thus ſuddenly and ſhortly, and unwarned, all the learning that I have exerciſed myſelf in theſe thirty winters and more, my conſcience ſhould ever be herewith out of meaſure unquieted: and, Sir, I know well, that many men and women ſhould be therethrough greatly troubled and ſlandered. And as I ſaid, Sir, to you before, for mine untruth and falſe cowardneſs, many a one ſhould be put into full great reproof: yea Sir, I dread that many one, as they might then juſtly, would curſe me full bitterly; and, Sir, I fear not, but the curſe of God, which I ſhould deſerve herein, would bring me to a full evil end, if I continued thus. And if through remorſe of conſcience I repented me at any time, returning into the way which you do your diligence to conſtrain me now to forſake: yea, Sir, all the biſhops of this land, with full many other prieſts, would defame me, and purſue me as a relapſe: and they that now have, though I be unworthy, ſome confidence in me, hereafter would never truſt to me, though I could teach and live ever ſo righteouſly, more than I can or may. For if after your counſel I left utterly all my learning, I ſhould hereby firſt wound and defile mine own ſoul, and alſo I ſhould herethrough give occaſion to many men and women of full ſore hurting; yea, Sir, as it is likely tome, if I conſented to your will, I ſhould herein by mine example in it, as far as in me were, ſlay many folk ghoſtly, that I ſhould never deſerve to have grace of God to the edifying of his church, neither of myſelf, nor of any other man's life, and ſhould be undone both before God and man.

But, Sir, by example chiefly of ſome, whoſe name, I will not now rehearſe, of H. of J. P. and B. and alſo by the preſent doing of Philip Rampington, that now is become biſhop of Lincoln, I am now learned, as many more hereafter through God's grace ſhall be learned, to hate and to flee all ſuch ſlander that theſe foreſaid men have chiefly defiled principally themſelves with. And in it that in them is, they have invenomed all the church of God, for the ſlanderous revoking at the croſs of St. Paul's, of H. P. and of B. and how now Philip Rampington purſueth Chriſt's people. And the feigning that theſe men diſſembled by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardly in their preaching and communing within the bonds and terms, which without blame may be ſpoken and ſhewed out of the moſt worldly livers, will not be unpuniſhed of God. For to the point of truth, that theſe men ſhewed out ſome time, they will not now ſtretch forth their lives, but by example each one of them as their words and their works ſhew, buſy them through their feigning to ſlander and to purſue Chriſt in his members, rather than they will be purſued.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Theſe men, the which thou ſpeakeſt of now, were fools and heretics, when they were counted wiſe men of thee and other ſuch loſels. But now they are wiſe men, though thou and other ſuch deem them unwiſe. Nevertheleſs, I never wiſt any that right ſaid, that any while were invenomed with your contagiouſneſs, that is, contaminated and ſpotted doctrine.

And I ſaid to the archbiſhop: Sir, I think well that theſe men and ſuch other are now wiſe as to this world: but as their words ſounded ſome time, and their works ſhewed outwardly, it was like to move me that they had earneſt of the wiſdom of God, and that they ſhould have deſerved much grace of God to have ſaved their own ſouls and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilful poverty, and in other ſimple virtuous living: and ſpecially if they had with theſe foreſaid virtues continued in their buſy fruitful ſowing of God's word: as to many men's knowledge they occupied them a ſeaſon in all their wits; full buſily to know the pleaſant will of God, travailing all their members full buſily to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praiſing of the moſt holy name of God, and for grace of edification and ſalvation of chriſtian people. But woe worth falſe covetiſe, and evil counſel and tyranny, by which they and many men and women are led blindly into an evil end.

Then the archbiſhop ſaid unto me: Thou, and ſuch other loſels of thy ſect, would ſhave your heads full near to have a benefice. For by Jeſus I know none more covetous ſhrews than ye are, when that ye have a benefice. For lo, I gave to John Purvey a benefice but a mile out of this caſtle, and I heard more complaints about his covetouſneſs for tythes, and other miſdoings, than I did of all men that were advanced within my dioceſe.

And

And I ſaid to the archbiſhop; Sir, Purvey is neither with you, nor for the benefice that you gave him, nor holdeth he faithfully with the learning that he taught and writ beforetime: and thus he ſheweth himſelf neither to be hot nor cold, and therefore he and his fellows may ſore dread, that if they turn not haſtily to the way that they have forſaken, peradventure they be put out of the number of Chriſt's choſen people.

And the archbiſhop ſaid: Though Purvey be now a falſe harlot, I quit me now of him: but come he more for ſuch cauſe before me (ere we part), I ſhall know with whom he holdeth. But I ſay to thee, Which are theſe holy men and wiſe, of whom thou haſt taken thine information?

And I ſaid: Sir, maſter John Wickliff was holden of full many men the greateſt clerk that they knew then living, and therewith he was named a paſſing ruly man and an innocent in his living: and therefore great men communed oft with him, and they loved ſo his learning, that they writ it, and buſily inforced them to rule themſelves thereafter. Therefore, Sir, this foreſaid learning of Mr. John Wickliff is yet holden of full many men and women, the moſt agreeable learning unto the living and teaching of Chriſt and of his apoſtles, and moſt openly ſhewing and declaring how the church of Chriſt hath been and yet ſhould be ruled and governed. Therefore ſo many men and women covet this learning, and purpoſe through God's grace to conform their living like to this learning of Wickliff. Mr. John Aſhton taught and writ accordingly and full buſily, where, and when, and to whom that he might, and he uſed it himſelf right perfectly unto his life's end. And alſo Philip of Rampington, while he was a canon of Leiceſter, Nicholas Herford, Davy Gotray, of Pakring, monk of Byland, and a maſter of divinity, and John Purvey, and many other which were holden right wiſe men and prudent, taught and writ buſily this foreſaid learning, and comformed them thereto. And with all theſe men I was right homely, and communed with them long time and oft: and ſo before all other men I choſe willingly to be informed of them and by them, and ſpecially of Wickliff himſelf, as of the moſt virtuous and godly wiſe man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him ſpecially, and of theſe men I took the learning that I have taught: and purpoſed to live thereafter (if God will) to my life's end. For though ſome of theſe men be contrary to the learning that they taught before, I know well that their learning was true which they taught: and therefore with the help of God I purpoſe to hold and to uſe the learning which I heard of them, while they ſat on Moſes' chair, and ſpecially while that they ſat on the chair of Chriſt. But after the works that they now do, I will not do with God's help. For they feign and hide, and contrary the truth, which before they taught out plainly and truly. For as I know well, when ſome of theſe men have been blamed for their ſlanderous doings, they grant not that they have taught amiſs or erred before time, but that they were conſtrained by pain to leave to tell out the ſooth, and that they chuſe now rather to blaſpheme God, than to ſuffer a while here perſecution bodily, for ſoothfaſtneſs that Chriſt ſhed out his heart-blood for.

And the archbiſhop ſaid; That learning, that thou calleſt truth and ſoothfaſtneſs, is open ſlander to holy church, as it is proved of holy church. For albeit that Wickliff your author was a great clerk, and though that many men held him a perfect liver; yet his doctrine is not approved of holy church, but many ſentences of his learning are damned as they well worthy are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was firſt canon, and after abbot of Leiceſter, which is now biſhop of Lincoln, I tell thee that the day is coming, for which he faſted the even. For neither he holdeth now, nor will hold the learning that he taught, when he was a canon of Leiceſter. For no biſhop of this land purſueth now more ſharply them that hold thy way, that he doth.

And I ſaid: Sir, full many men and women wondereth upon him, and ſpeaketh him much ſhame, and holdeth him for a curſed enemy of the truth.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Wherefore tarrieſt thou me thus here with ſuch fables? wilt thou ſhortly (as I have ſaid to thee) ſubmit thee to me, or no?

And I ſaid: Sir, I tell you at one word; I dare not for the dread of God ſubmit to you, after the tenor and ſentence that ye have above rehearſed to me.

And thus as if he had been wroth, he ſaid to one of his clerks; Fetch hither quickly the certificate that came to me from Shrewſbury under the bailiff's ſeal, witneſſing the errors and hereſies which this loſel hath venomouſly ſown there.

Then haſtily the clerk took out, and laid forth on a cupboard divers rolls and writings, among which there was a little one, which the clerk delivered to the archbiſhop. And by and by the archbiſhop read this roll, containing this ſentence.

The third Sunday after Eaſter, the year of our Lord 1407, William Thorp came to the town of Shrewſbury, and through leave granted unto him to preach, he ſaid openly in St. Chad's church in his ſermon, that the ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration, was material bread. And that images ſhould in no wiſe be worſhipped. And that men ſhould not go on pilgrimages. And that prieſts have no title to tithes. And that it is not a wful to ſwear in any wiſe.

And when the archbiſhop had read thus this roll, he rolled it up again, and ſaid to me, Is this wholeſome learning to be among the people?

And I ſaid: Sir, I am both aſhamed on their behalf, and right ſorrowful for them that have certified you theſe things thus untruly: for I never preached nor taught this privily nor apertly.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, I will give credence to theſe worſhipful men which have written to me, and witneſſed under their ſeals there among them. Though now thou denieſt this, thinkeſt thou that I will give credence to thee? Thou loſel haſt troubled the worſhipful commonalty of Shrewſbury, ſo that the bailiffs and commonalty of that town have written to me, praying me that am archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate and chancellor of England, that I will vouchſafe to grant them, that if thou ſhalt be made (as thou art unworthy) to ſuffer open puniſhment for thine hereſies, that thou may have thy puniſhment openly there among them; ſo that all they whom thou and ſuch other loſels have there perverted, may through fear of thy deed be reconciled again to the unity of holy church. And alſo they that ſtand in true faith of holy church, may through thy deed be more eſtabliſhed therein. And as if this aſking well pleaſed the archbiſhop, he ſaid; By my thrift this hearty prayer and fervent requeſt ſhall be thought on.

But certainly, neither the prayer of the men of Shrewſbury, nor the menacing of the archbiſhop, made me any thing afraid. But in rehearſing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly rejoiced, and yet doth. I thank God for the grace that I then thought, and yet think ſhall come to all the church of God herethrough, by the ſpecial merciful doing of the Lord. And as having no dread of the malice of tyrants, by truſting ſtedfaſtly in the help of the Lord, with full purpoſe to knowledge the ſoothfaſtneſs, and to ſtand thereby after my cunning and power, I ſaid to the archbiſhop, Sir, if the truth of God's word might now be accepted as it ſhould be, I doubt not to prove by likelye vidence, that they that are feigned to be out of the faith of holy church in Shrewſbury, and in other places alſo, are in the true faith of holy church. For as their words ſound, and their works ſhew to man's judgment (dreading and loving faithfully God) their deſire, their will, their love, and

 their

their buſineſs are moſt ſet to dread to offend God, and to love to pleaſe him in true and faithful keeping of his commandments. And again, they that are ſaid to be in the faith of holy church of Shrewſbury and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, lecherous, and other foul words, neither know, nor have will to know, nor to occupy their wits, truly and effectuouſly in the right faith of holy church. Wherefore neither all theſe, nor any that follow their manners, ſhall any time come verily in the faith of the holy church, except they inforce them more truly to come in the way which now they deſpiſe. For theſe men and women, that are now called faithful, and holden juſt, neither know, nor will exerciſe themſelves to know (of faithfulneſs) the commandment of God.

And thus full many men and women now, and ſpecially men that are named to be principal limbs of holy church, ſtir God to great wrath, and deſerve his curſe, for that they call or hold them juſt men, which are full unjuſt, as their vicious words, their great cuſtomable ſwearing, and their ſlanderous and ſhameful works ſhew openly and witneſs. And therefore ſuch vicious men and unjuſt in their own confeſſion call them unjuſt men and women, which after their power and cunning buſy themſelves to live juſtly after the commandment of God. And where, Sir, ye ſay that I have diſtroubled the commonalty of Shrewſbury, and many other men and women with my teaching: if it thus be, it is not to be wondered of wiſe men, ſince all the commonalty of the city of Jeruſalem was diſtroubled of Chriſt's own perſon, that was very God and man, and the moſt prudent preacher that ever was or ſhall be. And alſo the ſynagogue of Nazareth was moved againſt Chriſt, and ſo fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the ſynagogue roſe up and caſt Chriſt out of their city, and led him up to the top of a mountain to caſt him down there headlong: alſo accordingly hereto the Lord witneſſeth by Moſes, that he ſhall put diſſention betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and purſueth his people. Who, Sir, is he that ſhall preach the truth of God's word to the unfaithful people, and ſhall let the ſoothfaſtneſs of the goſpel, and the prophecy of God Almighty, to be fulfilled?

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, It followeth of theſe thy words, that thou and ſuch other thinkeſt, that ye do right well to preach and teach as ye do, without authority of any biſhop. For you preſume that the Lord hath choſen you only to preach, as faithful diſciples and ſpecial followers of Chriſt.

And I ſaid, Sir, by authority of God's law, and alſo of ſaints and doctors, I am learned to deem, that it is every prieſt's office and duty to preach buſily, freely, and truly the word of God. For no doubt every prieſt ſhould purpoſe firſt in his ſoul, and covet to take the order of prieſthood, chiefly to make known to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power; approving his words ever to be true by his virtuous works: and for this intent we ſuppoſe that biſhops and other prelates of holy church ſhould chiefly take and uſe their prelacy, and for the ſame biſhops ſhould give to prieſts their orders. For biſhops ſhould accept no man to prieſthood, except that he had good will and full purpoſe, and were well diſpoſed, and well learned to preach. Wherefore, Sir, by the bidding of Chriſt, and by the example of his moſt holy living, and alſo by the witneſſing of his holy apoſtles and prophets, we are bound under full great pain, to exerciſe us after our cunning and power (as every prieſt is likewiſe charged of God) to fulfil duly the office of prieſthood. We preſume not here of ourſelves to be eſteemed (neither in our own reputation, nor in none other man's) faithful diſciples, and ſpecial followers of Chriſt. But, Sir, as I ſaid to you before, we deem this by authority chiefly of God's word, that it is the chief duty of every prieſt to buſy him faithfully to make the law of God known to his people; and ſo to commune the commandment of God charitably, how that we may beſt, where, when, and to whom that ever we may, is our very duty: and for the will and buſineſs that we owe of due debt to do juſtly our office through the ſtirring and ſpecial help (as we truſt) of God, hoping ſtedfaſtly in his mercy, we deſire to be the faithful diſciples of Chriſt, and we pray this gracious Lord for his holy name, that he make us able to pleaſe him with devout prayers, and charitable prieſtly works, that we may obtain of him to follow him thankfully.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Lewd loſel, whereto makeſt thou ſuch vain reaſons to me? Aſketh not Saint Paul, "How ſhould prieſts preach except they be ſent?" But I ſent thee never to preach. For thy venomous doctrine is known throughout England, that no biſhop will admit thee to preach by witneſſing of theſe letters. Why then, lewd ideot, wilt thou preſume to preach, ſince thou art not ſent nor licenſed of thy ſovereign to preach? Saith Saint Paul, "That ſubjects ought to obey their ſovereigns, and not only good and virtuous, but tyrants that are vicious."

And I ſaid to the archbiſhop, Sir, as touching your letter of licence, or other biſhops, which, ye ſay, we ſhould have to witneſs that we are able to be ſent to preach: we know well, that neither you, Sir, nor any other biſhop of this land, will grant to us any ſuch letters of licence, but if we ſhould oblige us to you, and to other biſhops, by unlawful oaths, not to paſs the bounds and terms which ye, Sir, or other biſhops, will limit to us. And ſince in this matter your terms be ſome too large, and ſome too ſtrait; we dare not oblige us thus to be bounden to you to keep the terms which you will limit to us, as you do to friars, and ſuch other preachers: and therefore, though we have not your letter, Sir, nor letters of any other biſhops written with ink upon parchment, we dare not therefore leave the office of preaching (to which preaching all prieſts after their cunning and power are bound, by divers teſtimonies of God's law, and great doctors) without any mention making of biſhops letters. Foraſmuch as we have taken upon us the office of prieſthood (though we are unworthy thereto), we came on purpoſe to fulfil it with the help of God, by authority of his own law, and by witneſs of great doctors and ſaints, accordingly hereto truſting ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. For that he commandeth us to do the office of prieſthood, he will be our ſufficient letters and witneſs, if we by example of his holy living and teaching, ſpecially occupy us faithfully to do our office juſtly; yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithful or unfaithful) ſhall be our letters; that is, our witneſs-bearers: for the truth where it is ſown may not be unwitneſſed. For all that are converted and ſaved by learning of God's word, and by working thereafter, are witneſs-bearers, that the truth and ſoothfaſtneſs, which they heard and did after, is cauſe of their ſalvation. And again, all unfaithful men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do thereafter: alſo all they that might have heared the truth, and would not hear it, becauſe that they would not do thereafter: all theſe ſhall bear witneſs againſt themſelves, and the truth which they would not hear, or elſe heard it, and deſpiſed to do thereafter through their unfaithfulneſs, is and ſhall be cauſe of their damnation. Therefore, Sir, ſince this aforeſaid witneſſing of God, and of divers ſaints and doctors, and of all the people good and evil, ſufficeth to all true preachers; we think that we do not the office of prieſthood, if that we leave our preaching, becauſe that we have not, or may not have duly biſhops letters, to witneſs that we are ſent of them to preach. This ſentence approveth St. Paul, where he ſpeaketh of himſelf and of faithful apoſtles and diſciples, ſaying thus, "We need no letters of commendation, as ſome preachers do, which preach for covetouſneſs of temporal goods, and

for men's praiſing." And where you ſay, Sir, that Paul biddeth ſubjects obey their ſovereigns, that is ſooth, and may not be denied. But there may be two manner of ſovereigns, virtuous ſovereigns, and vicious tyrants. Therefore to theſe laſt ſovereigns neither men nor women, that be ſubject, owe to obey in two manners. To virtuous ſovereigns and charitable ſubjects they owe to obey wilfully and gladly, in hearing of their good counſel, in conſenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitful works.

This ſentence Paul approveth, where he ſaith to ſubjects, "Be ye mindful of your ſovereigns, that ſpeak to you the word of God, and follow you the faith of them, whoſe converſation you know to be virtuous." For, as Paul ſaith after, theſe ſovereigns to whom ſubjects ought to obey in following of their manners, work buſily in holy ſtudying, how they may withſtand and deſtroy vices, firſt in themſelves, and after in all their ſubjects, and how they may beſt plant in them virtues. Alſo their ſovereigns make devout and fervent prayers to purchaſe grace of God, that they and their ſubjects may over all things dread to offend him, and love to pleaſe him. Alſo theſe ſovereigns, to whom Paul biddeth us obey, as it is ſaid before, live ſo virtuouſly, that all they that will live well, may take of them good example, to know and to keep the commandments of God. But in this foreſaid wiſe, ſubjects ought not to obey nor to be obedient to tyrants, while they are vicious tyrants, ſince their will, their counſel, their biddings, and their works, are ſo vicious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though ſuch tyrants be maſterful and cruel in boaſting and menacing, in oppreſſions and divers puniſhings: St. Peter biddeth the ſervants of ſuch tyrants to obey meekly ſuch tyrants, ſuffering patiently their malicious cruelneſs. But Peter counſelleth not any ſervant or ſubject to obey any lord, or prince, or ſovereign, in any thing that is not pleaſing to God.

And the archbiſhop ſaid unto me, If a ſovereign bid his ſubject do that thing that is vicious, this ſovereign herein is to blame: but the ſubject for this obedience deſerveth meed of God. For obedience more pleaſeth God than any ſacrifice.

And I ſaid, Samuel the prophet ſaid to Saul the wicked king, "That God was more pleaſed with the obedience of his commandments, than with any ſacrifice of beaſts." But David ſaith, and St. Paul, and St. Gregory accordingly together, "That not only they that do evil, are worthy of death and damnation, but alſo they that conſent to evil doers." And, Sir, the law of the holy church teacheth in the decrees, that no ſervant to his lord, nor child to the father or mother, nor wife to her huſband, nor monk to his abbot, ought to obey, except in things lawful.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, All theſe alledgings that thou bringeſt forth are not elſe but proud preſumptuouſneſs. For hereby thou enforceſt thee to prove, that thou and ſuch other are ſo juſt, that ye ought not to obey to prelates. And thus againſt the learning of St. Paul, that teacheth you not to preach, but if ye were ſent; of your own authority ye will go forth and preach, and do what ye liſt.

And I ſaid, Sir, preſenteth not every prieſt the office of the apoſtles, or the office of the diſciples of Chriſt? And the archbiſhop ſaid, Yea. And I ſaid, Sir, as the tenth chapter of Matthew and the laſt chapter of Mark witneſſeth, Chriſt ſent his apoſtles to preach. And the tenth chapter of Luke witneſſeth, That Chriſt ſent his two and ſeventy diſciples to preach in every place that Chriſt was to come to: and St. Gregory in the common law ſaith, "That every man that goeth to prieſthood, taketh upon him the office of preaching:" For as he ſaith, "That prieſt ſtirreth God to wrath, of whoſe mouth is not heard the voice of preaching:" And as other more gloſſes upon Ezekiel witneſs, That the prieſt that preacheth not buſily to the people, ſhall be partaker of their damnation that periſh through his default. And though the people be ſaved by other ſpecial grace of God, than by the prieſts' preaching, yet the prieſts, in that they are ordained to preach, and preach not, as before God they are man-ſlayers. For as far as in them is, ſuch prieſts as preach not buſily and truly, ſlay all the people ghoſtly: in that they with-hold from them the word of God, that is the life and ſubſtance of men's ſouls. And Saint Iſidore ſaid, "Prieſts ſhall be damned for wickedneſs of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are ſinners."

For all the work or buſineſs of prieſts ſtandeth in preaching and teaching, that they edify all men as well by cunning of faith, as by diſcipline of works; that is, virtuous teaching: And as the goſpel witneſſeth, Chriſt ſaid in his teaching, "I am born, and come into this world, to bear witneſs to the truth, and he that is of the truth heareth my voice."

Then, Sir, ſince by the word of Chriſt ſpecially, that is, his voice, prieſts are commanded to preach; whoſoever prieſt that it be, that hath not good will and full purpoſe to do this, and ableth not himſelf after his cunning and power to do his office by the example of Chriſt and of his apoſtles, whatſoever other thing that he doth, diſpleaſeth God. For lo, St. Gregory ſaith, "That thing left that a man is bound chiefly to do, whatſoever other thing that a man doth, it is unthankful to the Holy Ghoſt;" and therefore ſaith Lincoln, "The prieſt that preacheth not the word of God, though he be ſeen to have none other default, he is antichriſt and ſatan's, a night-thief, and a day-thief, a ſlayer of ſouls, and an angel of light turned into darkneſs." Wherefore, Sir, theſe authorities and other well conſidered, I deem myſelf damnable, if I either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of any creature apply me not diligently to preach the word of God. And in the ſame damnation I deem all thoſe prieſts, which of good purpoſe and will enforce them not buſily to do thus, and alſo all them that have purpoſe or will to lett any prieſt of this buſineſs.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to thoſe three clerks that ſtood before him, Lo, Sirs, this is the manner and buſineſs of this loſel, and ſuch other, to pick out ſuch ſharp ſentences of holy ſcripture and doctors, to maintain their ſect and lore againſt the ordinance of holy church. And therefore, loſſel, it is thou that coveteſt to have again the Pſalter that I made to be taken from thee at Canterbury, to record ſharp verſes againſt us. But thou ſhalt never have that Pſalter, nor any other book, till that I know that thy heart and thy mouth accord fully to be governed by holy church.

And I ſaid, Sir, all my will and power is, and ever ſhall be (I truſt to God) to be governed by holy church.

And the archbiſhop aſked me, What was holy church?

And I ſaid, Sir, I told you before what was holy church. But ſince ye aſk me this demand, I call Chriſt and his ſaints holy church.

And the archbiſhop ſaid unto me; I know well that Chriſt and his ſaints are holy church in heaven; but what is holy church in earth?

And I ſaid, Sir, though holy church be every one in charity, yet it hath two parts. The firſt and principal part hath overcome perfectly all the wretchedneſs of this life, and reigneth joyfully in heaven with Chriſt. And the other part is here yet in earth, buſily and continually fighting day and night againſt temptations of the fiend; forſaking and hating the proſperity of this world, deſpiſing and withſtanding their fleſhly luſts; which only are the pilgrims of Chriſt, wandering towards heaven by ſtedfaſt faith, and grounded hope, and by perfect charity. For theſe heavenly pilgrims may not, nor will not be letted of their good purpoſe, by the reaſon of any doctors diſcording from holy ſcripture, nor by the floods of any tribulation temporal, nor by the wind of any pride,

pride, of boaſt, or of menacing of any creature: for they are all faſt grounded on the ſure ſtone Chriſt, hearing his word, and loving it, exerciſing them faithfully and continually in all their wits to do thereafter.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to his clerks, See ye not how his heart is indurate, and how he is travelled with the devil, occupying him thus buſily to inedge ſuch ſentences to maintain his errors and hereſies? Certain, thus he would occupy us here all day, if we would ſuffer him.

One of the clerks anſwered, Sir, he ſaid right now; that this certification, that came to you from Shrewſbury, is untruly forged againſt him. Therefore, Sir, appoſe you him now here in all the points which are certified againſt him, and ſo we ſhall hear of his own mouth his anſwers, and witneſs them.

And the archbiſhop took the certification in his hand, and looked thereon a while, and then he ſaid to me:

Lo here it is certified againſt thee by worthy men and faithful of Shrewſbury, that thou preachedſt there openly in St. Chad's church, that the ſacrament of the altar was material bread after the conſecration; what ſayeſt thou? Was this truly preached?

And I ſaid, Sir, I tell you truly that I touched nothing there of the ſacrament of the altar, but in this wiſe as I will with God's grace tell you here. As I ſtood there in the pulpit, buſying me to teach the commandment of God, there knelled a ſacred bell, and therefore much people turned away haſtily, and with noiſe ran fro towards me. And I ſeeing this, ſaid to them thus, "Good men, ye were better to ſtand here ſtill, and to hear God's word. For certainly the virtue and the meed of the moſt holy ſacrament of the altar ſtandeth much more in the belief thereof that you ought to have in your ſoul, than it doth in the outward ſign thereof. And therefore ye were better to ſtand ſtill quietly to hear God's word, becauſe that through the hearing thereof men come to very true belief." And otherwiſe, Sir, I am certain I ſpake not there of the worthy ſacrament of the altar.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, I believe thee not whatſoever thou ſayeſt, ſince ſo worſhipful men have witneſſed thus againſt thee. But ſince thou denieſt that thou ſaidſt thus there, what ſayeſt thou now? Reſteth there, after the conſecration in the hoſt, material bread, or no?

And I ſaid, Sir, I know in no place in holy ſcripture where this term "material bread" is written: and therefore, Sir, when I ſpeak of this matter, I uſe not to ſpeak of material bread.

Then the archbiſhop ſaid to me, How teacheſt thou men to believe in this ſacrament?

And I ſaid, Sir, as I believe myſelf, ſo I teach other men.

He ſaid, Tell out plainly thy belief thereof.

And I ſaid with my proteſtation, Sir, I believe that the night before that Chriſt Jeſus would ſuffer (wilfully) paſſion for mankind on the morn after, he took bread in his holy and moſt worſhipful hands, lifting up his eyes, and giving thanks to God his Father, "bleſſed this bread, and brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, ſaying to them; Take and eat of this all you, this is my body". And that this is and ought to be all mens belief, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul witneſſeth. Other belief, Sir, I have none, nor will have, nor teach: for I believe, that this ſufficeth in this matter. For in this belief, with God's grace, I purpoſe to live and die, knowledging as I believe and teach other men to believe, that the worſhipful ſacrament of the altar is the ſacrament of Chriſt's fleſh and blood in the form of bread and wine.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, It is ſooth that this ſacrament is very Chriſt's body in form of bread. But thou and thy ſect teacheſt it be ſubſtance of bread. Think you this true teaching?

And I ſaid, Neither I, nor any other of the ſect that ye damn, teach any otherwiſe than I have told you, nor believe other to my knowing. Nevertheleſs, Sir, I aſk of you for charity, that you will tell me plainly, how ye ſhall underſtand the text of St. Paul, when he ſaith thus, "This thing feel you in yourſelf, that is in Chriſt Jeſus, while he was in the form of God." Sir, calleth not Paul here the form of God, the ſubſtance or kind of God? Alſo, Sir, ſaith not the church in the Hours of the moſt bleſſed virgin accordingly hereto, where it is written thus, "Thou author of health, remember, that ſometime thou took of the undefiled virgin the form of our body?" Tell me for charity therefore, whether the form of our bodies be called here the kind of our body or no?

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Wouldſt thou make me to declare this text after thy purpoſe, ſince the church now hath determined, that there abideth no ſubſtance of bread after the conſecration, in the ſacrament of the altar? Believeſt thou not this ordinance of the church?

And I ſaid, Sir, whatſoever prelates have ordained in the church, our belief ſtandeth ever whole: I have not heard that the ordinance of men under belief ſhould be put into belief.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, If thou haſt not learned this before, learn now to know that thou art out of belief, if in this matter and other thou believeſt not as the holy church believeth. What ſay doctors treating of this ſacrament?

And I ſaid, Sir, St. Paul that was a great doctor of holy church, ſpeaking to the people, and teaching them in the right belief of this moſt holy ſacrament, calleth it bread that we break. And alſo in the canon of the maſs after the conſecration, this moſt worthy ſacrament is called holy bread. And every prieſt in this land, after that he hath received this ſacrament, ſaith in this wiſe, "That thing that we have taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and clean mind;" that is, as I underſtand, we pray God that we may receive, through very belief, this holy ſacrament worthily. And, Sir, St. Auguſtine ſaith, "That thing that is ſeen, is bread; but that mens faith aſketh to be informed of, is very Chriſt's body." And alſo Fulgence, an ententive doctor ſaith, "As it were an error to ſay that Chriſt was but a ſubſtance;" that is, very man, and not very God; or to ſay that Chriſt was very God, and not very man: "So is it (this doctor ſaith) an error to ſay, that the ſacrament of the altar is but a ſubſtance:" And alſo Sir, accordingly hereto, in the ſecret of the mid-maſs on Chriſtmas-day, it is written thus, "Idem refulſit Deus, ſic terrena ſubſtantia nobis conferat quod divinum eſt:" which ſentence, Sir, with the ſecret of fourth ferie, "quatuor temporum Septembris," I pray you declare here openly in Engliſh.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, I perceive well enough whereabout thou art, and how the devil blindeth thee, that thou may not underſtand the office of holy church, nor conſent thereto. But I command thee now, anſwer me ſhortly; Believeſt thou, that after the conſecration of this foreſaid ſacrament there abideth ſubſtance of bread, or not?

And I ſaid, Sir, as I underſtand, it is all one to grant or believe that there dwelleth ſubſtance of bread, and to grant and to believe, that this moſt worthy ſacrament of Chriſt's own body is accident without ſubject. But, Sir, foaſmuch as your aſking paſſeth my underſtanding, I dare neither deny it, nor grant it; for it is a ſchool-matter, about which I buſied me never to know: and therefore I commit this term, accidens ſine ſubjecto, to thoſe clerks which delight them ſo in curious and ſubtil ſophiſtry, becauſe they determine oft ſo difficult and ſtrange matters, and wade and wander ſo in them from argument to argument, with pro & contra, till they know not where

where they are, and understand not themselves. But the shame that these proud sophisters have to yield them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fools, and to be concluded shamefully before God.

And the archbishop said to me, I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtil arguments of clerks, since thou art unable hitherto; but I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holy church.

And I said, Sir, by open evidence and great witness, a thousand years after the incarnation of Christ, the determination, which I have here before you rehearsed, was accepted to holy church as sufficient to the salvation of them that would believe it faithfully, and work thereafter charitably. But Sir, the determination of this matter was brought in, since the fiend was loosed, by friar Thomas again, especially calling the most worshipful sacrament of Christ's own body an accident without subject: which term, since I know not that God's law approveth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but utterly I deny to make this friar's sentence, or any such other, my belief; do with me, God, what thou wilt.

And the archbishop said to me, Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise ere that I leave thee. But what sayest thou to this second point that is recorded against thee by worthy men of Shrewsbury, saying, "That thou preachedst there, that images ought not to be worshipped in any wise?"

And I said, Sir, I preached never thus, nor through God's grace will I at any time consent to think, or to say thus, either privily or apertly. For lo, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, "That the things which he made were right good;" and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be good and worshipful in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them so, they are all praisable and worshipful, and specially man, that was made after the image and likeness of God, is full worshipful in his kind, yea, this holy image, that is man, God worshippeth. And therefore every man should worship other, in kind, and also for heavenly virtues that men use charitably. And also I say, wood, tin, gold, silver, or any other matter that images are made of, all these creatures are worshipful in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the carving, casting, and painting of an imagery, made within man's hand, albeit that this doing be accept of man of highest state and dignity, and ordained of them to be a calendar to lewd men, that neither can, nor will be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderful and divers workings; yet this imagery ought not to be worshipped in form nor in the likeness of man's craft. Nevertheless, that every matter the painters paint with, since it is God's creature, ought to be worshipped in the kind, and to that end that God made and ordained it to serve man.

Then the archbishop said to me, I grant well that no body ought to do worship to any such images for themselves. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted therein, and so brought therethrough to man's mind: and thus the images of the blessed Trinity, and of the virgin Mary Christ's mother, and other images of saints ought to be worshipped. For lo, earthly kings and lords which use to send their letters ensealed with their arms, or with their privy signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men. For when these men receive their lords' letters, in which they see and know the wills and biddings of the lords in worship of their lords, they do off their caps to these letters. Why not then since in images made with man's hand, we may read and know many and divers things of God, and of his saints, shall we not worship their images?

And I said, Within my foresaid protestation I say, that these worldly usages of temporal laws that ye speak now of, may be done in case without sin. But this is no similitude to worship images, made by man's hand, since that Moses, David, Solomon, Baruch, and other saints in the Bible, forbid so plainly the worshipping of such images.

Then the archbishop said to me, Lewd lossel, in the old law before that Christ took mankind, was no likeness of any person of the Trinity neither shewed to man, nor known of man: but now since Christ became man, it is lawful to have images to shew his manhood, yea, though many men which are right great clerks, and other also, held it an error to paint the Trinity; I say, it is well done to make and to paint the Trinity in images. For it is great moving of devotion to men, to have and to behold the Trinity and other images of saints carved, cast, and painted. For beyond the sea are the best painters that ever I saw. And, Sirs, I tell you, this is their manner, and it is a good manner: when that an image-maker shall carve, cast in mould, or paint any images, he shall go to a priest, and shrive him as clean as if he should then die; and take penance, and make some certain vow of fasting or of praying, or pilgrimages doing, praying the priest specially to pray for him, that he may have grace to make a fair and devout image.

And I said, Sir, I doubt not if these painters that ye speak of, or any other painters, understood truly the text of Moses, of David, of the Wise Man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors; these painters should be moved to shrive them to God with full inward sorrow of heart, taking upon them to do right sharp penance for the sinful and vain craft of painting, carving, or casting they had used; promising God faithfully never to do so after, knowledging openly before all men their reproveable learning. And also, Sir, these priests that shrive (as you do say) painters, and enjoin them to do penance, and pray for their speed, promising to them help of their prayers to be curious in their sinful crafts, sin herein more grievously than the painters. For these priests do comfort and give them counsel to do that thing, which of great pain, yea, under the pain of God's curse, they should utterly forbid them. For certainly, Sir, if the wonderful working of God, and the holy living and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets, were made known to the people by holy living, and true, and busy teaching of priests; these things, Sir, were sufficient books and calendars to know God by, and his saints, without any images made with man's hand. But certainly, the vicious living of priests, and their covetousness, are the chief cause of this error; and all other viciousness that reigneth among the people.

Then the archbishop said unto me, I hold thee a vicious priest and accurst, and all they that are of thy sect; for all priests of holy church, and all images that move men to devotion, thou and such other go about to destroy. Lossel, were it a fair thing to come into the church, and see therein none image?

And I said, Sir, they that come to the church, to pray devoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits be the more fervent, that all their outward wits be close from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and lettings. And since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodily, and have believed faithfully in him; it sufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing God's word, and doing thereafter) to believe in God, though they never see images made with man's hand after any person of the Trinity, or of any other saint.

And the archbishop said to me with a fervent spirit: I say to thee, lossel, that it is right well done to make and to have an image of the Trinity: yea, what sayest thou? it is not a stirring thing to behold such an image?

And I said, Sir, ye said right now that in the old law, ere Christ took manhood, no likeness of any person of the Trinity was shewn to men: wherefore, Sir, ye said it was not then lawful to have images; but now ye say, since Christ is become man, it is lawful to have and to make an image of the Trinity, and also of other saints.

But, Sir, this thing would I learn of you: ſince the Father of Heaven, yea and every perſon of the Trinity, was without beginning God Almighty, and many holy prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the old law, and alſo many men and women that died confeſſors; why was it not then as lawful and neceſſary as now, to have made an image of the Father of Heaven, and to have made and had other images of martyrs, prophets, and holy confeſſors, to have been calendars to adviſe men and move them to devotion, as ye ſay that images now do?

And the archbiſhop ſaid, The ſynagogue of the Jews had not authority to approve thoſe things as the church of Chriſt hath now.

And I ſaid, Sir, St. Gregory was a great man in the new law, and of great dignity, and, as the common law witneſſeth, he commended greatly a biſhop, in that he forbade utterly the images made with man's hand ſhould be worſhipped.

And the archbiſhop ſaid, Ungracious loſſel, thou ſavoureſt no more truth than an hound. Since at the rood at the North door at London, at our Lady at Walſingham, and many other places in England, are many great and praiſeable miracles done: ſhould not the images of ſuch holy ſaints and places at the reverence of God, and of our lady, and other ſaints, be more worſhipped than other places and images, where no miracles are done?

And I ſaid, Sir, there is no ſuch virtue in any imagery, that any image ſhould heretofore be worſhipped; wherefore I am certain that there is no miracle done of God in any place in earth, becauſe that any images made with man's hand ſhould be worſhipped. And therefore, Sir, as I preached openly at Shrewſbury and other places; I ſay now here before you, that nobody ſhould truſt that there were any virtue in imagery made with man's hand; and therefore nobody ſhould vow to them, nor ſeek them, nor kneel to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kiſs them, nor incenſe them. For lo, the moſt worthy of ſuch images, the brazen ſerpent (by Moſes made, at God's bidding) the good king Ezechias deſtroyed worthily and thankfully, and all becauſe it was incenſed. Therefore, Sir, if men take good heed to the writing and to the learning of St. Auguſtine, of St. Gregory, and of St. John Chryſoſtom, and of other ſaints and doctors, how they ſpake and wrote of miracles, that ſhall be done now in the laſt end of the world: it is to be dread, that for the unfaithfulneſs of men and women, the fiend hath great power to work many of the miracles that now are done in ſuch places. For both men and women delight now more to hear and know miracles, than they do to know God's word, or to hear it effectuouſly. Wherefore, to the great confuſion of all them that thus do, Chriſt ſaith, "The generation of adulterers requireth tokens, miracles, and wonders." Nevertheleſs, as divers ſaints ſay, "Now when the faith of God is publiſhed in Chriſtendom, the word of God ſufficeth to man's ſalvation, without ſuch miracles:" And thus alſo the word of God ſufficeth to all faithful men and women without any ſuch images. But, good Sir, ſince the Father of Heaven, that is, God in his Godhead, is the moſt unknown thing that may be, and the moſt wonderful Spirit, having in it no ſhape nor likeneſs, and members of any deadly creature; in what likeneſs or what image may God the Father be ſhewed or painted?

And the archbiſhop ſaid, As holy church hath ſuffered the images of the Trinity, and all other images to be painted and ſhewed; it ſufficeth to them that are members of holy church. But ſince thou art a rotten member, cut away from holy church; thou ſavoureſt not the ordinance thereof. But ſince the day paſſeth, leave we this matter.

And then he ſaid to me, What ſayeſt thou to the third point that is certified againſt thee, preaching openly in Shrewſbury, that pilgrimage is not lawful? And over this thou ſaidſt, that thoſe men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beverly, to Karlington, to Walſingham, and to any other ſuch places, are accurſed, and made fooliſh, ſpending their goods in waſte.

And I ſaid, Sir, by this certification I am accuſed to you that I ſhould teach, that no pilgrimage is lawful. But I ſaid never thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lawful, and full pleaſant to God: and therefore, Sir, howſoever mine enemies have certified you of me, I told at Shrewſbury of two manner of pilgrimages.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Whom calleſt thou true pilgrims?

And I ſaid, Sir, with my proteſtation I call them true pilgrims travelling towards the bliſs of heaven, which in the ſtate, degree, or order that God calleth them to, do buſy them faithfully to occupy all their wits bodily and ghoſtly, to know truly, and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the ſeven deadly ſins, and every branch of them: ruling them virtuouſly (as it is ſaid before) with all their wits, doing diſcreetly, wilfully, and gladly, of all the works of mercy, bodily and ghoſtly, after their cunning and power, abling them to the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, diſpoſing them to receive them in their ſouls, and to hold therein the right bleſſings of Chriſt; buſying them to know and to keep the ſeven principal virtues; and ſo then they ſhall obtain here through grace, to uſe thankfully to God all the conditions of charity. And then they ſhall be moved with the good Spirit of God, to examine oft and diligently their conſcience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they err in any article of belief, having continually (as frailty will ſuffer) all their buſineſs, to dread and to fly the offence of God, and to love over all, and to ſeek ever to do his pleaſant will. Of theſe pilgrimages I ſaid, whatſoever good thought that they at any time think, what virtuous work that they ſpeak, and what fruitful work that they work; every ſuch thought, word, and work, is a ſtep numbered of God toward him into heaven. Theſe foreſaid pilgrims of God delight ſore when they hear of ſaints or of virtuous men and women, how they forſook the ſuggeſtion of the fiend, how they reſtrained their fleſhly luſts, how diſcreet they were in their penance doing, how patient they were in all their adverſities, how prudent they were in counſelling of men and women, moving them to hate all ſins, and to fly them, and to ſhame ever greatly thereof, and to love all virtues, and to draw to them, imagining how Chriſt and his followers by example of him ſuffered ſcorns and ſlanders, and how patiently they abode and took the wrongful menacing of tyrants: how homely they were, and ſerviceable to poor men to relieve and comfort them bodily and ghoſtly, after their power and cunning, and how devout they were in prayers, how fervent they were in heavenly deſires, and how they abſented them from ſpectacles of vain ſayings and hearings, and how ſtable they were to lett and deſtroy all vices, and how laborious and joyful they were to ſow and to plant virtues. Theſe heavenly conditions and ſuch other have pilgrims, or endeavour to have them, whoſe pilgrimage God accepteth.

And again, I ſaid, As their works ſhew, the moſt part of men and women, that now go on pilgrimages, have not theſe foreſaid conditions, nor love to buſy them faithfully to have. For as I well know, ſince I have full oft aſſayed, examine whoſoever will twenty of theſe pilgrims, and he ſhall not find three men or women that know ſurely a commandment of God, nor can ſay their Pater noſter, and Ave Maria, nor their Creed, readily in any manner of language. And as I have learned and alſo know ſomewhat by experience of theſe ſame pilgrims, telling the cauſe why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimage, it is more for the health of their bodies, than of their ſouls: more

to have riches and prosperity of this world, than to be enriched with virtues in their souls: more to have worldly and fleshly friendship, than to have friendship of God, and of his saints in heaven: for whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, or of any other saint, cannot be had, without keeping of God's commandments. Further, with my protestation, I say now, as I said in Shrewsbury, though they that have fleshly wills, travail far their bodies, and spend much money, to seek and to visit the bones or images (as they say they do) of this saint or of that: such pilgrimage-going is neither praiseable nor thankful to God, nor to any saint of God, since in effect all such pilgrims despise God, and all his commandments and saints. For the commandments of God they will neither know, nor keep, nor conform them to live virtuously by example of Christ and of his saints. Wherefore, Sir, I have preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my life-time to do with God's help, saying, That such fond people waste blamefully God's goods in their vain pilgrimages, spending their goods upon vicious hostelers, which are oft unclean women of their bodies; and at the least, those goods, with the which they should do works of mercy, after God's bidding, to poor needy men and women.

These poor men's goods and their livelode these runners about offer to rich priests, which have much more livelode than they need. And thus those goods they waste wilfully, and spend them unjustly against God's bidding upon strangers, with which they should help and relieve after God's will their poor needy neighbours at home: yea, and over this folly, oftentimes divers men and women, of these runners thus madly hither and thither into pilgrimage, borrow hereto other men's goods; yea and sometime they steal men's goods hereto, and they pay them never again. And, Sir, I know well, that when divers men and women will go thus after their own wills, and finding out one pilgrimage; they will ordain with them before, to have with them both men and women, that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrims will have with them bagpipes; so that every town that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the tangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise than if the king came thereaway with all his clarions, and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a month out of their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an half year after great janglers, tale-bearers, and lyars.

And the archbishop said to me, Lewd lossel, thou seest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travail of pilgrims, therefore thou blamest that thing that is praiseable. I say to thee, that it is right well done, that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers; that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosom a bagpipe, to drive away with such mirth the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace the travail and weariness of pilgrims is lightly and merrily borne out.

And I said, Sir, St. Paul teacheth men to weep with them that weep.

And the archbishop said, What janglest thou against mens devotion? Whatsoever thou or such other say, I say, that the pilgrimage that now is used, is to them that do it a praiseable and a good mean to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee unable to know this grace, for thou inforcest thee to lett the devotion of the people; since by authority of holy scripture men may lawfully have and use such solace as thou reprovest. For David in his last psalm teacheth men to have divers instruments of music to praise God therewith.

And I said, Sir, by the sentence of divers doctors expounding the psalms of David, that music and minstrelsy that David and other saints of the old law spake of, ought now neither to be taken nor used by the letter, but these instruments with their music ought to be interpreted ghostly: for all those figures are called virtues and grace, with which virtues men should please God, and praise his name. For Saint Paul saith, "All such things befel to them in figures." Therefore, Sir, I understand that the letter of this psalm of David, and of such other psalms and sentences, doth slay them that take them now literally: this sentence, as I understand, Sir, Christ himself approveth, putting out the minstrels, that he would quicken the dead damsel.

And the archbishop said to me, Lewd lossel, is it not lawful to us to have organs in the church, to worship therewithal God? And I said, yea, Sir, by man's ordinance; but by the ordinance of God, a good sermon, to the people's understanding, were much more pleasant to God.

And the archbishop said, That organs and good delectable songs quickened and sharpened more men's wits, than should any sermon.

But I said, Sir, lusty men and worldly lovers delight and covet, and travail to have all their wits quickened and sharpened with divers sensible solace: but all the faithful lovers and followers of Christ have all their delight to hear God's word, and to understand it truly, and to work thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to love to please him in all things, quickeneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Christ's chosen people; and ableth them so to grace, that they joy greatly to withdraw their ears and all their wits and members from all worldly delight, and from all fleshly solace. For St. Hierom (as I think) saith, "No body may joy with this world, and reign with Christ."

And the archbishop (as if he had been displeased with my answer) said to his clerks, What guess ye that this ideot will speak there, where he hath no dread; since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God thou shalt be ordained for. And then he spake to me all angrily.

What sayst thou to this fourth point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsbury, that priests have no title to tythes?

And I said, Sir, I named there no word of tythes in my preaching. But more than a month after that I was arrested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of tythes? and I said to him, Sir, in this town are many clerks and priests, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be seculars: therefore ask ye of them this question. And this man said to me, Sir, our prelates say, that we also are obliged to pay our tythes of all things that renew to us; and that they are accursed that withdraw any part wittingly from them of their tythes. And I said, Sir, to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you, that I wonder that any priest dare say men to be accursed, without the ground of God's word. And the man said, Sir, our priests say, that they curse men thus by the authority of God's law. And I said, Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore, Sir, I pray ye that ye will ask the most cunning clerk of this town, that ye may know where this sentence of cursing them that tythe not, is now written in God's law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this man would not go from me to ask this question of any body: but required me there, as I would answer before God, if in this case that cursing of priests were lawful and approved of God? And shortly herewith came to my mind the learning of Saint Peter, teaching priests specially to hallow the Lord Christ in their

their hearts: "being evermore ready (as far as in them is) to answer through faith and hope to them that ask of them a reason." And in this lesson Peter teacheth men to use with a meek spirit, and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore, Sir, I said to this man in this wise: In the old law, which ended not fully till the time that Christ rose up again from death to life, God commanded tythes to be given to the Levites, for the great business and daily travail that pertained their office. But priests, because their travail was much more easy and light than was the office of the Levites: God ordained the priests should take for their livelode to do their office, the tenth part of those tythes that were given to the Levites. But now (I said) in the new law, neither Christ nor any of his apostles took tythes of the people, nor commanded the people to pay tythes, neither to priests, nor to deacons. But Christ taught the people to do alms; that is, works of mercy, to poor needy men (of surplus) that is, superfluous of their temporal goods) which had more than them needed reasonably to their necessary livelode. And thus (I said) not of tythes, but of pure alms of the people, Christ lived and his apostles, when they were so busy in preaching the word of God to the people, that they might not travail otherwise to get their livelode. But after Christ's ascension, and when the apostles had received the Holy Ghost, they travailed with their hands to get their livelode, when they might thus do for busy preaching. Therefore by example of himself, St. Paul teacheth all the priests of Christ to travail with their hand, when for busy teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus all these priests, whose priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the apostles time, and after their decease, will do to the world's end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the thousandth year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 211 year, one pope Gregory the tenth ordained new tythes first to be given to priests now in the new law. But St. Paul in his time, whose trace or trample all priests of God inforce them to follow, seeing the covetousness that was among the people, desiring to destroy that foul sin through the grace of God and true virtuous living and example of himself, wrought and taught all priests to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willingly, and gladly in high poverty: Wherefore Paul saith thus, "The Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel. But we (saith Paul) that covet and busy us to be faithful followers of Christ, use not this power." For lo (as Paul witnesseth afterward) when he was full poor and needy, preaching among the people, he was not chargeous unto them, but with his hands he travailed not only to get his own living, but also the living of other poor and needy creatures: and since the people was never so covetous, nor so avaricious (I guess) as they are now; it were good counsel that all priests took good heed to this heavenly learning of Paul, following him here in wilful poverty, nothing charging the people for their bodily livelode. But because that many priests do contrary to Paul in this foresaid doctrine, Paul biddeth the people take heed to those priests that follow him as he had given them example. As if Paul would say thus to the people, Accept ye none other priests than they that live after the form that I have taught you. For certain, in whatsoever dignity or order that any priest is in, if he conform him not to follow Christ and his apostles in wilful poverty, and in other heavenly virtues, and especially in true preaching of God's word; though such a one be named a priest, yet he is no more but a priest in name; for the work of every priest in such an one wanteth. This sentence approveth Augustin, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Lincoln plainly.

And the archbishop said to me, Thinkest thou this wholesome learning to sow openly, or yet privily among the people? Certain this doctrine contrarieth plainly the ordinance of holy fathers, which have ordained, granted, and licensed priests to be in divers degrees, and to live by tythes and offerings of the people, and by other duties.

And I said, Sir, if priests were now in measurable measure and number, and lived virtuously, and taught busily and truly the word of God, by example of Christ and of his apostles, without tythes, offerings, and other duties, that priests now challenge and take; the people would give them freely sufficient livelode.

And a clerk said to me, How wilt thou make this good, that the people will give freely to priests their livelode; since that now by the law every priest can scarcely constrain the people to give them their livelode?

And I said, Sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to give priests the livelode that they ask: many people know now, how that priests should live, and how that they live contrary to Christ and to his apostles. And therefore the people is full heavy to pay (as they do) their temporal goods to parsons, and to other vicars and priests, which should be faithful dispensators of the parish's goods: taking to themselves no more but a scarce living of tythes, nor of offerings, by the ordinance of the common law. For whatsoever priests take of the people (be it tythe or offering, or any other duty or service) the priests ought to have thereof no more but a bare living: and to part the residue to the poor men and women, specially of the parish of whom they take this temporal living. But the most deal of priests now wasteth their parish's goods, and spendeth them at their own will after the world, in their vain lusts: so that in few places poor men have duly (as they should have) their own sustenance, neither of tythes, nor of offerings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priests take of the people in divers manners above that they need for needful sustenance of meat and clothing: but the poor needy people are forsaken and left of priests to be sustained of the parishioners, as if the priests took nothing of the parishioners to help the people with.

And thus, Sir, into over great charges of the parishioners they pay their temporal goods twice, where once might suffice, if priests were true dispensators. Also, Sir, the parishioners that pay their temporal goods (be they tythes or offerings) to priests that do not their office among them justly, are partners of every sin of those priests; because that they sustain those priests' folly in their sin, with their temporal goods. If these things be well considered, what wonder is it then, Sir, if the parishioners grudge against these dispensators?

Then the archbishop said to me, Thou that shouldst be judged and ruled by holy church, presumptuously thou deemest holy church to have erred in the ordinance of tythes and other duties to be paid to priests. It shall be long ere thou thrive, lossel, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother. How darest thou speak this (lossel) among the people? Are not tythes given to priests to live by?

And I said, Sir, St. Paul saith, that tithes were given in the old law to levites and to priests, that came of the lineage of Levi. But our priests, he saith, come not of the lineage of Levi, but of the lineage of Juda, to which Juda no tythes were promised to be given. And therefore Paul saith, since the priesthood is changed from the generation of Levi to the generation of Juda, it is necessary that changing also be made of the law. So that priests live now without tithes and other duties that they claim, following Christ and his apostles in wilful poverty, as they have given them example. For since Christ lived (all the time of his preaching) by pure alms of the people; and by example of him his apostles lived in the same wise, or else by the travail of their hands, as it is said above: every priest, whose priesthood Christ approveth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and

in work, "That a diſciple ought not to be above his maſter, but it ſuffereth a diſciple to be as his maſter," ſimple and pure, meek and patient; and by example eſpecially of his maſter Chriſt every prieſt ſhould rule him in all his living: and ſo after his cunning and power, a prieſt ſhould buſy him to inform and to rule whomſoever he might charitably.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me with a great ſpirit, God's curſe have thou and mine for this teaching: for thou wouldeſt hereby make the old law more free and perfect than the new law. For thou ſayeſt that it is lawful to levites and to prieſts to take tithes in the old law, and ſo to enjoy their privileges: but to us prieſts in the new law, thou ſayeſt it is not lawful to take tithes: and thus thou giveſt to levites of the old law, more freedom than to prieſts of the new law.

And I ſaid, Sir, I marvel that you underſtand this plain text of Paul thus: ye know well, that the levites and prieſts in the old law that took tithes, were not ſo free nor ſo perfect as Chriſt and his apoſtles that took no tithes. And, Sir, there is a doctor (I think that it is St. Hierom) that ſaith thus, "The prieſts that challenge now in the new law, tithes; ſay in effect, that Chriſt is not become man, nor that he hath yet ſuffered death for man's love." Wherefore this doctor ſaith this ſentence: Since tithes were the heirs and wages limited to levites aud to prieſts of the old law, for bearing about the tabernacle, and for ſlaying and flaying of beaſts, and for burning of ſacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for trumping of battle before the hoſt of Iſrael, and other divers obſervances that pertained to their office: thoſe prieſts that will challenge or take tithes, deny that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, and do the prieſt's office of the old law, for whom tithes were granted, for elſe (as this doctor ſaith) prieſts take now tithes wrongfully.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to his clerks, Heard you ever loſſel ſpeak thus? Certain this is the learning of them all that whereſoever they come, and they may be ſuffered, they enforce them to expugn the freedom of holy church.

And I ſaid, Sir, why call ye the taking of tythes, and of ſuch other duties that prieſts challenge now (wrongfully) the freedom of holy church: ſince neither Chriſt, nor his apoſtles, challenged nor took ſuch duties? Therefore theſe takings of prieſts now are not called juſtly the freedom of holy church, but all ſuch giving and taking ought to be called and holden, the ſlanderous covetouſneſs of men of the holy church.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Why, loſſel, wilt not thou and other that are confederate with thee, ſeek out of holy ſcripture and of the ſenſe of doctors, all ſharp authorities againſt lords, knights, and ſquires, and againſt other ſecular men, as thou doſt againſt prieſts?

And I ſaid, Sir, whatſoever men or women, lords or ladies, or any other that are preſent in our preaching, ſpecially, or in our communing, after our cunning, we tell out to them their office and their charges; but, Sir, ſince Chryſoſtom ſaith, "That prieſts are the ſtomach of the people," it is needful in preaching, and alſo in communing, to be moſt buſy about this prieſthood: ſince by the viciouſneſs of prieſts both lords and commons are moſt ſinfully infected and led into the worſt. And becauſe that the covetouſneſs of prieſts and pride, and the boaſt that they have and make of their dignity and power; deſtroyeth not only the virtue of prieſthood in prieſts themſelves, but alſo over this, it ſtirreth God to take great vengeance both upon the lords, and upon the commons, which ſuffer theſe prieſts charitably,

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Thou judgeſt every prieſt proud that will not go arrayed as thou doſt: by God I deem him to be more meek that goeth every day in a ſcarlet gown, than thou in thy thread-bare blue gown. Whereby knoweſt thou a proud man?

And I ſaid, Sir, a proud prieſt may be known, when he denieth to follow Chriſt and his apoſtle in wilful poverty and other virtues; and coveteth worldly worſhip, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with pleading, menacing, or with flattering, or with ſimony, any worldly goods; and moſt, if a prieſt buſy him not chiefly in himſelf, and after in all other men and women after his cunning and power to withſtand ſin.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Though thou knoweſt a prieſt to have all theſe vices, and though thou ſaweſt a prieſt lovely lie by a woman knowing her fleſhly, wouldeſt thou therefore damn this prieſt damnable? I ſay to thee, that in the turning about of thy hand, ſuch a ſinner may be verily repented.

And I ſaid, Sir, I will not damn any man for any ſin that I know done or may be done, ſo that the ſinner leaveth his ſin. But by authority of holy ſcripture, he that ſinneth thus openly as you ſhew here, is damnable for doing of ſuch a ſin; and moſt ſpecially, a prieſt that ſhould be example to all other to hate and fly ſin. And in how ſhort time ſoever ye ſay that ſuch a ſinner may be repented: he ought not of him that knoweth his ſinning, to be judged verily repentant, without open evidence of great ſhame and hearty ſorrow for ſin. For whoſoever (and ſpecially a prieſt) that uſeth pride, envy, covetouſneſs, letchery, ſimony, or any other vices, ſheweth not as open evidence of repentance as he hath given evil example and occaſion of ſinning, if he continue in any ſuch ſin as long as he may; it is likely that ſin leaveth him, and he not ſin. And as I underſtand, ſuch a one ſinneth unto death, for whom nobody oweth to pray, as St. John ſaith.

And a clerk ſaid then to the archbiſhop, Sir, the longer that ye appoſe him, the worſe he is; and the more you buſy you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of ſo ſhrewd a kind, that he ſhameth not only to be himſelf a foul neſt, but without ſhame he buſieth him to make his neſt fouler.

And then the archbiſhop ſaid to his clerks, Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him, for there is another point certified againſt him, and I will hear what he ſaith thereto.

And ſo then he ſaid to me, Lo it is here certified againſt thee, that thou preacheſt openly at Shrewſbury, that it is not lawful to ſwear in any caſe.

And I ſaid, Sir, I never preached ſo openly, nor have I taught in this wiſe in any place. But, Sir, as I preached in Shrewſbury, with my proteſtation I ſay to you now here, That by the authority of the epiſtle of St. James, and by witneſs of divers ſaints and doctors, I have preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lawful in any caſe to ſwear by any creature. And over this Sir, I have alſo preached and taught by the foreſaid authorities, that nobody ſhould ſwear in any caſe, if that without oath in any wiſe he that is charged to ſwear might excuſe him to them that have power to compel him to ſwear in a lawful thing. But if a man may not excuſe him, without oath, to them that have power to compel him to ſwear, then he ought to ſwear only by God, taking him only; that is, ſoothfaſtneſs, to witneſs to ſoothfaſtneſs.

And then the clerk aſked me, If it were not lawful to a ſubject, at the bidding of his prelate, to kneel down and touch the holy goſpel book, and kiſs it, ſaying, So help me God and his holy dome? for he ſhould after his cunning and power do all things that his prelate commandeth him.

And I ſaid to them, Sirs, ye ſpeak here full generally or largely. What if a prelate commanded his ſubject to do an unlawful thing, ſhould he obey thereto?

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, A ſubject ought not to ſuppoſe, that his prelate will bid him do an unlawful thing. For a ſubject ought to think that his prelate will bid him do nothing, but that he will anſwer for before God, that it is lawful: and then though the bidding of the prelate be unlawful, the ſubject hath no peril to fulfil it, ſince that he thinketh and judgeth, that what

ſoever thing his prelate biddeth him to do, that it is lawful for him to do it.

And I ſaid, Sir, I truſt not thereto. But to our purpoſe; Sir, I tell you, that I was once in a gentleman's houſe, and there were then two clerks there, a maſter of divinity, and a man of law, which man of law was alſo communing in divinity. And among other things, theſe men ſpake of oaths; and the man of law ſaid, At the bidding of his ſovereign which had power to charge him to ſwear, he would lay his hand upon a book, and hear his charge; and if his charge, to his underſtanding, were unlawful, he would haſtily withdraw his hand upon the book, taking there only God to witneſs, that he would fulfil that lawful charge after his power. And the maſter of divinity ſaid then to him thus; Certain he that layeth his hand upon a book in this wiſe, and maketh there a promiſe to do that thing that he is commanded, is obliged thereby by book-oath, then to fulfil his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to lay his hand thus upon a book (touching the book, and ſwearing by it, and kiſſing it, promiſing in this form to do this thing or that) will ſay and witneſs that he that toucheth thus a book, and kiſſeth it, hath ſworn upon that book. And all other men that ſee that man thus do, and alſo all thoſe that hear thereof, in the ſame wiſe will ſay and witneſs, that this man hath ſworn upon a book. Wherefore, the maſter of divinity ſaid, It was not lawful either to give or to take any ſuch charge upon a book: for every book is nothing elſe, but divers creatures of which it is made. Therefore to ſwear upon a book is to ſwear by creatures, and this ſwearing is ever unlawful. This ſentence witneſſeth Chryſoſtom plainly, blaming them greatly that bring forth a book to ſwear upon, charging clerks that in no wiſe they conſtrain any body to ſwear, whether they think a man to ſwear true or falſe.

And the archbiſhop and his clerks ſcorned me, and blamed me greatly for this ſaying. And the archbiſhop menaced me with great puniſhment and ſharp, except I left this opinion of ſwearing.

And I ſaſd, Sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Chriſt our Saviour, and of St. James, and of Chriſoſtom, and of other divers ſaints and doctors.

Then the archbiſhop bade a clerk read the homily of Chryſoſtom; which homily this clerk held in his hand written in a roll; which roll the archbiſhop cauſed to be taken from my fellow at Canterbury. And ſo then this clerk read this roll, till he came to a clauſe where Chryſoſtom ſaith it is a ſin to ſwear well.

And then the clerk (Malveren as I gueſs) ſaid to the archbiſhop, Sir, I pray you know of him, how he underſtandeth Chryſoſtom here, ſaying it to be a ſin to ſwear well.

And ſo the archbiſhop aſked me, how I underſtood here Chryſoſtom.

And certain, I was ſomewhat afraid to anſwer hereto. For I had buſied me to ſtudy about the ſenſe thereof, but lifting up my mind to God, I prayed him for grace. And as faſt as I thought how Chriſt ſaid to his apoſtles, "When for my name ye ſhall be brought before judges, I ſhall give into your mouth wiſdom, that your adverſaries ſhall not againſt ſay:" and truſting faithfully in the word of God, I ſaid, Sir, I know well that many men and women have now ſwearing ſo in cuſtom, that they neither know or will know, that they do evil to ſwear as they do; but they think and ſay, that they do well to ſwear as they do, though they know well that they ſwear untruly. For they ſay, they may by their ſwearing (though it be falſe) void blame or temporal harm, which they ſhould have if they ſwear not thus. And, Sir, many men and women maintain ſtrongly that they ſwear well, when that thing is ſooth that they ſwear for. Alſo full many men and women ſay now, that it is well done to ſwear by creatures, when they may not (as they ſay) otherwiſe be believed. And alſo, full many men and women ſay now, that it is well done to ſwear by God, and by our lady, and by other ſaints, to have them in mind. But ſince all theſe ſayings are but excuſations, and ſin; methinketh, Sir, that this ſenſe of Chryſoſtom may be alledged well againſt all ſuch ſwearers; witneſſing that all theſe ſin grievouſly, though they think themſelves to ſwear in this foreſaid wiſe well; for it is evil done, and great ſin to ſwear truth, when in any manner a man may excuſe himſelf without oath.

And the archbiſhop ſaid, That Chryſoſtom might be thus underſtood.

And then a clerk ſaid to me, Wilt thou tarry my lord no longer, but ſubmit thee here meekly to the ordinance of holy church, and lay thy hand upon a book, touching the holy goſpel of God, promiſing not only with thy mouth, but alſo with thine heart, to ſtand to my lord's ordinance?

And I ſaid, Sir, have I not told you here, how that I heard a maſter of divinity ſay, That in ſuch a caſe it is all one to touch a book, and to ſwear by a book?

And the archbiſhop ſaid, There is no maſter of divinity in England ſo great, but if he hold this opinion before me, I ſhall puniſh him as I ſhall do thee, except thou ſwear as I ſhall charge thee.

And I ſaid, Sir, is not Chryſoſtom an ententive doctor?

And the archbiſhop ſaid, Yea.

And I ſaid, If Chryſoſtom proveth him worthy of great blame, that bringeth forth a book to ſwear upon; it muſt needs follow, that he is more to blame that ſweareth on that book.

And the archbiſhop ſaid, If Chryſoſtom meant according to the ordinance of holy church, we will accept him.

And then ſaid a clerk to me, Is not the word of God and God himſelf equipollent, that is, of one authority?

And I ſaid, Yea.

Then he ſaid to me, Why wilt thou not ſwear then by the goſpel of God, that is, God's word, ſince it is all one to ſwear by the word of God, and God himſelf?

And I ſaid, Sir, ſince I may not now otherwiſe be believed, but by ſwearing, I perceive (as Auguſtine ſaith) that it is not ſpeedful that ye that ſhould be my brethren, ſhould not believe me; therefore I am ready by the word of God (as the Lord commanded me by his word) to ſwear.

Then the clerk ſaid to me, Lay then thine hand upon the book, touching the holy goſpel of God, and take thy charge.

And I ſaid, Sir, I underſtand that the holy goſpel of God may not be touched with man's hand.

And the clerk ſaid, I fonded, and that I ſaid not truth.

And I aſked this clerk, Whether it were more to read the goſpel, than to touch the goſpel?

And he ſaid, It was more to read the goſpel.

And I ſaid, Sir, by authority of St. Hierom the goſpel is not the goſpel for reading of the letter, but for the belief that men have in the word of God. That it is the goſpel that we believe, and not the letter that we read; becauſe the letter that is touched with man's hand, is not the goſpel, but the ſentence that is verily believed in man's heart, is the goſpel. For ſo Hierom ſaith, "The goſpel; that is the virtue of God's word, is not in the leaves of the book, but it is in the root of reaſon. Neither the goſpel (he ſaith) is in the writing alone of the letters, but the goſpel is in the marking of the ſentence of the ſcriptures." This ſentence approveth St. Paul, ſaying thus, "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in virtue." And David ſaith, "The voice of the Lord, that is, his word, is in virtue." And after David ſaith, "Thro' the word of God the heavens were formed, and in the ſpirit of his mouth is all the virtue of them." And I pray you, Sir, underſtand ye well how David ſaith then,

then "In the ſpirit of the mouth of the Lord is all the virtue of angels and of men."

And the clerk ſaid to me, Thou wouldſt make us too fond with thee. Say we not that the goſpel is written in the maſs-book?

And I ſaid, Sir, though men uſe to ſay thus, yet it is an unperfect ſpeech. For the principal part of a thing is properly the whole thing. For lo, man's ſoul that may not now be ſeen here, nor touched with any ſenſible thing, is properly man. And all the virtue of a tree is in the root thereof, that may not be ſeen; for do away the root, and the tree is deſtroyed. And, Sir, as ye ſaid to me right now, "God and his word are of one authority:" And, Sir, St. Hierom witneſſeth, that Chriſt (very God and very man) is hid in the letter of the law; thus alſo, Sir, the goſpel is hid in the letter. For, Sir, as it is full likely, many and divers men and women here in the earth touched Chriſt, and ſaw him, and knew his bodily perſon, which neither touched, nor ſaw, nor knew, ghoſtly his Godhead: right thus, Sir, many men now touch and ſee, and write and read the ſcriptures of God's law; which neither ſee, touch, nor read effectually the goſpel. For the Godhead of Chriſt (that is, the virtue of God) is known by the virtue of belief; ſo is the goſpel, that is, God's word.

And a clerk ſaid to me, Theſe be full miſty matters, and unſavoury, that thou ſheweſt here to us.

And I ſaid, Sir, if ye that are maſters know not plainly this ſentence, ye may ſore dread that the kingdom of heaven be taken from you, as it was from the princes of prieſts, and from the elders of the Jews.

And then a clerk (as I gueſs Malveren) ſaid to me, Thou knoweſt not thine equivocations: for the kingdom of heaven hath divers underſtandings. What calleſt thou the kingdom of heaven in this ſentence that thou ſheweſt here?

And I ſaid, Sir, by good reaſon and ſentence of doctors, the realm of heaven is called here the underſtanding of God's word.

And a clerk ſaid to me, From whom thinkeſt thou that this underſtanding is taken away?

And I ſaid, Sir, (by authority of Chriſt himſelf) the effectual underſtanding of Chriſt's word is taken away from all them chiefly which are great lettered men, and preſume to underſtand high things, and will be holden wiſe men, and deſire maſterſhip, and high ſtate and dignity; but they will not conform them to the living and teaching of Chriſt and of his apoſtles.

Then the archbiſhop ſaid, Well, well, thou wilt judge thy ſovereigns. By God, the king doth not his duty, unleſs he ſuffer thee to be condemned.

And then another clerk ſaid to me, Why (on Friday that laſt was) counſelledſt thou a man of my lord's, that he ſhould not ſhrieve him to any man, but only to God?

And with this aſking I was abaſhed; and then by and by I knew that I was ſubtilly betrayed of a man that came to me in priſon on the Friday before, communing with me in this matter of confeſſion. And certain, by his words I thought that this man came then to me of full fervent and charitable will; but now I know he came to tempt me, and to accuſe me; God forgive him, if it be his will. And with all my heart, when I had thought thus, I ſaid to this clerk: Sir, I pray you that you would fetch this man hither; and all the words, as near as I can repeat them, which I ſpake to him on Friday in the priſon, I will rehearſe now here before you all, and before him.

And (as I gueſs) the archbiſhop ſaid then to me, They that are now here ſuffice to repeat them. How ſaidſt thou to him?

And I ſaid, Sir, that man came and aſked me in divers things; and after his aſking, I anſwered him (as I underſtood) that good was. And as he ſhewed to me by his words, he was ſorry of his living in court, and right heavy for his own vicious living, and alſo for the viciouſneſs of other men, and ſpecially of prieſts evil living; and therefore he ſaidto me with a ſorrowful heart (as I gueſſed) that he purpoſed fully within ſhort time to leave the court, and to buſy him to know God's law, and to conform all his life thereafter. And when he ſaid to me theſe words and more other, which I would rehearſe, if he were preſent, he prayed me to hear his confeſſion. And I ſaid to him, Sir, wherefore came ye to me, to be confeſſed of me? Ye know well that the archbiſhop putteth and holdeth me here, as one unworthy either to give or to take any ſacrament of holy church.

And he ſaid unto me, Brother, I know well, and ſo I know many other more, that you and ſuch other are wrongfully vexed, and therefore I commune with you the more gladly. And I ſaid to him, Certain I know well, that many men of this court, and ſpecially the prieſts of this houſhold, would be full evil apaid both with you and me, if they knew that ye were confeſſed of me. And he ſaid, That he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them. And as methought, he ſpake theſe words and many other, of a good will and of a high deſire to have known and done the pleaſant will of God. And I ſaid to him, as with my foreſaid proteſtation I ſay to you now here; Sir, I counſel you to abſent you from all evil company, and to draw you to them that love and buſy them to know and to keep the precepts of God; and then the good Spirit of God will move you to occupy buſily all your wits in gathering together of all your ſins, as far as ye can bethink you, ſhaming greatly of them, and ſorrowing heartily for them: yea, Sir, the Holy Ghoſt will then put into your heart a good will and a fervent deſire to take and to hold a good purpoſe, to hate ever and to fly (after your cunning and power) all occaſion of ſin; and ſo then wiſdom ſhall come to you from above, lightening (with divers beams of grace and of heavenly deſire) all your wits, informing you how ye ſhall truſt ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of the Lord, knowledging to him only all your vicious living, praying to him ever devoutly of charitable counſel and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if ye continue thus, buſying you faithfully to know and to keep his biddings, he will (for he only may) forgive you all your ſins. And this man ſaid to me, Though God forgive men their ſins, yet it behoveth men to be aſſoiled of prieſts, and to do the penance that they enjoin them.

And I ſaid to him, Sir, it is all one to aſſoil men of their ſins, and to forgive men their ſins. Wherefore ſince it pertaineth only to God to forgive ſin, it ſufficeth in this caſe to counſel men and women to leave their ſin, and to comfort them that buſy them thus to do, to hope ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. And again, prieſts ought to tell ſharply to cuſtomable ſinners, that if they will not make an end of their ſin, but continue in divers ſins while that they may ſin, all ſuch deſerve pain without any end. And therefore prieſts ſhould ever buſy them to live well and holily, and to teach the people buſily and truly the word of God, ſhewing to all folk in open preaching, and in privy counſelling, That the Lord God only forgiveth ſin. And therefore thoſe prieſts that take upon them to aſſoil men of their ſins, blaſpheme God; ſince that it pertaineth only to the Lord to aſſoil men of all their ſins. For, no doubt, a thouſand years after that Chriſt was man, no prieſt of Chriſt durſt take upon him to teach the people, neither privily nor apertly, that they behoved needs to come to be aſſoiled of them, as prieſts now do. But by authority of Chriſt's word prieſts bound indurate, cuſtomable ſinners to everlaſting pains, which in no time of their living would buſy them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keep them. And again, all they that would occupy all their wits to hate and to fly all occaſion of ſin, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving to pleaſe him continually; to theſe men and women prieſts ſhewed

ed how the Lord aſſoiled men of all their ſins; and thus Chriſt promiſed to confirm in heaven all the binding and looſing that prieſts by authority of his word, bind men in ſin that are indurate therein, or looſe them out of ſin here upon earth that are verily repentant. And this man hearing theſe words, ſaid, That he might well in conſcience conſent to this ſentence. But he ſaid, Is it not needful to the lay people that cannot thus do, to go ſhrive them to the prieſts? And I ſaid, If a man feel himſelf ſo diſtroubled of any ſin, that he cannot by his own wit avoid this ſin without counſel of them that are herein wiſer than he; in ſuch a caſe the counſel of a good prieſt is full neceſſary. And if a good prieſt fail, as they do now commonly, in ſuch a caſe, St. Auguſtine ſaith, "That a man may lawfully commune and take counſel of a virtuous ſecular man." But certain, that a man or woman is overladen and too beaſtly, which cannot bring their own ſins into their mind, buſying them night and day to hate and to forſake all their ſins, doing a ſign for them after their cunning and power. And, Sir, full accordingly to this ſentence upon Midlent Sunday (two year as I gueſs now agone) I heard a monk of Feverſham, that men called Morden, preach at Canterbury, at the croſs within Chriſtchurch abbey, ſaying thus of confeſſion; That as through the ſuggeſtion of the fiend, without counſel of any other body, of themſelves, many men and women can imagine and find means and ways enough to come to pride, to theft, to lechery, and other divers vices; in contrariwiſe this monk ſaid, Since the Lord is more ready to forgive ſin than the fiend is or may be of power to move any body to ſin, then whoſoever will ſhame and ſorrow heartily for their ſins, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counſel of any other body than of God and of himſelf (through the grace of God) all ſuch men and women may find ſufficient means to come to God's mercy, and ſo to be clean aſſoiled of all their ſins. This ſentence I ſaid, Sir, to this man of yours, and the ſelf-ſame words as near as I can gueſs.

And the archbiſhop ſaid, Holy church approveth not this learning.

And I ſaid, Sir, holy church, of which Chriſt is head, in heaven and in earth, muſt needs approve this ſentence. For lo, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be ſufficiently taught to know and to keep the commandments of God, and to hate and to fly continually all occaſion of ſin, and to love and to ſeek virtues buſily, and to believe in God ſtably, and to truſt in his mercy ſtedfaſtly, and ſo to come to perfect charity, and continue therein perſeverently. And more the Lord aſketh not of any man here now in this life. And certain, ſince Jeſus Chriſt died upon the croſs, wilfully to make men free: men of the church are too bold and too buſy to make men thrall, binding them under the pain of endleſs curſe (as they ſay) to do many obſervances and ordinances which neither the living nor teaching of Chriſt nor of his apoſtles approveth.

And a clerk ſaid then to me, Thou ſheweſt plainly here thy deceit, which thou haſt learned of them that travailed to ſow the popple among the wheat. But I counſel thee to go away clean from this learning, and ſubmit thee lowly to my lord, and thou ſhalt find him yet to be gracious to thee.

And as faſt then another clerk ſaid to me, How waſt thou ſo bold at Paul's croſs in London, to ſtand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine head, and to reprove in thy ſermon the worthy clerk Alkerton, drawing away all that thou mighteſt? yea, and the ſame day at afternoon, thou meeting the worthy doctor in Watling-ſtreet, calledſt him falſe flatterer and hypocrite?

And I ſaid, Sir, I think certainly, that there was no man nor woman that hated verily ſin, and loved virtues (hearing the ſermon of the clerk at Oxford, and alſo Alkerton's ſermon) but they ſaid, or might juſtly ſay, that Alkerton reproved that clerk untruly, and ſlandered him wrongfully and uncharitably. For no doubt, if the living and teaching of Chriſt chiefly and of his apoſtles be true, nobody that loveth God and his law, will blame any ſentence that the clerk then preached there: ſince by authority of God's word, and by approved ſaints and doctors, and by open reaſon, this clerk approved all things clearly that he preached there.

And a clerk of the archbiſhop ſaid to me, His ſermon was falſe, and that he ſhewed openly, ſince he dare not ſtand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.

And I ſaid, Sir, I think that he purpoſeth to ſtand ſtedfaſtly thereby, or elſe he ſlandereth foully himſelf, and alſo many other that have great truſt that he will ſtand by the truth of the goſpel. For I know well this ſermon is written both in Latin and Engliſh, and many men have it, and they ſet great price thereby. And, Sir, if ye were preſent with the archbiſhop of Lambeth when this clerk appeared, and was at his anſwer before the archbiſhop, ye know well that this clerk denied not there his ſermon, but two days he maintained it before the archbiſhop and his clerks.

And then the archbiſhop or one of his clerks ſaid (I know not which of them) That harlot ſhall be met with for that ſermon. For no man but he and thou, and ſuch other falſe harlots, praiſeth any ſuch preaching.

And then the archbiſhop ſaid, Your curſed ſect is buſy, and it joyeth right greatly to contrary and to deſtroy the privilege and freedom of holy church.

And I ſaid, Sir, I know no men that travail ſo buſily as this ſect doth (which you reprove) to make reſt and peace in holy church. For pride, covetouſneſs, and ſimony, which moſt diſtrouble holy church, this ſect hateth and fleeth, and travaileth buſily to move all other men in like manner unto meekneſs and wilful poverty, and charity; and free miniſtering of the ſacrament, this ſect loveth and uſeth, and is full buſy to move all other folks thus to do. For theſe virtues owe all members of holy church to their head Chriſt.

Then a clerk ſaid to the archbiſhop, Sir, it is far day, and ye have far to ride to-night; therefore make an end with him, or he will none make: but the more, Sir, that ye buſy you to draw him toward you, the more contumax he is made, and the further from you.

And then Malveren ſaid to me, William, kneel down, and pray my lord's grace, and leave all thy fantaſies, and become a child of holy church.

And I ſaid, Sir, I have prayed the archbiſhop oft, and yet I pray him for the love of Chriſt, that he will leave his indignation that he hath againſt me: and that he will ſuffer me, after my cunning and power, to do mine office of prieſthood, as I am charged of God to do it. For I covet nought elſe but to ſerve my God to his pleaſing in the ſtate that I ſtand in, and have taken me to.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, If of good heart thou wilt ſubmit thee now here meekly to be ruled from this time forth by my counſel, obeying meekly and wilfully to my ordinance, thou ſhalt find it moſt profitable and beſt to thee to do thus. Therefore tarry thou me no longer, grant to do this that I have ſaid to thee now here ſhortly, or deny it utterly.

And I ſaid to the archbiſhop, Sir, owe we to believe that Jeſus Chriſt was and is very God and very man?

And the archbiſhop ſaid, Yea.

And I ſaid, Sir, owe we to believe that all Chriſt's living and his teaching is true in every point?

And he ſaid, Yea.

And I ſaid, Sir, owe we to believe, that the living of the apoſtles, and the teaching of Chriſt and all the prophets, are true which are written in the Bible for the health and ſalvation of good people?

And

And he ſaid, Yea.

And I ſaid, Sir, owe all chriſtian men and women, after their cunning and power, to conform all their living to the teaching ſpecially of Chriſt, and alſo to the teaching and living of his apoſtles and of the prophets, in things that are pleaſant to God, and edification of his church?

And he ſaid, Yea.

And I ſaid, Sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counſel of any body to be accepted or obeyed unto, except this doctrine, theſe biddings, or this counſel, may be granted and affirmed by Chriſt's living and his teaching ſpecially, or by the living and teaching of his apoſtles and prophets?

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Other doctrines ought not to be accepted, nor owe we to obey to any man's bidding or counſel, except we can perceive that this bidding or counſel accordeth with the life and teaching of Chriſt, and of his apoſtles and prophets.

And I ſaid, Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings, and counſels of holy church, means and healful remedies, to know and to underſtand the privy ſuggeſtions, and the apert temptations of the fiend? and alſo ways and healful remedies to ſlay pride and all other deadly ſins, and the branches of them, and ſovereign means to purchaſe grace, to withſtand and overcome all the fleſhly luſts and movings?

And the archbiſhop ſaid, Yea.

And I ſaid, Sir, whatſoever thing ye or any other body bid or counſel me to do, accordingly to this aforeſaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the help of God, I will meekly with all my heart obey thereto.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Submit thee then now here meekly and wilfully to the ordinance of holy church, which I ſhall ſhew to thee.

And I ſaid, Sir, accordingly as I have here now before you rehearſed, I will now be ready to obey full gladly to Chriſt, the head of the holy church, and to the learning and biddings, and counſels of every pleaſing member of him.

Then the archbiſhop, ſtriking with his hand fiercely upon a cupboard, ſpake to me with a great ſpirit, ſaying, By Jeſus, but if thou leave not ſuch additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine ordinance (ere that I go out of this place) I ſhall make thee as ſure as any thief that is in the priſon of Lanterne; adviſe thee now what thou wilt do. And then, as if he had been angered, he went from the cupboard where he ſtood to a window.

And then Malveren and another clerk came nearer me, and they ſpake to me many words full pleaſantly: and another while they menaced me, and counſelled full buſily to ſubmit me, or elſe, they ſaid, I ſhould not eſcape puniſhing over meaſure; for they ſaid, I ſhould be degraded, curſed, burned, and ſo then damned. But now they ſaid, Thou mayſt eſchew all theſe miſchiefs, if thou wilt ſubmit thee wilfully and meekly to this worthy prelate, that hath cure of thy ſoul. And for the pity of Chriſt (ſaid they) bethink thee, how great clerks the biſhop of Lincoln, Hereford, and Purvey, were, and yet are; and alſo B. that is a well underſtanding man; which alſo have forſaken and revoked all the learning and opinions that thou and ſuch other hold. Wherefore, ſince each of them is much wiſer than thou art, we counſel thee for the beſt; that by the example of theſe four clerks, thou follow them, ſubmitting thee as they did.

And one of the biſhop's clerks ſaid then there, that he heard Nicholas Herford ſay, That ſince he forſook and revoked all the learning and Lollards opinions, he hath had much greater favour, and more delight to hold againſt them, than ever he had to hold with them, while he held with them.

And therefore Malveren ſaid to me, I underſtand, that if thou wilt take thee to a prieſt, and ſhrive thee clean, forſake all ſuch opinions, and take the penance of my lord here, for the holding and teaching of them; within ſhort time thou ſhalt be greatly comforted in this doing.

And I ſaid to the clerks, that thus buſily counſelled me to follow theſe foreſaid men; Sirs, if theſe men, of whom ye counſel me to take example, had forſaken benefices of temporal profit, and of worldly worſhip, ſo that they had abſented them, and eſchewed from all occaſion of covetouſneſs and of fleſhly luſt, and had taken upon them ſimple living, and wilful poverty; they had herein given good example to me and to many other, to have followed them. But now, ſince all theſe four men have ſlanderouſly and ſhamefully done the contrary, conſenting to receive, and to have and to hold temporal benefices, living now more worldly, and more fleſhly than they did before, conforming them to the manners of this world: I forſake them herein, and in all their foreſaid ſlanderous doing. For I purpoſe, with the help of God (into remiſſion of my ſins, and of my foul curſed living), to hate and to flee privily and apertly to follow theſe men, teaching and counſelling whomſoever that I may, to flee and to eſchew the way that they have choſen to go in, which will lead them to the worſt end (if in convenient time they repent them not), verily forſaking and revoking openly the ſlander that they have put, and every day yet put to Chriſt's church. For certain, ſo open blaſphemy and ſlander as they have ſpoken and done in revoking and forſaking of the truth, ought not, nor may not privily be amended duly. Wherefore Sirs, I pray you that you buſy me not to follow theſe men in revoking and forſaking the truth, ſoothfaſtneſs as they have done, and yet do: wherein by open evidence they ſtir God to great wrath, and not only againſt themſelves, but alſo againſt all them that favour them, or conſent to them herein, or that commune with them, except it be for their amendment. For whereas theſe men firſt were purſued of their enemies, now they have obliged them by oath to ſlander and purſue Chriſt in his members. Wherefore, as I truſt ſtedfaſtly in the goodneſs of God, the worldly covetouſneſs, and the luſty living, and the ſliding from the truth, of theſe runagates, ſhall be to me, and to many other men and women, an example and an evidence to ſtand more ſtiffly by the truth of Chriſt.

For certain, right many men and women do mark and abhor the foulneſs and cowardneſs of theſe foreſaid untrue men, how that they are overcome and ſtopped with benefices, and withdrawn from the truth of God's word, forſaking utterly to ſuffer therefore bodily perſecution. For by this unfaithful doing, and apoſtacy in them, ſpecially that are great lettered men, and have knowledge openly of truth, and now either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of tyrants have taken hire and temporal wages to forſake the truth, and to hold againſt it, ſlandering and purſuing them that covet to follow Chriſt in the way of righteouſneſs; many men and women therefore are now moved. But many more, through the grace of God, ſhall be moved hereby to learn the truth of God to do thereafter, and to ſtand boldly thereby.

Then the archbiſhop ſaid to the clerks, Buſy you no longer about him, for he, and other ſuch as he is, are confederate together, that they will not ſwear to be obedient, and to ſubmit them to prelates of holy church. For now ſince I ſtood here, his fellow alſo ſent me word that he will not ſwear, and that this fellow counſelled him that he ſhould not ſwear to me. And, loſel, in that thing that in thee is, thou haſt buſied thee to loſe this young man, but bleſſed be God thou ſhalt not have thy purpoſe of him. For he hath forſaken all thy learning, ſubmitting him to be buxom and obedient to the ordinance of holy church, and weepeth full bitterly, and

curſeth thee full heartily for the venomous teaching which thou haſt ſhewed to him, counſelling him to do thereafter.

And for thy falſe counſelling many other and him, thou haſt great cauſe to be right ſorry. For long time thou haſt buſied thee to pervert whomſoever thou mighteſt. Therefore as many deaths thou art worthy of, as thou haſt given evil counſels. And therefore, by Jeſus, thou ſhalt go thither, where Nicholas Herford and Thomas Purvey were harboured. And I undertake, ere this day eight days, thou ſhalt be right glad to do what thing that ever I bid thee to do. And, loſſel, I ſhall aſſay, if I can make thee as ſorrowful, as it was told me, thou waſt glad at my laſt going out of England: by St. Thomas, I ſhall turn thy joy into ſorrow.

And I ſaid, Sir, there can nobody prove lawfully that I joyed ever of the manner of your going out of this land.

But, Sir, to ſay the ſooth, I was joyful when ye were gone: for the biſhop of London, in whoſe priſon ye left me, found in me no cauſe to hold me longer in his priſon, but at the requeſt of my friends, he delivered me to them, aſking of me no manner of ſubmitting.

Then the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Wherefore that I went out of England, is unknown to thee: but be this thing well known to thee, that God, as I know well, hath called me again, and brought me into this land, to deſtroy thee and the falſe ſect that thou art of: as, by God, I ſhall purſue you ſo narrowly, that I ſhall not leave a ſlip of you in this land.

And I ſaid to the archbiſhop, Sir, the holy prophet Jeremy ſaid to the falſe prophet Anany, when the word, that is the prophecy of a prophet, is known or fulfilled; then it ſhall be known, that the Lord ſent the prophet in truth.

And the archbiſhop, as if he had not been pleaſed with my ſaying, turned him awayward hither and thither, and ſaid, By God, I ſhall ſet upon thy ſhins a pair of pearls, that thou ſhalt be glad to change thy voice.

Theſe and many more wonders and convicious words were ſpoken to me, menacing me and all other of the ſame ſect to be puniſhed and deſtroyed unto the uttermoſt.

And the archbiſhop called then to him a clerk, and rowned with him; and that clerk went forth, and ſoon he brought in the conſtable of Saltwood caſtle, and the archbiſhop rowned a good while with him; and then the conſtable went forth, and then came in divers ſeculars, and they ſcorned me on every ſide, and menaced me greatly, and ſome counſelled the archbiſhop to burn me by and by, and ſome other counſelled him to drown me in the ſea, for it is near hand there.

And the clerk ſtanding beſide me, there kneeled down to the archbiſhop, praying him that he would deliver me to him to ſay matins with him, and he would undertake, that within three days I ſhould not reſiſt any thing that were commanded me to do of my prelate.

And the archbiſhop ſaid, that he would ordain for me himſelf.

And then after, came again the conſtable, and ſpake privily to the archbiſhop; and the archbiſhop commanded the conſtable to lead me forth thence with him, and ſo he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were ſent after again. And when I came in again before the archbiſhop, the clerk bade me kneel down and aſk grace, and ſubmit me lowly, and that I ſhould find it for the beſt.

And I ſaid then to the archbiſhop, Sir, as I have ſaid to you divers times to-day, I will wilfully and lowly obey and ſubmit me to be ordained ever, after my cunning and power, to God and to his law, and to every member of holy church, as far forth as I can perceive that theſe members accord with their head Chriſt, and will teach me, rule me, or chaſtiſe me by authority, ſpecially of God's law.

And the archbiſhop ſaid, I wiſt well he would not without ſuch additions ſubmit him.

And then I was rebuked, ſcorned and menaced on every ſide; and yet after this divers perſons cried upon me to kneel down and ſubmit me: but I ſtood ſtill, and ſpake no word. And then there were ſpoken of me, and to me, many great words; and I ſtood and heard them menace, curſe, and ſcorn me; but I ſaid nothing.

Then a while after the archbiſhop ſaid to me, Wilt thou not ſubmit thee to the ordinance of holy church?

And I ſaid, Sir, I will full gladly ſubmit me, as I have ſhewed you before.

And then the archbiſhop bade the conſtable to have me forth thence in haſte.

And ſo then I was led forth, and brought into a foul unhoneſt priſon, where I came never before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had ſparred faſt the priſon-door after them; by and by after, I therein by myſelf, buſied me to think on God, and to thank him for his goodneſs. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not only for that I was then delivered for a time from the ſight, from the hearing, from the preſence, from the ſcorning, and from the menacing of mine enemies; but much more I rejoiced in the Lord, becauſe that through his grace he kept me ſo, both among the flattering ſpecially, and among the menacing of mine adverſaries, that without heavineſs and anguiſh of my conſcience, I paſſed away from them. For as a tree laid upon another tree, overthwart or croſswiſe, ſo was the archbiſhop and his three clerks always contrary to me, and I to them.

Now good God, for thine holy name, and to the praiſing of thy moſt bleſſed name, make us one together, if it be thy will (by authority of thy word, that is true perfect charity) and elſe not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing read or hear, pray heartily ye the Lord God, that he for his great goodneſs, that cannot be with tongue expreſſed, grant to us, and to all other which in the ſame wiſe, and for the ſame cauſe eſpecially, or for any other cauſe be at a diſtance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in ſtedfaſt hope, and in perfect charity, Amen.

What was the end of this good man, and bleſſed ſervant of God, William Thorp, I find as yet in no ſtory ſpecified. By all conjectures it is to be thought that the archbiſhop, Thomas Arundel, being ſo hard an adverſary againſt theſe men, would not let him go. Much leſs it is to be ſuppoſed, that he would retract his ſentence and opinion, which he ſo valiantly maintained before the biſhop; neither doth it ſeem that he had any ſuch recanting ſpirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned, wherefore it remaineth moſt like to be true, that he being committed to ſome ſtrait priſon (according as the archbiſhop, in his examination before, did threaten him) there, as Thorp confeſſeth himſelf, was ſo ſtraitly kept, that either he was ſecretly made away, or elſe there died by ſickneſs.

The like end alſo I find to happen to John Aſhton, another good follower of Wickliff, who for the ſame doctrine of the ſacrament was condemned by the biſhops; and becauſe he would not recant, he was committed to perpetual priſon, wherein the good man continued till his death, anno 1382.

John Purvey.

FUrthermore, in the ſaid examination of William Thorp, mention is made, as ye heard, of John Purvey, of whom alſo ſomething we touched before: promiſing of the ſaid John Purvey more particular to intreat in order and proceſs of time. Of this Purvey, Thomas Walden writeth thus in his ſecond tome: John Purvey, ſaith he, was the library of Lollards, and gloſſer upon Wickliff. He ſaid, that the worſhipping of Abraham was but a ſalutation. And in his third tome

he ſaith, This John Purvey, with Herford, a doctor of divinity, were grievouſly tormented and puniſhed in the priſon of Saltwood, and at length recanted at Paul's croſs at London, Thomas Arundel being then archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Afterward again he was impriſoned under Henry Chicheley archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 1421. Thus much writeth Walden.

The works of this man which he wrote were gathered by Richard Lavingham his adverſary, which I think worthy to be remembered. Firſt, as touching the ſacrament of the laſt ſupper, the ſacrament of penance, the ſacrament of orders, the power of the keys, the preaching of the goſpel, of marriages, of vows, of poſſeſſions, of the puniſhing and correcting of the clergy, of the laws and decrees of the church, of the ſtate and condition of the pope and the clergy; of all theſe generally, he left divers monuments gravely and exactly written, part whereof here in the end of his ſtory we thought to exhibit, being tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh.

The articles which he taught, and afterward was forced to recant at Paul's croſs, were theſe hereafter following:

1. That in the ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration, there is not, neither can be any accident without the ſubject; but there verily remaineth the ſame ſubſtance, and the very viſible and corruptible bread, and likewiſe the very ſame wine the which before the conſecration were ſet upon the altar to be conſecrated of the prieſt; likewiſe as when a pagan or infidel is baptized, he is ſpiritually converted into a member of Chriſt thro' grace, and yet remaineth the very ſame man which he before was in his proper nature and ſubſtance.

2. Auricular confeſſion or private penance, is a certain whiſpering, deſtroying the liberty of the goſpel, and newly brought in by the pope and the clergy, to intangle the conſciences of men in ſin, and to draw their ſouls into hell.

3. Every laymen being holy and predeſtinate unto everlaſting life (albeit he be a laymen) yet he be a true prieſt before God.

4. That divers prelates and other of the clergy do live wickedly, contrary to the doctrine and example of Chriſt and his apoſtles: therefore they which ſo live, have not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, or yet of hell; neither ought any chriſtian to eſteem his cenſure any more than as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the pope ſhould peradventure interdict the realm, yet could he not hurt, but rather profit us, foraſmuch as thereby we ſhould be diſmiſſed from the obſervation of his laws, and from ſaying of ſervice according to the cuſtom of the church.

5. If any man do make an oath or vow, to keep perpetual chaſtity, or do any thing elſe whereunto God hath not appointed him, giving him grace to perform his purpoſe; the ſame vow or oath is unreaſonable and indiſcreet, neither can any prelate compel him to keep the ſame, except he will do contrary to God's ordinance. But he ought to commit him unto the governance of the Holy Ghoſt, and of his own conſcience; foraſmuch as every man, which will not fulfil his vow or oath, cannot do it for that cauſe.

6. Whoſoever taketh upon him the office of prieſthood, although he have not the charge of ſouls committed unto him, according to the cuſtom of the church, not only may, but ought to preach the goſpel freely unto the people; otherwiſe he is a thief, excommunicated of God, and of the holy church.

7. That Innocentius the third, pope, and ſix hundred biſhops, and a thouſand other prelates, with all the reſt of the clergy, which together with the ſame pope agreed and determined, that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the converſion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Chriſt, the accidents of the ſaid bread and wine do remain there without any proper ſubject of the ſame; the which alſo ordained, that all chriſtians ought to confeſs their ſins once a year unto a proper prieſt, and to receive the reverend ſacrament at Eaſter, and make certain other laws at the ſame time: all they, ſaith he, in ſo doing, were fools and blockheads, heretics, blaſphemers, and ſeducers of chriſtian people. Wherefore we ought not to believe the determination of them, or of their ſucceſſors, neither ought we to obey their laws or ordinances, except they be plainly grounded upon the holy ſcripture, or upon ſome reaſon which cannot be impugned.

Other Articles drawn out of Purvey's Books more at large, by Richard Levingham.

AS touching the ſacrament of thankſgiving, he ſaith, That the chapter of repentance and remiſſion, Omnis utriuſque ſexus, wherein is ordained, "That every faithful man ought once every year at the leaſt, that is to ſay, at Eaſter, to receive the ſacrament of the Euchariſt," is a beaſtly thing, heretical and blaſphemous.

Item, That Innocentius the third, pope, was the head of antichriſt, who after the letting looſe of Satan, invented a new article of our faith, and a certain feigned verity touching the ſacrament of the altar, that is to ſay, that the ſacrament of the altar is an accident without a ſubſtance, or elſe an heap of accidents without a ſubſtance. But Chriſt and his apoſtles do teach manifeſtly, that the ſacrament of the altar is bread, and the body of Chriſt together, after the manner that he ſpake. And in that he calleth it bread, he would have the people to underſtand, as they ought with reaſon, "That it is very and ſubſtantial bread, and no falſe or feigned bread."

And although Innocentius, that antichriſt, doth alledge, that in the council at Lyons, where this matter was decided, were ſix hundred biſhops with him, and one thouſand prelates, which were in one opinion of this determination: all thoſe notwithſtanding, he called fools, according to that ſaying of Eccleſ. 1. "Of fools there are an infinite number." And ſo in like manner, he calleth them falſe Chriſts, and falſe prophets, of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh in the 24th of Matthew, "Many falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets ſhall ariſe, and deceive many." And therefore every chriſtian man ought to believe firmly, that the ſacrament of the altar is very bread indeed, and no falſe nor feigned bread. And although it be very bread indeed, yet notwithſtanding it is the very body of Chriſt in that ſort he ſpake, and called it his body; and ſo it is very bread, and the very body of Chriſt.

And as Chriſt concerning his humanity was both viſible and paſſible, and by his divinity was inviſible and impaſſible: ſo likewiſe this ſacrament, in that it is very bread, may be ſeen with the corporal eye, and may alſo abide corruption. But altho' a man may ſee that ſacrament, yet notwithſtanding cannot the body of Chriſt in that ſacrament be ſeen with the corporal eye, altho' it be the body of Chriſt in that manner he ſpake it: for that notwithſtanding the body of Chriſt is now incorruptible in heaven. So the ſacrament of the cup is very wine, and the very blood of Chriſt, according as his manner of ſpeaking was.

Alſo Innocentius the third, with a great multitude of his ſecular prieſts, made a certain new determination, "That the ſacrament of the altar is an accident without a ſubſtance;" whereas neither Jeſus Chriſt, nor any of his apoſtles, taught this faith (but openly and manifeſtly to the contrary), neither yet the holy doctors, for the ſpace of a thouſand years and more, taught this faith openly.

Therefore when antichriſt or any of his ſhavelings doth aſk of thee that art a ſimple chriſtian, Whether that this ſacrament be the very body of Chriſt, or not? affirm thou it manifeſtly ſo to be. And if he aſk of thee,

thee, whether it be material bread, or wheat, or other bread elſe? ſay thou, that it is ſuch bread as Chriſt underſtood and meant by his proper word; and ſuch bread as the Holy Ghoſt meant in St. Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he brake: and wade thou no further therein. If he aſk thee how this bread is the body of Chriſt? ſay thou, as Chriſt underſtood the ſame to be his body, which is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no untruth; ſay thou alſo as the holy doctors do ſay, "That the terreſtrial matter or ſubſtance may be converted into Chriſt, as the pagan or infidel may be baptized, and hereby ſpiritually be converted, and be a member of Chriſt, and ſo after a certain manner become Chriſt, and yet the ſame man remain ſtill in his proper nature." For ſo doth St. Auguſtine grant, that a ſinner forſaking his ſin, and being made one Spirit with God by faith, grace, and charity, may be converted into God, and be after a manner God; as both David and St. John do teſtify, and yet be the ſame perſon in ſubſtance and nature, and in ſoul and virtue be altered and changed.

But yet men of more knowledge and reaſon may more plainly convince the falſity of antichriſt both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the Holy Ghoſt working in them. Notwithſtanding, if thoſe that be ſimple men will humbly hold and keep the manifeſt and apparent words of the holy ſcripture, and the plain ſenſe and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, and proceed no further, but humbly commit that unto the Spirit of God, which paſſeth their underſtanding, then they may ſafely offer themſelves to death as true martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt.

As touching the ſacrament of penance; that chapter Omnis utriuſque ſexus, by which a new certain found auricular confeſſion was ordained, is full of hypocriſy, hereſy, covetouſneſs, pride, and blaſphemy, he ſaith, and reproveth the ſame chapter verbatim, and that by the ſentences of the ſame proceſs.

Alſo, that the penance and pains limited by the canons be unreaſonable and unjuſt, for the auſterity and rigorouſneſs which they contain, more than are taxed by God's law. He alſo doth exemplify of the ſolemn and public denial of penitents to be received into orders, according to the decree of the general council, Diſt. 50 cap. Ex pœnitentibus.

Alſo of the ſeven-fold penitence of a prieſt committing fornication, according to the chapter Preſbyter, Diſt. 82. And further ſheweth another example of the penance of prieſts, according to that cap. Qui preſbyterium, &c. Whereas the decretal of the general council ſaith, "That ſuch a one ought to remain continuing his life in the wars, and not to marry. And how Innocent the third brought in a new-found confeſſion, whereby the prieſts do oppreſs the ſimple laymen.

And that many other things they do, compelling them to confeſs themſelves to blind and ignorant prieſts, in whom is nothing elſe but pride and covetouſneſs, having ſuch in contempt as are learned and wiſe.

Alſo that the decretal of Innocentius the third, touching the foreſaid auricular or vocal confeſſion was brought in and invented to intricate and intangle mens conſciences with ſin, and to draw them down to hell.

And furthermore, that ſuch manner of confeſſion deſtroyeth the evangelical liberty, and doth lett men to enquire after, and to retain the wiſe counſel and doctrine of ſuch as be good prieſts, which know faithfully how to obſerve his precepts and commandments, and which would willingly teach the people the right way to heaven. For which abuſe all chriſtian men, and ſpecially all Engliſhmen, ought to exclaim againſt ſuch wicked laws.

As touching the ſacrament of order, he ſaith, "That all good chriſtians are predeſtinate, and be ordained of God, and made true prieſts to offer Chriſt in themſelves, and to Chriſt themſelves: as alſo to teach and preach the goſpel to their neighbours, as well in word, as in example of living." But the worldly ſhavelings do more magnify the naked and bare ſigns of prieſthood (invented by ſinful men) than the true and perfect prieſthood of God, grounded by a true and living faith, annexed with good works.

Alſo if it were needful to have ſuch ſhavelings, God knoweth how, and can make, when it pleaſeth him, prieſts (without man's working and ſinful ſigns, that is to ſay, without either ſacraments or characters) to be known and diſcerned of the people by their virtuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God. For ſo made he the firſt-made prieſts and elders before the law of Moſes; and ſo made he Moſes a prieſt before Aaron, and before the ceremonies of the law, without man's operation at all, and even ſo hath God made all ſuch as are predeſtinate to be his prieſts. But ſuch as be true chriſtians receive none ſuch as prieſts, unleſs they follow Chriſt and his apoſtles: neither do they believe that they make the ſacrament of the altar (which they affirm to be God's body) when it pleaſeth them, leſt haply God be not with them, foraſmuch as they do this thing for covetouſneſs ſake, or elſe to brag of their own power. And therefore ſuch as be ſimple men will worſhip that ſacrament in this doubtfulneſs, with a ſilent condition; that is, if it be made by God's authority, and have their devotion to the body of Chriſt in heaven. Alſo, that ſuch as be elders, if they be God's prieſts, be biſhops, prelates, and curates of their chriſtian brethren, whom they may lead to heaven by the example of their holy converſation, and by preaching of the goſpel, although they make no ſacrifice to that antichriſt of Rome for their confirmation: neither be they dedicated to the world by ſecular divine things, and by conſuming the livings of the poor, as be thoſe ſecular biſhops, prelates, and curates.

Alſo that although there were no pope, according as the cuſtom of the church is, yet Chriſt, which is the head of his church, doth ordain ſuch a pope as pleaſeth him; and that is, whoſoever is moſt humble and lowly, and beſt doth the office of a true prieſt, although he be unknown to the world; and although there were no ſuch proud biſhop above all the reſt, as the church doth uſe, yet all the prieſts might well govern the church by common aſſent, as once they did, before ſuch worldly pride crept in among the biſhops, &c. And admit that no ſuch prieſts were according to the accuſtomed uſe now of receiving of order and tonſure, by ſuch mitred biſhop and his tonſure; yet Chriſt knoweth both how to make and chuſe ſuch as ſhall well pleaſe him both in converſation of life, and ſincere preaching of the goſpel, in miniſtering to his people all neceſſary ſacraments. And every holy man, which is a miniſter of Chriſt, altho' he be not ſhaven, is a true prieſt ordained of God, altho' no mitred biſhop ever lay his character upon him. So that the pope or prelates do make more eſtimation of their characters (as tonſures and crowns by them invented) than of the true and perfect prieſthood ordained of God; whereas all thoſe that are predeſtinate are true prieſts made of him.

As touching the authority of the keys and cenſures, no chriſtian man ought to eſteem Satan (whom men call the pope) and his unjuſt cenſures, more than the hiſſing of a ſerpent, or the blaſt of Lucifer.

Alſo that no man ought to truſt or put confidence in the falſe indulgences of covetous prieſts, which indulgences do draw away the hope which men ought to repoſe in God, to a ſort of ſinful men, and do rob the poor of ſuch alms as is given to them. Such prieſts be manifeſt betrayers of Chriſt and of the whole church, and be Satan's own ſtewards to beguile chriſtian ſouls by their hypocriſy and feigned pardons.

Alſo foraſmuch as thoſe prelates and clergymen lived ſo execrable a life, contrary to the goſpel of Chriſt, and examples of his apoſtles, and teach not truly the goſpel, but only lyes and the traditions of ſinful wicked men, it appeareth moſt manifeſtly, that they have not the

the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but rather the keys of hell. And they may be right well aſſured, that God never gave unto them authority to make and eſtabliſh ſo many ceremonies and traditions which be contrary to the liberty of the goſpel, and are blocks in chriſtian mens ways, that they can neither know nor obſerve the ſame his goſpel in liberty of conſcience, and ſo attain a ready way to heaven.

Alſo that all manner of religious men, notwithſtanding the chapter Religioſi, touching the privileges in the Clementines, may lawfully miniſter all ſacraments to them that are worthy the ſame; foraſmuch as the ſame is a work of charity, which only the will and ordinance of the pope in his fautors in this caſe is to hinder and lett.

Item, If the pope ſhall interdict this our realm, that cannot hurt us, but much profit us, becauſe that thereby he ſhould ſeparate us from all his wicked laws, and from the charges of ſuſtaining of ſo many thouſand ſhavelings, which with ſmall devotion, or none at all, patter and chatter a new-found ſong, Secundum uſum Sarum. So that not whatſoever the pope in his general council bindeth on earth, is bound of God in heaven, either for that he bindeth unreaſonably, and contradictorily doth againſt himſelf, or elſe for that he hath forſaken the judgment of God.

As touching the preaching of the goſpel, "Whoſoever receiveth or taketh upon him the office of a prieſt, or of a biſhop, and diſchargeth not the ſame by the example of his good converſation and faithful preaching of the goſpel, is a thief, excommunicate of God and of holy church. And further, If the curates preach not the word of God, they ſhall be damned; and if they know not how to preach, they ought to reſign their benefices." So that thoſe prelates which preach not the goſpel of Chriſt (although they could excuſe themſelves from the doing of any other evil) are dead in themſelves, are antichriſts, and ſatans, transfigured into angels of light, night thieves, manquellers by day light, and betrayers of Chriſt his people.

Concerning the ſacrament of matrimony: Notwithſtanding any ſpiritual kindred or goſſopry, a man and woman may lawfully marry together by the law of God, without any diſpenſation papiſtical. And in the ſame place he ſaith, That if our realm do admit one not born in matrimony, illegitimate, to the imperial crown, ſo that he doth well diſcharge the office of a king, God maketh him a king, and by conſequence doth reject another king, or heir of the kingdom, being born in matrimony, and legitimate; ſo for ſuch ſpiritual kindred there ought no divorce to be made.

Alſo notwithſtanding the cap. Si inter ſe ſponſalibus: If any man ſhall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tenſe, by an oath taken, and afterwards ſhall with another woman make the like contract by the words of the preſent tenſe; that then the ſecond contract ſtandeth.

Alſo if any man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tenſe, upon his oath taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another, not altering the words, and hath carnal copulation upon the ſame, the firſt contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the ſecond.

Alſo if a man before witneſs aſſure himſelf to a woman by a contract made in the preſent tenſe, and hath children by the ſame woman, and afterward the ſame man marrieth another woman, with the like words in the preſent tenſe before witneſs, altho' the firſt witneſs be dead, or elſe by bribes corrupt, and the ſecond bring his witneſſes before the judge to prove the ſecond contract, the firſt contract yet ſtandeth in force, altho' the pope (allowing the ſecond contract) doth compel them to live in adultery againſt the commandment of God.

Alſo he condemneth the decretal of the reſtitution of things ſtolen, cap. Literas tuas: which willeth that a man and woman having carnal copulation in the degree of conſanguinity forbidden, and hath no witneſs hereof; if the woman will depart from the man, ſhe ſhall be compelled by the cenſures to remain with him, and to yield her debt.

Alſo in caſe where a man hath made contract with two women, with one ſecretly, having no witneſs, and with the other openly, having witneſs, then were it better to acknowledge the inſufficiency of the law, and to ſuffer men to be ruled by their own conſciences, than by the cenſures to compel them to commit and live in adultery.

As touching the keeping and making of vows: that vow or oath is beaſtly, and is without all diſcretion made, which to perform and keep a man hath no power but by grace given him of God; becauſe that ſome ſuch there be, whom God doth not accept to perſevere in the ſtate of chaſtity and perpetual virginity; and ſuch a one cannot keep his vow, although he make the ſame.

Alſe that every one, making a vow of continency or chaſtity, when making the ſame he ſhall not be accepted of God, doth very undiſcretely, and as one without all reaſon maketh the ſame, when he is not able of himſelf, without the gift of God, to fulfil his promiſe, according to that ſaying of the wiſe man, chap. 8. "No man hath the gift of continency, unleſs that God give it unto him." For otherwiſe, if God help not ſuch a one to perform the vow or oath which he hath made and taken, no prelate can compel him, unleſs he do contrary to God's ordinance; but he ought to commit himſelf to the government of God's Holy Spirit, and his own conſcience.

For the poſſeſſions of the church, in another Treatiſe it is declared, how the king, the lords, and commons, may without any charge at all keep fifteen garriſons, and find 15,000 ſoldiers (having ſufficient lands and revenues to live upon) out of the temporalities gotten into the hands of the clergy, and feigned religious men, which never do that which pertaineth to the office of curates to do, nor yet to ſecular lords. And moreover, the king may have every year 20,000 pounds to come freely into his coffers, and above.

Alſo he may find or ſuſtain fifteen colleges more, and 15,000 prieſts and clerks with ſufficient living, and an hundred hoſpitals for the ſick, and every houſe to have one hundred marks in lands. And all this may they take of the foreſaid temporalities, without any charge to the realm; whereunto the king, the lords, and the commons, are to be invited. For otherwiſe there ſeemeth to hang over our heads a great and marvellous alteration of this realm, unleſs the ſame be put in execution.

Alſo, if the ſecular prieſts and feigned religious, which be ſimoniacs and heretics, which feign themſelves to ſay maſs, and yet ſay none at all, according to the canons, which to their purpoſe they bring and alledge, 1. q. 3. Audivimus, & cap. Pudenda, & cap. Schiſma; by which chapter ſuch prieſts and religious do not make the ſacrament of the altar, that then all chriſtians, eſpecially all the founders of ſuch abbies, and endowers of biſhopricks, priories, and chanteries, ought to amend this fault and treaſon committed againſt their predeceſſors, by taking from them ſuch ſecular dominions which are the maintenance of all their ſins. And alſo that chriſtian lords and princes are bound to take away from the clergy ſuch ſecular dominion as nouſleth and nouriſheth them in hereſies, and ought to reduce them unto the ſimple and poor life of Chriſt Jeſus and his apoſtles.

And further, that all chriſtian princes (if they will amend the malediction and blaſphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their temporalities from that ſhaven generation, which moſt of all doth nouriſh them

in ſuch malediction. And ſo in like wiſe the fat tithes from churches appropriate to rich monks, and other religious, feigned by manifeſt lying, and other unlawful means; likewiſe ought to debar their gold to the proud prieſt of Rome, which doth poiſon all Chriſtendom with ſimony and hereſy.

Further, that it is a great abomination that biſhops, monks, and other prelates, be ſo great lords in this world, whereas Chriſt with his apoſtles and diſciples never took upon them ſecular dominion, neither did they appropriate unto them churches, as theſe men do, but led a poor life, and gave a good teſtimony of their prieſthood. And therefore all chriſtians ought to the uttermoſt of their power and ſtrength to ſwear that they will reduce ſuch ſhavelings to the humility and power of Chriſt and his apoſtles; and whoſoever doth thus, conſenteth to their hereſy.

Alſo that theſe two chapters of the immunity of churches are to be condemned, that is, cap. Non minus, and cap. Adverſus; becauſe they do decree, that temporal lords may neither require tallages nor tenths of any eccleſiaſtical perſons.

Now to the correction of the clergy. By the law of God, and by reaſon the king and all other chriſtians may take revenge of Italy, and of all the falſe prieſts and clerks within the ſame, and reduce them unto the humble ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt.

Alſo that the law of Silveſter the pope, which is declared in 2. q 5. cap. Præſul, and cap. Nullam, is contrary to the law of Chriſt and either teſtament. And that proud and ambitious Silveſter by his law ſo defended two cardinals which were not to be defended by the law of Chriſt, that by no means they might be convinced, although they were both vicious and evil. And altho' Chriſt ſuſtained and ſuffered the judgment of unjuſt temporal judges, our mitred prelates in theſe days ſo magnify themſelves beyond Chriſt and his apoſtles, that they refuſe and will none of ſuch judgments.

Alſo that thoſe decretals of accuſations, cap. Quando & Qualiter, which do prohibit that any clerks ſhould be brought before a ſecular judge to receive judgment, do contain both hereſy, blaſphemy and error, and bring great gain and commodity to antichriſt's coffers.

Furthermore, that all chriſtian kings and lords ought to exclaim againſt the pope, and thoſe that be his fautors, and baniſh them out of their lands, till ſuch time as they will obey God and his goſpel, kings, and other miniſters of God's juſtice. Alſo that biſhops and their favourers, that ſay it appertaineth not to kings and ſecular lords, but to them and their officials, to puniſh adultery and fornication, do fall into manifeſt treaſon againſt the king, and hereſy againſt the ſcripture. Alſo that it appertaineth to the king to have the order both of prieſts and biſhops, as theſe kings Solomon and Jehoſaphat had.

Furthermore, that chapter, Nullus judicium de foro competenti, by the which ſecular judges are forbidden, without the biſhop's commandment, to condemn any clerk to death, is manifeſtly againſt the holy ſcripture, declaring that kings have power over clerks and prieſts to puniſh them for their deſerved crimes. Alſo that the decree of Boniface de pœnis in 9 cap. Felicis, made againſt the proſecutors, ſtrikers, and impriſoners of cardinals, is contrary both to the holy ſcripture, and to all reaſon. Alſo that by the law of God and reaſon, a ſecular lord may lawfully take a cardinal and put him to priſon for committing the crime of open ſimony, adultery, and maniſeſt blaſphemy.

Alſo that the chapter Si Papa, Diſt. 40. which ſaith that the pope ought to be judged of none, unleſs he be Devius à fide, is contrary to the goſpel, which ſaith, If thy brother ſin againſt thee, correct him.

Alſo whereas St. Gregory and St. Auguſtine called themſelves the ſervants of God's ſervants, this proud biſhop of Rome, which will not be judged by his ſubjects (which be in very deed his lords, if they be juſt and good men) doth deſtroy the order of God's law, and all humility, and doth extoll himſelf above God and his apoſtles.

Alſo that chriſtian kings ought not only to judge this proud biſhop of Rome, but alſo to depoſe him by the example that Ceſtrenſis, lib 6. cap. 8. declareth of Otho the emperor, which depoſed John the twelfth, and did inſtitute Leo in his place. And further he maketh an exhortation to the princes to judge the church of Rome, which he calleth the great and curſed ſtrumpet, of whom St. John writeth in Rev. 17.

Laſtly, touching the laws and determinations of the church: chriſtians have reaſonable excuſes and cauſes to repel the ſtatutes of the pope and of his ſhavelings, which be not expreſly grounded on the holy ſcripture, or elſe upon reaſon inevitable.

Alſo he ſaith, That ſuch ſecular men as do not receive the ſacrament of the altar at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide, are not to be counted amongſt the number of chriſtians, nor are to be eſteemed as chriſtians; whereby it followeth that all clerks and laymen that obſerve not the ſame, it ſeemeth they go ſtrait to hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the cuſtom and uſe in receiving is contrary to the ſame, then may we bleſs ſuch rebellion and diſobedience to the pope, and his law; for otherwiſe we ſhould flee to hell without any ſtay or lett. Whereby we may conclude, that all chriſtians ought well to practiſe this ſchool of diſobedience againſt the pope and all his laws (not founded upon the ſcripture) which do lett men to climb to heaven by the keeping of charity, and the liberty of the goſpel.

Alſo that chriſtian men have great cauſe to refuſe the laws and ſtatutes of theſe worldly clerks, which the people call the papal laws, and biſhoplike ſtatutes, for the covetouſneſs and voluptuouſneſs of them; without the which the church and congregation of God might ſafely run towards heaven by the ſweet yoke of the Lord, as it did a thouſand years before the ſaid laws were preſcribed and ſent to the univerſities, and withdrew men from ſtudying of the holy ſcripture, for the deſire of benefices and worldly goods.

Alſo that ſimple men do reverently receive the ſentences of the doctors and other laws, ſo far forth as they be expreſly grounded upon the holy ſcripture or good reaſon.

Alſo that whereas the pope's laws, and laws of his miniſters and clerks, be both contrary to themſelves, and have not their foundation either upon the ſcripture, or yet upon reaſon, ſimple men ought to bid them farewel.

Alſo that when all the apoſtles' faith failed them in the time of the Lord's paſſion, faith then reſted in the bleſſed virgin; much more might that proud prieſt of Rome, with all his rabble, eaſily err in the faith; and yet is the chriſtian faith preſerved whole and ſafe in the faithful members of Chriſt, which are his true church; but the pope and all his rabblement cannot prove that they be any part of his church.

Alſo that the pope with all his fautors may as well be deceived by a lying ſpirit, as was Ahab and all his prophets; and that one true prophet, as was Micheas, may have the verity ſhewed unto him, Contra concilium.

Alſo that all good chriſtians ought to caſt from them the pope's laws, ſaying, Let us break their bands in ſunder, and let us caſt from our necks thoſe heavy yokes of theirs.

Alſo that where theſe prelates do burn one good book for one error perhaps contained in the ſame, they ought to burn all the books of the common law, for the manifold hereſies contained in them.

In the year of our Lord 1409, afterward in the year next following, anno 1410, the cardinals of both the popes, to wit, of Gregorius and Benedictus, by common advice aſſembled together at the city of Piſe, for the reformation of unity and peace in the church. To

the which aſſembly, a great multitude of prelates and biſhops being convented, a new pope was choſen, named Alexander the fifth. But to this election, neither Gregorius nor Benedictus did fully agree. Whereby there were three popes together in the Roman church, that is to underſtand, not three crowns upon one pope's head, but three heads in one popiſh church together. This Alexander, being newly made pope, ſcarcely had well warmed his triple crown, but ſtrait giveth out full remiſſion, not of a few, but all manner of ſins whatſoever, to all them that conferred any thing to the monaſtery of St. Bartholomew by Smithfield, reſorting to the ſaid church any of theſe days following; to wit, on Maundy-Thurſday, Good-Friday, Eaſter even, the feaſt of the Annunciation, from the firſt even ſong to the latter. But this pope, which was ſo liberal in giving remiſſion of many years to other, was not able to give one year of life to himſelf, for within the ſame year he died. In whoſe ſtead ſtept up pope John 23.

In the time of this Alexander great ſtir began in the country of Bohemia, by the occaſion of the books of John Wickliff, which then coming to the hands of John Hus, and of other both men and women, eſpecially of the lay ſort, and artificers, began there to do much good. Inſomuch that divers of them, not only men, but women alſo, partly by the reading of their books tranſlated into their tongue, partly by the ſetting forward of John Hus, a notable learned man, and a ſingular preacher at that time in the univerſity of Prague, were in ſhort time ſo ripe in judgment, and prompt in the ſcriptures, that they began to move queſtions, yea and to reaſon with the prieſts, touching matters of the holy ſcriptures.

By reaſon whereof, complaint was brought to the ſaid pope Alexander the fifth, who cauſed eftſoons the forenamed John Hus to be cited up to Rome. But when he came not at the pope's citation, then the ſaid pope Alexander addreſſed his letters to the archbiſhop of Swinco. Wherein he ſtraitly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority apoſtolical, all manner of preachings or ſermons to be made to the people, but only in cathedral churches or colleges, or pariſh-churches, or in monaſteries, or elſe in their church-yards. And that the articles of Wickliff ſhould in no caſe, of any perſon, of what ſtate, condition, or degree ſoever, be ſuffered to be holden, taught, or defended, either privily or apertly. Commanding moreover and charging the ſaid archbiſhop, that he with four bachelors of divinity, and two doctors of the canon law joined unto him, would proceed upon the ſame, and ſo provide that no perſon in churches, ſchools, or any other place, ſhould teach, defend, or approve any of the aforeſaid articles. So that whoſoever ſhould attempt the contrary, ſhould be accounted an heretic, and unleſs he ſhall revoke ſolemnly and publicly the ſaid articles, and ſhall for ever abjure the books wherein the foreſaid articles be contained, ſo that they may be utterly aboliſhed out from the eyes of the faithful; the ſame ſhould be apprehended and impriſoned, all appellation ſet apart, the help alſo of the ſecular arm being called thereunto, if need ſhall require, &c. Theſe were the contents of this mighty and fierce bull of pope Alexander.

Againſt the which bull on the other ſide John Hus, juſtly complaining, excepteth again and objecteth many things, as appeareth in his book, intitled, De Eccleſia, cap. 18. Where he declareth this mandate of the pope to ſtand directly againſt the doings and ſayings both of Chriſt and of his apoſtles; conſidering how Chriſt himſelf preached to the people, both in the ſea, in the deſart, in fields, in houſes, in ſynagogues, in villages; and the apoſtles alſo in all places did the ſame, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared moreover, the ſaid mandate or bull of the pope to redound unto the great detriment of the church, in binding the word of God, that it might not have his free paſſage. Alſo, the ſame to be prejudicial unto chapels newly erected for the word to be preached in them. Wherefore (ſaith he) from this commandment or mandate of pope Alexander, I did appeal unto the ſaid Alexander, being better informed and adviſed. And as I was proſecuting my appeal, the lord pope (ſaith John Hus) immediately died.

Then the archbiſhop of Swinco aforeſaid, to whom this preſent bull was directed, when he ſaw the proceſs, bulls and mandates of the biſhop of Rome to be thus contemned of John Hus and his fellows, neither having any hope of redreſs in Winceſlaus the king, which ſeemed to neglect the matter, went out of the country into Hungary, to complain unto Sigiſmund king of Hungary, and brother to the ſaid Winceſlaus. But this quarrelling archbiſhop, whether before (as the Bohemians ſay) or after (as Silvius ſaith) that he had ſpoken with Sigiſmund; immediately there, by the juſt judgment of God, died in Hungary, as the ſtory ſaith, for ſorrow. Whereby a little more liberty and quiet was given by the Lord unto his goſpel, newly beginning to take root among the Bohemians. Albeit this tranquillity there did not long continue without trouble and perſecution, neither could it in thoſe furious days and reign of antichriſt. For after this Alexander ſucceeded pope John the 23d. Who, likewiſe playing his part in this tragedy, bent all his might and main to diſturb the Bohemians, as more hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in further proceſs of our hiſtory, coming to the year of our Lord 1413.

Thus the poor chriſtians (as ye ſee) like to the ſilly Iſraelites under the tyranny of Pharaoh, were infeſted and oppreſſed in every place, but eſpecially here in England, and that ſo much the more here, becauſe that the king, not like to Winceſlaus, went full and whole with the pope and his prelates againſt the goſpellers.

By reaſon whereof the kingdom of the pope and his members here in this realm began to be ſo ſtrong, that none durſt ſtir or once mute againſt them. The biſhops having the king ſo full on their ſide, armed moreover with laws, ſtatutes, puniſhments, ſword, fire and faggot, reigned and ruled as they liſted, as kings and princes within themſelves. So ſtrong were they of power, that no human force was able to ſtand againſt them: ſo exalted in pride, and puft up in glory, that they thought all things to be ſubject to their reverend majeſties. Whatſoever they ſet forth or decreed, it muſt of all men be received and obeyed.

And ſuch was their ſuperſtitious blindneſs and curious vanity, that whatſoever toy came once in their fantaſy; it was ſtraitways determined and ſtabliſhed for a law of all men to be obſerved, were it never ſo frivolous or ſuperſtitious; as well appeareth by Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury and other, who having now a little leiſure from ſlaying and killing the innocent people, martyrs and confeſſors of the Lord, and having now brought their enemies, as they thought, under feet; began to ſet up themſelves, and to invent new cuſtom, as the guiſe is of the pope's church, ever to intrude into the church of God ſome ceremony or cuſtom of their own making, whereby the church of Chriſt hath been hitherto exceedingly peſtered. So likewiſe this Thomas Arundel, thinking the church yet not ſufficiently ſtuffed with ceremonies and vain traditions of men, bringeth in a new found gaud, commonly called, The tolling of Aves, in honour of our lady, with certain Aves to be ſaid, and days of pardon to be given for the ſame. For the ratification whereof, under the pretence of the king's requeſt, he directed his mandate to the biſhop of London, well ſtuffed with words of idolatry, as by the reading thereof may appear, in form of terms as followeth.

A Man-

A Mandate of Thomas Arundel, directed to the Biſhop of London, to warn Men to ſay certain Prayers at the tolling of the Aves, or ringing of Curphew.

THOMAS, &c. To the right reverend brother, the lord Robert, by the grace of God biſhop of London, greeting, &c. While we lift our eyes round about us, and behold attentively with circumſpect conſideration, how the moſt high Word that was in the beginning with God, choſe to him an holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly ſtock, in whoſe womb he took true fleſh by inſpiral inſpiration, that the merciful goodneſs of the Son of God, that was uncreate, might aboliſh the ſentence of condemnation, which all the poſterity of mankind, that was created, had by ſin incurred: amongſt other labours in the vine of the Lord of ſabbath, we ſung to God our Saviour with great joy in him, carefully thinking, that though all the people of the chriſtian religion did extol with voices of praiſes ſo excellent a virgin, by whom we received the beginning of our redemption, by whom the holy day firſt ſhined to us, which gave us hope of ſalvation; and although all the ſame people were drawn to reverence her, which being a happy virgin, conceived the Son of God, the King of heaven, the Redeemer and Saviour of all nations, miniſtering light to the people that were miſerably drowned in the darkneſs of death: We truly as the ſervants of her own inheritance, and ſuch as are written of, to be of her peculiar dower, as we are by every man's confeſſion acknowledged to be, we I ſay ought more watchfully than any others to ſhew the endeavours of our devotion in praiſing her. Who being hitherto merciful to us, yea being even cowards, would that our power, being as it were ſpread abroad every where through all the coaſts of the world, ſhould with a victorious arm fear all foreign nations; that our power, being on all ſides ſo defended with the buckler of her protection, did ſubdue unto our victorious ſtandards, and made ſubject unto us, nations both near at hand and far off.

Likewiſe our happy eſtate, all the time that we have paſſed ſince the beginning of our lives, may be well attributed only to the help of her medicine; to whom alſo we may worthily aſcribe now of late in theſe our times, under the mighty government of our moſt chriſtian king, our deliverance from the ravening wolves, and the mouths of cruel beaſts, which had prepared againſt our banquets a meſs of meat mingled full of gall, and hated us unjuſtly, ſecretly lying in wait for us, in recompence of the good will that we ſhewed to them. Wherefore, that ſhe being on high, ſitting before the throne of the heavenly majeſty, and defendreſs and patroneſs of us all, being magnified with all mens praiſes, may more plentifully exhibit to us the ſons of adoption the teats of her grace, in all thoſe things that we ſhall have to do; at the requeſt of the ſpecial devotion of our lord the king himſelf, we command your brotherhood, ſtraitly enjoining you, that you command the ſubjects of your city and dioceſe, and of all other ſuffragans, to worſhip our lady Mary the mother of God, and our patroneſs and protectreſs evermore in all adverſity, with ſuch like kind of prayer and accuſtomed manner of ringing, as the devotion of Chriſt's faithful people is wont to worſhip her at the ringing of Covre le feu. And when before day in the morning ye ſhall cauſe them to ring, that with like manner of prayer and ringing ſhe be every where honoured devoutly by the aforeſaid our and your ſuffragans, and their ſubjects, as well religious as ſecular, in your and their monaſteries and collegiate churches: that we ſo humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Father, the right hand of the heavenly piety may mercifully come to the help, the protection and defence of the ſame our lord the king, who, for the happy remedy of quietneſs, and for our ſuccour from tempeſtuous floods, is ready to apply his hands to work, and his eyes with all his whole deſire to watching. We therefore coveting more earneſtly to ſtir up the minds of all faithful people to ſo devout an exerciſe of God, &c. We grant by theſe preſents, to all and every man, &c. that ſhall ſay the Lord's prayer and the ſalutation of the angel five times at the morning-peal with a devout mind, toties quoties, how oft ſoever, forty days pardon by theſe preſents. Given under our ſeal in our manor of Lambeth, the tenth day of Febr. anno noſtræ tranſlat. 9. Ex Regiſt. Thom. Arundel.

By this frivolous and barbarous conſtitution, with many other of like ſort heaped into the church by the papiſts, appeareth the proper natures and condition of this catholic generation. Who being themſelves not greatly exerciſed and experienced in any ſerious cogitation of ſpiritual matter, as ſeemeth, take upon them to govern the ſpiritual church of Chriſt, whereof indeed they have no ſkill, or very little. And therefore, according to their unſkilful handling, they lead and rule the church after ſuch outward ſights and ceremonies, ſeemly perhaps to their own groſs affections; but not agreeing, nay rather clean contrary, to the right nature and condition of the ſpiritual houſe and kingdom of the Lord. And like as in their inventions they ſwerve utterly from the right handling of ſpiritual government; ſo in their manners and form of life likewiſe they do reſemble little or no part almoſt of ſuch as are and ought to be true paſtors and miniſters of the myſtical body of Chriſt.

Examples hereof are plenty and plain, in theſe Roman prelates to be noted; who ſo well conſidering the humble ſtate and lowly ſpirit which ought to be in paſtoral leaders of the church, will compare the ſame with the uſual pomp of theſe glorious poteſtates.

As for example, what can be more convenient for a true paſtor eccleſiaſtical, than humility of heart and ſpirit, according to the example of the head biſhop himſelf? So what greater ſhew of arrogancy and pride could there be than in this, whom I have oft named before, Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury? who paſſing by the high ſtreet of London, did not only look and wait for the ringing of the bells, for a triumph of his coming, but took great ſnuff, and did ſuſpend all ſuch churches in London, not only with the ſteeple and bells, but alſo with the organs, ſo many as did not receive his coming with the noiſe of bells, according as out of his own regiſters may appear; the words whereof addreſſed to his own ſomner I have here to annexed in his own form, as followeth.

A Commiſſion directed to the Somner, to ſuſpend certain Churches of London, becauſe they rung not their Bells at the Preſence of my Lord the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

THomas, by the permiſſion of God, &c. To our well-beloved Thomas Wilton, our ſomner ſworn, health, grace, and bleſſing. The comelineſs of our holy church of Canterbury, over which we bear rule, deſerveth and requireth, that while we paſs through the province of the ſame our church (having our croſs carried before us) every pariſh church in their turns ought and are bounden, in token of ſpecial reverence that they bear to us, to ring their bells. Which notwithſtanding, yea on Tueſday laſt paſt, when we, betwixt eight and nine of the clock before dinner, paſſed openly on foot as it were through the midſt of the city of London, with our croſs carried before us; divers churches, whoſe names are here beneath noted, ſhewed towards us willingly (though they certainly knew of our coming) unreverence rather than reverence, and the duty that we owe to our church of Canterbury, ringing not at all at our coming. Wherefore we being willing to revenge this injury, for the

the honour of our ſpouſe, as we are bounden, command you, that by our authority you put all thoſe churches under our indictment, ſuſpending God's holy organs and inſtruments in the ſame. Which we alſo ſuſpend by the tenor of theſe preſents, till the miniſters of the aforeſaid churches be able hereafter to attain of us the benefit of more plentiful grace. Given, &c.

Of the like matter alſo we read in the ſaid regiſters, falling between the biſhop of Worceſter, and the priory of the ſame town, for not ringing at the biſhop's coming into the church. Whereupon much ſuit and contention was between them, till at length the archbiſhop of Canterbury took up the matter, moderating it, as in the ſaid regiſters, folio 441. appeareth to be ſeen as followeth:

UNiverſis, &c. Thomas, &c. Whereas there happened variance lately between our reverend brother the lord biſhop of Worceſter on the one party, and the religious and diſcreet men, the prior and covent of the ſame church, on the other party, for not ringing of bells at the coming of our ſaid brother to his foreſaid church, at length the parties (conſidering the great inconvenience that might come thereof) at our inſtance and requeſt did agree on this manner, that as often as it ſhall happen our reverend brother to go to his aforeſaid church, either to celebrate orders, or to viſit his church in the head or in the inferiors, or to make cream and oil in the ſame church; alſo in the feaſt of the aſſumption of the bleſſed virgin Mary, which is the chiefeſt feaſt in the abbey aforeſaid; then the prior and the covent, and their ſucceſſors for the time being, ſhall ring ſolemnly againſt his coming, or ſhall cauſe to be rung ſolemnly without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to be made againſt the ſame. Which agreement, that it may be more firmly kept, we let you all underſtand by theſe preſents, ſealed with our ſeal. Given at our palace of Canterbury, July 12, the tenth year of our government.

The like ſtir for bell-ringing and for proceſſions had almoſt happened between the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſucceſſor to this Thomas Arundel, named Henry Chichley, on the one party, and the abbey of St. Albans, on the other party, had not the abbot, in time ſubmitting himſelf to the archbiſhop, ſo provided, that the ringing of their bells at his coming might not redound to any derogation of their liberties. Whereunto the archbiſhop granted by theſe his letters as followeth:

HEnry, &c. to the religious men, the abbot and covent of the monaſtery of Saint Alban's, in the dioceſe of Lincoln, health, &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance between us and you the abbot and covent, by reaſon of not giving reverence to us, being due to our province of Canterbury; that is, for not ringing the bells, and meeting us with proceſſions, when we paſſed by divers places of our province, as well due of common cuſtom, as of old uſe, and for the prerogative of the church of Canterbury, as alſo being due of every one being within the compaſs of this our ſaid province, when and as often as we ſhall paſs by their places; at length your lord abbot (coming perſonally to us) did grant both for you and the covent aforeſaid, to do and to give of your gentleneſs all reverence and honour, with ſuch reverence both to us and our church of Canterbury, as often as we paſs by your monaſtery, or the places nigh or adjoining thereto, or ſhall hereafter go by; ſo that it might not be prejudicial to your exemption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your privilege; and that it might not be challenged for duty hereafter. Wherefore we, deſiring to keep you from damage, let you underſtand by theſe preſents, that it is not our intent to derogate your exemptions or privilege whatſoever herein; nor by any means to be prejudicial to you by theſe your reverences or other duties, whatſoever you have or ſhall grant to us of your devotion and liberality, both by you, and in all places under your dominion. In witneſs whereof, &c. Dated the 28th day of January, 1425, at Saint Alban's, the twelfth year of our government.

To expreſs, moreover, and deſcribe the glorious pomp of theſe prince-like prelates in theſe blind days of popiſh religion reigning then in the church, I thought to adjoin hereunto another example not much unlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certain poor men cited up, and injoined ſtrait penance by William Courtney, predeceſſor of the ſaid Thomas Arundel, for bringing litter to his horſe, not in wains, as they ſhould do, but in privy ſacks, in a ſecret manner under their cloaks or coats. For the which ſo heinous and horrible a treſpaſs, the ſaid archbiſhop, ſitting in his tribunal-ſeat, did call and cite before him the ſaid perſons (pro litera, i. e. for litter, after his own Latin) and after their ſubmiſſion injoined them penance. Which penance what it was, and what were the names of the foreſaid parties, here followeth out of the ſaid archbiſhop's regiſters.

In Engliſh.

IGnorance, the mother of error, ſo much hath blinded and deceived many perſons, to wit, Hugh Pennie, John Forſtall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John White, tenants of the lord of Wengham, that againſt the coming of the foreſaid archbiſhop to his palace of Canterbury on Palm-Sunday even, the year of our Lord 1390, where they being warned by the bailiff to convey and carry hay, ſtraw, and other litter to the aforeſaid palace, as they were bound by the tenor of their lands, which they hold of the ſee of Canterbury; refuſing and diſdaining to do their ſervice, as they were accuſtomed, brought their ſtraw and other litter not in carts and wains openly and ſufficiently, but by piece-meal, and cloſely in bags or ſacks, in contempt of their lord, and derogation of the right and title of the ſee of Canterbury. Whereupon they being aſcited and preſented before the archbiſhop, ſitting in judgment at his manor of Statewood, yielded and ſubmitted themſelves to his lordſhip's pleaſure, humbly craving pardon of their treſpaſs. Then the aforeſaid archbiſhop abſolved the above-named Hugh Pennie, &c. they ſwearing to obey the laws and ordinances of holy church, and to do the puniſhment that ſhould be appointed them for their deſerts; that is, that they going leiſurely before the proceſſion, every one of them ſhould carry openly on his ſhoulder his bag ſtuffed with hay and ſtraw; ſo that the ſaid hay and ſtraw ſhould appear hanging out, the mouths of the ſacks being open.

Notes of certain Parliament Matters paſſed in this King's Days.

TO proceed now further in the reign of this king, and to intreat alſo ſomething of his parliaments, as we have done of other before. Firſt, we will begin with the parliament holden in the firſt year of his coming in.

Moreover, forſomuch as our catholic papiſts will not believe yet the contrary, but that the juriſdiction of their father the pope hath ever extended throughout all the world, as well here in England, as in other places; here therefore ſpeaking of the parliaments holden in this king's days concerning this matter, I refer them to the parliament of the ſaid king Henry in his firſt year holden, and to the 27th article of the ſame. Where they may read in the tenth objection laid againſt king Richard in plain words, how that, foraſmuch as the crown

of this realm of England, and the jurisdiction belonging to the same; as also the whole realm itself, at all times lately past, hath been at such liberty, and injoined such prerogative, that neither the pope, nor any other out of the same kingdom, ought to intrude himself, nor intermeddle therein; it was therefore objected unto the forenamed king Richard the second, for procuring the letters apostolical from the pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certain statutes of his, and that his censures might be prosecuted against the breakers thereof. Which seemed then to the parliament to tend against the crown and regal dignity, as also against the statutes and liberties of this the said our realm of England, Act. Parl. An. 1. Reg. Hen. 4. Act. 27.

Furthermore, in the second year of the said king, this was in the parliament required, that all such persons as shall be arrested by force of the statute made against the Lollards, in the second year of Henry the fourth, may be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arrested by none other than by the sheriffs, or such like officers, neither that any havock be made of their goods. The king granted to their advice therein.

In the eighth year moreover of this king's reign, it was likewise propounded in the parliament, that all such persons as shall procure, or sue in the court of Rome any process touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, shall incur the pain of the statute of provisors, made in the thirteenth year of Richard the second, whereunto the king granted, that the statutes heretofore provided shall be observed.

Item, in the said parliament there, it was put up by petition, that the king might enjoy half the profits of every parson's benefice who is not resident thereon. Thereunto the king answered, That the ordinaries should do their duties therein, or else he would provide further remedy to stay their pluralities.

Item, in the said parliament it was required, that none do sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only to the king's courts.

In the next year following, which was the ninth of this king, another petition of the commons was put in parliament against the court of Rome, which I thought good here to express, as followeth:

"The commons do beseech, that forasmuch as divers provisors of the benefices of holy church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their singular covetousness, now newly imagined to destroy those that have been long time incumbents in divers their benefices of holy church peaceably, some of them by the title of the king, some by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of provisions, relations, and other grants made to the same provisors by the apostoil of the said benefices, do pursue processes in the said court by citations made beyond the sea, without any citations made within the realm in deed against the same incumbents; whereby many of the said incumbents, through such privy and crafty processes and sentences of privation and inhabiliation, have lost their benefices, and others put in the places of the said incumbents, before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their benefices through such processes, to their perpetual destruction and mischief; and forasmuch as this mischief cannot be holpen without an especial remedy be had by parliament, pleaseth it the king to consider the great mischief and danger that may so come unto divers his subjects without their knowledge, thro' such citations out of the realm, and thereupon to ordain by the advice of the lords of this present parliament, that none presented be received by any ordinary unto any benefice of any such incumbent for any cause of privation or inhabiliation, whereof the process is not founded upon citation made within the realm, and also that such incumbents may remain in all their benefices, until it be proved by due inquest in the court of the king, that the citations, whereupon such privations and inhabiliations are granted, were made within the realm: and that if such ordinaries, or such presented, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they and their procurators, fautors, and counsellors, do incur the pains contained in the statute made against provisors in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late Richard king of England the second, by process to be made, as is declared in the statute made against such provisors in the 27th year of the reign of king Edward, predecessor to our lord the king that now is, any royal licences or grants in any manner to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all other statutes made against provisors, and not repealed before this present parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points.

That the king's council have power by authority of parliament, in case that any man find himself grieved in particular, that he may pursue: and that the said council, by the advice of the justices, do right unto the parties. This to endure until the next parliament, reserving always unto the king his prerogative and liberty.

Item, that no pope's collector thenceforth should levy any money within the realm for first-fruits of any ecclesiastical dignity, under pain of incurring the statute of provisions."

Besides in the said parliament holden the eleventh year of this king, is to be noted, how the commons of the land put up a bill unto the king, to take the temporal lands out from spiritual mens hands or possessions. The effect of which bill was, that the temporalities disordinately wasted by men of the church might suffice to find to the king 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 houses of almose, to the relief of the poor people, more than at those days within England. And over all these foresaid charges, the king might put yearly in his coffers 20,000 pounds.

Provided, that every earl should have of yearly rent three thousand marks; and every knight an hundred marks, and four plough-lands; every esquire forty marks by year, with two plough-lands; and every house of almose a hundred marks, with oversight of two true seculars unto every house; and also with provision, that every township should keep all poor people of their own dwellers, which might not labour for their living; with condition that if more fell in a town than the town might maintain, then the said almose-houses to relieve such townships.

And to bear these charges, they alledged by their said bill, that the temporalities, being in possession of spiritual men, amounted to 322,000 marks by year. Whereof they affirmed to be in the see of Canterbury, with the abbies of Christ's church, of St. Augustine's, Shrewsbury, Coggeshale, and St. Osus, 20,000 marks by year. In the see of York, and abbies there, 20,000 marks. In the see of Winchester, and abbies there, 20,000 marks. In the see of London, with abbies and other houses there, 20,000 marks. In the see of Lincoln, with the abbies of Peterborough, Ramsey, and other, 20,000 marks. In the see of Norwich, with the abbies of Bury, and other, 20,000 marks. In the see of Ely, Spalding, and other, 20,000 marks. In the see of Bath, with the abbey of Okinborne, and other, 20,000 marks. In the see of Worcester, with the abbies of Evisham, Abingdon, and other, 20,000 marks. In the see of Chester, with the precinct of the same, with the sees of St. David, of Salisbury, and Exeter, with their precincts, 20,000 marks. The abbies of Ravens or Revans, of Fountains, of Gernons, and divers other, to the number of five more, 20,000 marks. The abbies of Leicester, Waltham, Gosborne, Merton, Ticeter, Osney, and other, unto the number of six more, 20,000 marks. The abbies of Dovers, Batil, Lewis, Coventry, Daventry, and

Tourney, 20,000 marks. The abbies of Northampton, Thornton, Briſtow, Killingworth, Winchcomb, Hailes, Parchiſſor, Frideſwide, Notly, and Grimoiſby, 20,000 marks.

The which foreſaid ſums amount to the full of 300,000 marks. And for the odd of 22,000 marks, they appointed Hardford, Rocheſter, Huntingdon, Swinſhed, Crowland, Mameſbury, Burton, Tewkeſbury, Dunſtable, Whirborn, Taunton, and Biland.

And over this, they alledged by the ſaid bill, that, over and above the ſaid ſum of 322,000 marks, divers houſes of religion in England poſſeſſed as many temporalities as might ſuffice to find yearly 15,000 prieſts and clerks, every prieſt to be allowed for his ſtipend ſeven marks by the year.

To the which bill no anſwer was made, but that the king of this matter would take deliberation and adviſement, and with that anſwer ended; ſo that no further labour was made.

King Henry the Fifth.

AFTER this Henry the fourth reigned Henry the fifth, his ſon.

In 1413, Thomas Arundel, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, collected in Paul's church at London, an univerſal ſynod of all the biſhops and clergy of England. In that ſynod, among other weighty matters and ponderous, it was determined, that the day of St. George, and alſo of St. Dunſtan, ſhould be double feaſt, called Duplex Feſtum, in holy kitchen, in holy church, I would ſay.

But the chief and principal cauſe of the aſſembling thereof was to repreſs the growing aud ſpreading of the goſpel, and eſpecially to withſtand the noble and worthy lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principal favourer, receiver, and maintainer of them, whom the biſhop miſnamed to be Lollards, eſpecially in the dioceſes of London, Rocheſter, and Hereford, ſetting them up to preach whom the biſhops had not licenſed, and ſending them about to preach, which was againſt the conſtitution provincial, before remembered, holding alſo and teaching opinions of the ſacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keys and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romiſh church, &c.

In the mean time, as theſe were in talk amongſt them concerning the good lord Cobham; reſorted unto them the twelve inquiſitors of hereſies (whom they had appointed at Oxford the year before, to ſearch out heretics, with all Wickliffe's books) who brought 246 concluſions, which they had collected as hereſies out of the ſaid books.

Theſe things thus done, and the articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their communication, concluding among themſelves, that it was not poſſible for them to make whole Chriſt's coat without ſeam (meaning thereby their patched popiſh ſynagogue) unleſs certain great men were brought out of the way, which ſeemed to be the chief maintainers of the ſaid diſciples of Wickliffe. Among whom this noble knight, Sir John Oldcaſtle, the lord Cobham, was complained of by the general proctors to be the chief principal. Him they accuſed, firſt, for a mighty maintainer of ſuſpected preachers in the dioceſes of London, Rocheſter, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of the ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have ſent thither the ſaid preachers, but alſo to have aſſiſted them there by force of arms, notwithſtanding their ſynodal conſtitution made afore to the contrary. Laſt of all, they accuſed him, that he was far otherwiſe in belief of the ſacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image-worſhipping, and of the eccleſiaſtical power, than the holy church of Rome had taught many years before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay proceſs ſhould be awarded out againſt him, as againſt a moſt pernicious heretic.

Some of that fellowſhip which were of more crafty experience than the other, thought it not beſt to have the matter ſo raſhly handled, but by ſome preparation made thereunto before, conſidering the ſaid lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the king, their counſel was to know firſt the king's mind, to ſave all things upright. This counſel was well accepted, and thereupon the archbiſhop, Thomas Arundel, with his other biſhops, and a great part of the clergy, went ſtraitways unto the king, then remaining at Kenſington, and there laid forth moſt grievous complaints againſt the ſaid lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemiſh, being a man right godly. The king gently heard thoſe blood-thirſty prelates, and far otherwiſe than became his princely dignity: notwithſtanding requiring, and inſtantly deſiring them, that in reſpect of his noble ſtock and knighthood, they ſhould yet favourably deal with him. And that they would, if it were poſſible, without all rigour and extreme handling, reduce him again to the church's unity. He promiſed them alſo, that in caſe they were committed to take ſome deliberation, his ſelf would ſeriouſly commune the matter with him.

Anon after, the king ſent for the ſaid lord Cobham, and as he was come, he called him ſecretly, admoniſhing him betwixt him and him, to ſubmit himſelf to his mother, the holy church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himſelf culpable. Unto whom the chriſtian knight made this anſwer: "You, moſt worthy prince, ſaith he, I am always prompt and willing to obey, forſomuch as I know you a chriſtian king, and the appointed miniſter of God, bearing the ſword to the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for ſafeguard of them that be virtuous. Unto you (next my eternal God) owe I my whole obedience, and ſubmit thereunto (as I have done ever) all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatſoever ye ſhall in the Lord command me. But as touching the pope and his ſpirituality, I owe them neither ſuit nor ſervice, forſomuch as I know him by the ſcriptures to be the great antichriſt, the ſon of perdition, the open adverſary of God, and the abomination ſtanding in the holy place." When the king had heard this, with ſuch like ſentences more, he would talk no longer with him, but left him ſo utterly.

And as the archbiſhop reſorted again unto him for an anſwer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and puniſh him according to their deviliſh decree, which they called the laws of holy church. Then the ſaid archbiſhop, by the counſel of his other biſhops and clergy, appointed to call before him Sir John Oldcaſtle, the lord Cobham, and to cauſe him perſonally to appear, to anſwer to ſuch ſuſpect articles as they ſhould lay againſt him. So he ſent forth his chief ſummoner, with a very ſharp citation, unto the caſtle of Cowling, where as he at that time dwelt for his ſolace. And as the ſaid ſummoner was come thither, he durſt in no caſe enter the gates of ſo noble a man without his licence, and therefore he returned home again, his meſſage not done.

Then called the archbiſhop one John Butler unto him, which was then the door-keeper of the king's privy chamber; and with him he covenanted, through promiſes and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to paſs under the king's name. Whereupon the ſaid John Butler took the archbiſhop's ſummoner with him, and went unto the ſaid lord Cobham, ſhewing him, that it was the king's pleaſure, that he ſhould obey that citation, and ſo cited him fraudulently. Then ſaid he to them in few words, "That he in no caſe would conſent to thoſe moſt deviliſh practices of the prieſts." As they had informed the archbiſhop of that anſwer, and

that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without peril of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by public proceſs or open commandment. And in all the haſte poſſible, upon the Wedneſday before the nativity of our lady, in September, he commanded letters citatory to be ſet upon the great gates of the cathedral church of Rocheſter (which was but three Engliſh miles from thence), charging him to appear perſonally before him at Ledis the eleventh day of the ſame month and year, all excuſes to the contrary ſet apart. Thoſe letters were taken down anon after by ſuch as bare favour unto the lord Cobham, and ſo conveyed aſide. After that cauſed the archbiſhop new letters to be ſet up on the nativity-day of our lady, which alſo were rent down, and utterly conſumed.

Then foraſmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at Ledis (where he ſat in conſiſtory, as cruel as ever was Caiaphas, with his court of hypocrites about him), he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him of moſt deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falſely informed by his hired ſpies, and other gloſing glaverers, that the ſaid lord Cobham had laughed at him to ſcorn, diſdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the church's power, the dignity of a biſhop, and the order of prieſthood (for all theſe was he then accuſed of), in his moody madneſs without juſt proof did he openly excommunicate him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny ſatisfied, but he commanded him to be cited afreſh, to appear before him the Saturday before the feaſt of Saint Matthew the apoſtle, with theſe cruel threatenings added thereunto; that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himſelf more ſtrong towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay-power, by moſt terrible menacings of curſes and interdictions, to aſſiſt him againſt that ſeditious apoſtate, ſchiſmatic, and heretic, the troubler of the public peace, that enemy of the realm, and great adverſary of all holy church; for all theſe hateful names did he give him.

This moſt conſtant ſervant of the Lord, and worthy knight, Sir John Oldcaſtle, the lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of antichriſt thus kindled againſt him, perceiving himſelf alſo compaſſed on every ſide with deadly dangers; he took paper and pen in hand, and ſo wrote a chriſtian profeſſion or reckoning of his faith (which followeth hereafter), both ſigning and ſealing it with his own hand. Wherein he alſo anſwered to the four chiefeſt articles that the archbiſhop laid againſt him. That done, he took the copy with him, and went therewith to the king, truſting to find mercy and favour at his hand. None other was that confeſſion of his, than the common belief or ſum of the church's faith, called The Apoſtles Creed, of all chriſtian men then uſed, with a brief declaration upon the ſame, as here enſueth.

The Chriſtian Belief of the Lord Cobham.

"I Believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: and in Jeſus Chriſt, his only Son, our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the virgin Mary, ſuffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead, and buried, went down to hell, the third day roſe again from death, aſcended up to heaven, ſitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; and from thence ſhall come again to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, the univerſal holy church, the communion of ſaints, the forgiveneſs of ſins, the upriſing of the fleſh, and everlaſting life, Amen."

And for a more large declaration (ſaith he) of this my faith in the catholic church, I ſtedfaſtly believe, That there is but one God Almighty, in and of whoſe Godhead are theſe three perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and that thoſe three perſons are the ſelf-ſame God Almighty. I believe alſo, That the ſecond perſon in the moſt bleſſed Trinity, in moſt convenient time, appointed thereunto before, took fleſh and blood of the moſt bleſſed virgin Mary, for the ſafeguard and redemption of the univerſal kind of man, which was before loſt in Adam's offence.

Moreover I believe, That the ſame Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, thus being both God and Man, is the only head of the whole chriſtian church, and that all thoſe that have been or ſhall be ſaved, be members of this moſt holy church. And this holy church I think to be divided into three ſorts of companies.

Whereof the firſt ſort be now in heaven, and they are the ſaints from hence departed. Theſe, as they were here converſant, conformed always their lives to the moſt holy laws and pure example of Chriſt, renouncing Satan, the world, and the fleſh, with all their concupiſcence and evils.

The ſecond ſort are in purgatory (if any ſuch place be in the ſcriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance of pain.

The third ſort are here upon the earth, and be called the church militant. For day and night they contend againſt the crafty aſſaults of the devil, the flattering proſperities of this world, and the rebellious filthineſs of the fleſh.

This latter congregation by the juſt ordinance of God is alſo ſevered into three divers eſtates, that is to ſay, into prieſthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one ſhould aid the other, but not deſtroy the other. The prieſts firſt of all, ſecluded from all worldlineſs, ſhould conform their lives utterly to the examples of Chriſt and his apoſtles; evermore ſhould they be occupied in preaching and teaching the ſcriptures purely, and in giving wholeſome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. More modeſt alſo, more loving, gentle, and lowly in ſpirit ſhould they be, than any other ſorts of people.

In the knighthood are all they which bear ſword by law of office; theſe ſhould defend God's laws, and ſee that the goſpel were purely taught, conforming their lives to the ſame, and ſecluding all falſe preachers; yea thoſe ought rather to hazard their lives, than to ſuffer ſuch wicked decrees as either blemiſh the eternal teſtament of God, or yet lett the free paſſage thereof, whereby hereſies and ſchiſms might ſpring in the church. For of none other ariſe they, as I ſuppoſe, than of erroneous conſtitutions, craftily firſt creeping in under hypocritical lyes, for advantage. They ought alſo to preſerve God's people from oppreſſors, tyrants and thieves, and to ſee the clergy ſupported ſo long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and miniſter the ſacraments freely. And if they ſee them do otherwiſe, they are bound by the law or office to compel them to change their doings; and to ſee all things performed according to God's preſcript ordinance.

The latter fellowſhip of this church, are the common people: whoſe duty is to bear their good minds and true obedience to the foreſaid miniſters of God, their kings, civil governors, and prieſts. The right office of theſe, is juſtly to occupy every man his faculty, be it merchandiſe, handicraft, or the tithe of the ground. And ſo one of them to be as an helper to another, following always in their ſorts the juſt commandments of the Lord God.

Over and beſides all this, I moſt faithfully believe, that the ſacraments of Chriſt's church are neceſſary to all chriſtian believers; this always ſeen to, that they be truly miniſtered according to Chriſt's firſt inſtitution and ordinance. And foraſmuch as I am maliciouſly and moſt falſly accuſed of a miſbelief in the ſacrament of the altar, to the hurtful ſlander of many; I ſignify here unto all men, that this is my faith concerning that. I believe in that ſacrament to be contained Chriſt's very body and

blood

blood under the ſimilitude of bread and wine, yea the ſame body that was conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, born of the virgin Mary, done on the croſs, died and was buried, aroſe the third day from the death; and is now glorified in heaven. I alſo believe the univerſal law of God to be moſt true and perfect, and they which do not ſo follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be ſaved. Whereas he that ſeeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, ſhall taſte for it the felicity of everlaſting innocency.

Finally this is my faith alſo, that God will aſk no more of a chriſtian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that moſt bleſſed law. If any prelates of church require more, or elſe any other kind of obedience, than this to be uſed; he contemneth Chriſt, exalting himſelf above God, and ſo becometh an open antichriſt. All the premiſes I believe particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his holy ſcripture, that I ſhould believe, inſtantly deſiring you, my liege lord and moſt worthy king, that this confeſſion of mine may be juſtly examined by the moſt godly wiſe, and learned men of this realm. And if it be found in parts agreeing to the verity, then let it be ſo allowed; and I thereupon holden for none other than a true chriſtian. If it be proved otherwiſe, then let it be utterly condemned; provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the word of God; and I ſhall moſt reverently at all times obey thereunto.

This brief confeſſion of his faith the lord Cobham wrote (as is mentioned before) and ſo took it with him to the court, offering it with all meekneſs unto the king to read it over. The king would in no caſe receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that ſhould be his judges. Then deſired he in the king's preſence, that an hundred knights and eſquires might be ſuffered to come in upon his purgation, which he knew would clear him of all hereſies. Moreover he offered himſelf, after the law of arms, to fight for life or death with any man living, chriſtian or heathen, in the quarrel of his faith, the king and the lords of his council excepted. Finally, with all gentleneſs he proteſted before all that were preſent, that he would refuſe no manner of correction that ſhould after the laws of God be miniſtered unto him, but that he would at all times with meekneſs obey it. Notwithſtanding all this the king ſuffered him to be ſummoned perſonally in his own privy chamber. Then ſaid the lotd Cobham to the king, that he had appealed from the archbiſhop to the pope of Rome, and therefore he ought, he ſaid, in no caſe to be his judge. And having his appeal there at hand ready written, he ſhewed it with all reverence to the king. Wherewith the king was then much more diſpleaſed than afore, and ſaid angrily unto him, that he ſhould not purſue his appeal; but rather he ſhould tarry in hold, till ſuch time as it were of the pope allowed. And then, would he, or nil'd he, the archbiſhop ſhould be his judge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But forſomuch as he would not be ſworn in all things to ſubmit himſelf to the church, and to take what penance the archbiſhop would enjoin him; he was arreſted again at the king's commandment, and ſo led forth to the Tower of London, to keep his day (ſo was it then ſpoken) that the archbiſhop had appointed him afore in the king's chamber.

Then cauſed he the foreſaid confeſſion of his faith to be copied again, and the anſwer alſo (which he had made to the four articles propounded againſt him) to be written in manner of an indenture in two ſheets of paper: that when he ſhould come to his anſwer, he might give the one copy unto the archbiſhop, aud reſerve the other to himſelf. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23d day of September the Saturday before the feaſt of St. Matthew; Thomas Arundel the archbiſhop, ſitting in Caiaphas's room in the chapter-houſe of St. Paul's, with Richard Clifford biſhop of London, and Henry Bolingbrook biſhop of Wincheſter; Sir Robert Morley knight and lieutenant of the Tower, brought perſonally before him the ſaid lord Cobham, and there left him for the time; unto whom the archbiſhop ſaid theſe words.

The firſt Examination of the Lord Cobham.

SIR John, in the laſt general convocation of the clergy of this our province, ye were detected of certain hereſies, and by ſufficient witneſs found culpable. Whereupon ye were by form of ſpiritual law cited, and would in no caſe appear. In concluſion upon your rebellious contumacy, ye were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithſtanding we neither yet ſhewed ourſelves unready to have given you abſolution (nor yet do to this hour) would ye have meekly aſked it. Unto this the lord Cobham ſhewed, as though he had given no ear, having his mind otherwiſe occupied, and ſo deſired no abſolution. But ſaid he would gladly before him and his brethren make rehearſal of that faith which he held and intended always to ſtand to, if it would pleaſe them to licence him thereunto. And then he took out of his boſom a certain writing indented, concerning the articles whereof he was accuſed, and ſo openly read it before them, giving it unto the archbiſhop as he had made thereof an end. Whereof this is the copy.

I John Oldcaſtle, knight, lord of Cobham, will that all chriſtian men weet and underſtand, that I call Almighty God to witneſs, that it hath been, now is, and ever, with the help of God, ſhall be mine intent and my will, to believe faithfully and fully all the ſacraments that ever God ordained to be done in holy church; and moreover do declare me in theſe four points. I believe that the moſt worſhipful ſacrament of the altar is Chriſt's body in form of bread, the ſame body that was born of the bleſſed virgin our lady St. Mary, done on the croſs, dead and buried, the third day roſe from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heaven.

Alſo that for the ſacrament of penance I believe, That it is needful to every man that ſhall be ſaved to forſake ſin, and to do due penance for ſin before done, with true confeſſion, very contrition, and due ſatisfaction as God's law limiteth and teacheth, and elſe may not be ſaved; which penance I deſire all men to do.

And as of images, I underſtand that they be not of believe, but that they were ordained ſince they believe was zewe of Chriſt, by ſufferance of the church, to be calenders to lewd men, to repreſent and bring to mind the paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and martyrdom and good living of other ſaints: and that whoſo it be that doth the worſhip to dead images that is due to God, or putteth ſuch hope or truſt in help of them as he ſhould do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that the greateſt ſin of maumetry.

Alſo I ſuppoſe this fully, That every man in this earth is a pilgrim toward bliſs, or toward pain; and that he that knoweth not, nor will not know nor keep the holy commandments of God in his living here (albeit that he go on pilgrimages to all the world, and he die ſo) he ſhall be damned: he that knoweth the holy commandments of God, and keepeth them to his end, he ſhall be ſaved, though he never in his life go on pilgrimage, as men now uſe to Canterbury or to Rome, or to any other place.

This anſwer to his articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the biſhop, as is ſaid afore. Then counſelled the archbiſhop, with the other two biſhops and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done in this

matter; commanding him for the time to ſtand aſide. In concluſion by their aſſent and information he ſaid thus unto him; Come hither, Sir John: in this your writing are many good things contained, and right catholic alſo, we deny it not: but ye muſt conſider that this day was appointed you to anſwer to other points concerning thoſe articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And therefore ye muſt yet declare us your mind more plainly.

And thus, whether that ye hold, affirm and believe that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration rightly done by a prieſt, remaineth material bread, or not? Moreover, whether ye do hold, affirm and believe, that as concerning the ſacrament of penance (whereas a competent number of prieſts are) every chriſtian man is neceſſarily bound to be confeſſed of his ſins to a prieſt ordained by the church, or not.

After certain other communication, this was the anſwer of the good lord Cobham, That none otherwiſe would he declare his mind, nor yet anſwer unto his articles, than was expreſsly in his writing there contained. Then ſaid the archbiſhop unto him; Sir John, beware what ye do. For if ye anſwer not clearly to thoſe things that are here objected againſt you (eſpecially at the time appointed you only for that purpoſe) the law of the holy church is, That compelled once by a judge, we may openly proclaim you an heretic. Unto whom he gave this anſwer: Do as ye ſhall think beſt, for I am at a point. Whatſoever he or the other biſhops did aſk him after that, he bade them reſort to his bill; for thereby would he ſtand to the very death. Other anſwer would he not give that day; wherewith the biſhops and prelates were in a manner amazed and wonderfully diſquieted.

At the laſt the archbiſhop counſelled again with his other biſhops and doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him, what the holy church of Rome (following the ſaying of St. Auguſtine, St. Hierom, St. Ambroſe, and of the holy doctors) had determined in theſe matters, no manner of mention once made of Chriſt. Which determination, ſaith he, ought all chriſtian men both to believe and to follow.

Then ſaid the lord Cobham unto him, That he would gladly both believe and obſerve whatſoever holy church of Chriſt's inſtitution had determined, or yet whatſoever God had willed him either to believe or to do. But that the pope of Rome, with his cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelates of that church, had lawful power to determine ſuch matter as ſtood not with his word throughly; that would he not, he ſaid, at that time affirm. With this the archbiſhop bade him to take good adviſement till the Monday next following (which was the 25th day of September), and then juſtly to anſwer, ſpecially unto this point; Whether there remained material bread in the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration, or not? He promiſed him alſo, to ſend unto him in writing thoſe matters clearly determined, that he then might be the more perfect in his anſwer making. And all this was nought elſe but to blind the multitude with ſomewhat. The next day following, according to his promiſe, the archbiſhop ſent unto him into the Tower, this fooliſh and blaſphemous writing, made by him and his unlearned clergy.

The Determination of the Archbiſhop and Clergy.

THE faith and determination of the holy church touching the bliſsful ſacrament of the altar, is this; That after the ſacramental words be once ſpoken by a prieſt in his maſs, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chriſt's very body. And the material wine, that was before wine, is turned into Chriſt's very blood. And ſo there remaineth in the ſacrament of the altar, from thenceforth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the ſacramental words were ſpoken; How believe ye this article? Holy church hath determined that every chriſtian man, living here bodily upon the earth, ought to be ſhriven to a prieſt ordained by the church, if he may come to him. How feel ye this article?

Chriſt ordained St. Peter the apoſtle to be his vicar here in earth, whoſe ſee is the holy ſee of Rome; and he granted, that the ſame power which he gave unto Peter ſhould ſucceed to all Peter's ſucceſſors, which we call now popes of Rome; by whoſe power in churches particular be ordained prelates, as archbiſhops, biſhops, parſons, curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom chriſtian men ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. How feel ye this article?

Holy church hath determined, That it is meritorious to a chriſtian man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places: and there ſpecially to worſhip holy reliques and images of ſaints, apoſtles, and martyrs, confeſſors, and all other ſaints beſide, approved by the church of Rome. How feel ye this article?

And as the lord Cobham had read over this moſt wretched writing, he marvelled greatly of their mad ignorance. But that he conſidered again, That God had given them over, for their unbelief's ſake, into moſt deep errors and blindneſs of ſoul. Again, he perceived hereby, that their uttermoſt malice was purpoſed againſt him, howſoever he ſhould anſwer. And therefore he put his life in the hands of God, deſiring his only Spirit to aſſiſt him in his next anſwer. When the ſaid 25th day of September was come (which was alſo the Monday before Michaelmas), in the ſaid year of our Lord 1413, Thomas Arundel the archbiſhop of Canterbury commanded his judicial ſeat to be removed from the chapter houſe of Paul's to the Dominic friars within Ludgate at London. And as he was there ſet with Richard biſhop of London, Henry the biſhop of Wincheſter, and Bennet the biſhop of Bangor; he called in unto him his council and his officers, with divers other doctors and friars, of whom theſe are the names here following; maſter Henry Ware, the official of Canterbury; Philip Morgan, doctor of the laws; Howel Kiffin, doctor of the canon law; John Kempe, doctor of the canon law; William Carleton, doctor of the canon law; John Whitnam, of the New College in Oxford; John Whithead, doctor in Oxford alſo; Robert Wombewel, vicar of St. Lawrence in the Jewry; Thomas Palmer, the warden of Minors; Robert Chamberlain, prior of Dominics; Richard Dodington, prior of the Auguſtines; Thomas Walden, prior of the Carmelites; all doctors of divinity. John Stephens alſo, and James Coles, both notaries, appointed there purpoſely to write all that ſhould be either ſaid or done. All theſe with a great ſort more of prieſts, monks, canons, friars, pariſh-clerks, bell-ringers, pardoners, diſdained him with innumerable mocks and ſcorns, reckoning him to be an horrible heretic, and a man accurſed afore God.

Anon the archbiſhop called for a maſs-book, and cauſed all theſe prelates and doctors to ſwear thereupon, that every man ſhould faithfully do his office and duty that day. And that neither for favour nor fear, love nor hate of the one party nor the other, any thing ſhould there be witneſſed, ſpoken or done, but according to the truth, as they would anſwer before God and all the world at the day of doom. Then were the two foreſaid notaries ſworn alſo to write and to witneſs the proceſs that there ſhould be uttered on both parties, and to ſay their minds (if they otherwiſe knew) before they ſhould regiſter it. And all this diſſimulation was but to colour their miſchiefs before the ignorant multitude.

Conſider herein (gentle reader) what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the juſt fear of God; for as they were then, ſo are they yet to this day.

After that, came out before them Sir Robert Morley knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good lord Cobham, there leaving him among them as a lamb among wolves, to his examination and anſwer.

Another Examination of the Lord Cobham.

THEN ſaid the archbiſhop unto him, Lord Cobham, ye be adviſed (I am ſure) of the words and proceſs which we had unto you upon Saturday laſt paſt in the chapter houſe of Paul's; which proceſs were now too long to be rehearſed again. I ſaid unto you then, that you were accurſed for your contumacy and diſobedience to the holy church, thinking that you ſhould with meekneſs have deſired your abſolution.

Then ſpake the lord Cobham with a chearful countenance, and ſaid, God ſaid by his holy prophet, "I ſhall curſe where you bleſs."

The archbiſhop made then as though he had continued forth his tale, and not heard him, ſaying, Sir, at that time I gently proffered to have aſſoiled you, if you would have aſked it. And yet I do the ſame if ye will humbly deſire it in due form and manner as holy church hath ordained.

Then ſaid the lord Cobham, Nay forſooth will I not, for I never yet treſpaſſed againſt you, and therefore I will not do it. And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards heaven, and ſaid, I ſhrive me here unto thee, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, O Lord, moſt grievouſly in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetouſneſs, and in lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible ſins; good Lord, I aſk thee mercy. And therewith weepingly he ſtood up again, and ſaid with a mighty voice; Lo, good people, lo; for the breaking of God's law and his great commandments, they never yet curſed me: but for their own laws and traditions moſt cruelly do they handle both me and other men. And therefore both they and their laws, by the promiſe of God, ſhall utterly be deſtroyed.

At this the archbiſhop and his company were not a little blemiſhed. Notwithſtanding he took ſtomach unto him again after certain words had, in excuſe of their tyranny, and examined the lord Cobham of his chriſtian belief.

Whereunto the lord Cobham made this godly anſwer, I believe (ſaith he) fully and faithfully in the univerſal laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy ſacred ſcriptures of the Bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I ſhould believe. Then demanded the archbiſhop an anſwer of that bill which he and the clergy had ſent him into the Tower the day afore, in manner of a determination of the church concerning the four articles whereof he was accuſed, ſpecially for the ſacrament of the altar, how he believed therein.

Whereunto the lord Cobham ſaid, That with that bill he had nothing to do. But this was his belief, he ſaid, concerning the ſacrament. That his Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſitting at his laſt ſupper with his moſt dear diſciples, the night before he ſhould ſuffer, took bread in his hand; and giving thanks to his eternal Father, bleſſed it, brake it, and ſo gave it unto them, ſaying, "Take it unto you, and eat thereof all, this is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you: Do this hereafter in my remembrance." This do I thoroughly believe (ſaith he) for this faith am I taught in the goſpel of Matthew, in Mark, and in Luke, and alſo in the firſt epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. 11.

Then aſked the archbiſhop, If he believed that it were bread after the conſecration or ſacramental words ſpoken over it.

The lord Cobham ſaid: I believe that in the ſacrament of the altar is Chriſt's very body in form of bread, the ſame that was born of the virgin Mary, done on the croſs, dead, and buried, and that the third day aroſe from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven.

Then ſaid one of the doctors of the law: After the ſacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Chriſt.

The lord Cobham ſaid then to one maſter John Whitehead: You ſaid once unto me in the caſtle of Cowling, that the ſacred hoſt was not Chriſt's body. But I held then againſt you, and proved that therein was his body, though the ſeculars and friars could not therein agree, but held each one againſt the other in that opinion. Theſe were my words then, if ye remember it.

Then ſhouted a ſort of them together, and cried with great noiſe: We ſay all, that it is God's body.

And divers of them aſked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the conſecration, or not?

Then looked the lord Cobham earneſtly upon the archbiſhop, and ſaid; I believe ſurely that it is Chriſt's body in the form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus?

And the archbiſhop ſaid, Yes, marry do I.

Then aſked him the doctors, whether it were only Chriſt's body after the conſecration of a prieſt, and no bread, or not?

And he ſaid unto them, It is both Chriſt's body and bread; I ſhall prove it thus: for like as Chriſt's dwelling here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the inviſible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was only viſible and ſeen in him: ſo in the ſacrament of the altar is Chriſt's very body and bread alſo, as I believe the bread is the thing that we ſee with our eyes, the body of Chriſt (which is his fleſh and his blood) is thereunder hid, and not ſeen but in faith.

And moreover to prove, That it is both Chriſt's body and alſo bread after the conſecration, it is by plain words expreſſed by one of your own doctors writing againſt Eutyches, which ſaith, "Like as the ſelf-ſame ſacraments do paſs by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt into a divine nature, and yet notwithſtanding keep the property ſtill of their former nature; ſo that principal myſtery declareth to remain one true and perfect Chriſt, &c."

Then ſmiled they each one upon another, that the people ſhould judge him taken in a great hereſy. And with a great brag divers of them ſaid: It is a foul hereſy.

Then aſked the archbiſhop what bread it was? And the doctors alſo inquired of him, whether it were material, or not?

The lord Cobham ſaid unto them; The ſcriptures make no mention of this word Material, and therefore my faith hath nothing to do therewith. But this I ſay and believe, that it is Chriſt's body and bread. For Chriſt ſaid in the ſixth of John's goſpel, "I which came down from heaven, am the living and not the dead bread." Therefore I ſay now again as I ſaid afore, as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is very God, and very man, ſo in the moſt bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is Chriſt's very body and bread.

Then ſaid they all with one voice; It is an hereſy.

One of the biſhops ſtood up by and by, and ſaid, What! it is an hereſy manifeſt, to ſay that it is bread after the ſacramental words be once ſpoken, but Chriſt's body only.

The lord Cobham ſaid, St. Paul the apoſtle was (I am ſure) as wiſe as you be now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians, "The bread that we break, ſaith he, is it not the partaking of the body of Chriſt?" Lo he called it bread, and not Chriſt's body, but a mean whereby we receive Chriſt's body.

Then

Then ſaid they again, Paul muſt be otherwiſe underſtood. For it is ſure an hereſy to ſay that it is bread after the conſecration, but only Chriſt's body.

The lord Cobham aſked, How they could make good that ſentence of theirs?

They anſwered him thus: For it is againſt the determination of holy church.

Then ſaid the archbiſhop unto him: Sir John, we ſent you a writing concerning the faith of this bleſſed ſacrament, clearly determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy doctors.

Then he ſaid again unto him, I know none holier than is Chriſt and his apoſtles. And as for that determination, I know it is none of theirs: for it ſtandeth not with the ſcriptures, but manifeſtly againſt them. If it be the church's, as they ſay it is, it hath been hers only ſince ſhe received the great poiſon of worldly poſſeſſions, and not afore.

Then aſked they him, to ſtop his mouth therewith, if he believed not in the determination of the church?

And he ſaid unto them, No forſooth, for it is no God. In all our creed, this word (in) is but thrice mentioned concerning belief: In God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God. The birth, the death, the burial, the reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt, hath none (in) for belief, but in him. Neither yet hath the church, the ſacraments, the forgiveneſs of ſin, the later reſurrection, nor yet the life everlaſting, nor any other (in) than in the Holy Ghoſt.

Then ſaid one of the lawyers, Tuſh, that was but a word of office: but what is your belief concerning holy church?

The lord Cobham anſwered: My belief is, as I ſaid afore, that all the ſcriptures of the ſacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them, I believe throughly. For I know it is God's pleaſure that I ſhould ſo do. But in your lordly laws and idle determinations have I no belief. For ye be no part of Chriſt's holy church, as your open deeds do ſhew: but ye are very antichriſts, obſtinately ſet againſt his holy law and will. The laws that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetouſneſs.

This, they ſaid, was an exceeding hereſy (and that in a great fume) not to believe the determination of holy church.

Then the archbiſhop aſked him, What he thought of holy church.

He ſaid unto him, My belief is, That the holy church is the number of them which ſhall be ſaved, of whom Chriſt is the head. Of this church one part is in heaven with Chriſt, another in purgatory, you ſay, and the third is here on earth. This latter part ſtandeth in three degrees, in knighthood, prieſthood, and the commonalty, as I ſaid afore plainly in the confeſſion of my belief.

Then ſaid the archbiſhop unto him; Can you tell me who is of the church?

The lord Cobham anſwered; Yes, truly can I.

Then ſaid doctor Walden, the prior of the Carmelites; It is doubt unto you who is thereof. For Chriſt ſaith in Matthew, "Preſume to judge no man." If ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or brother, much more the judgment of your ſuperior.

The lord Cobham made him this anſwer, Chriſt ſaith alſo in the ſelf-ſame chapter of Matthew, That like as the evil tree is known by his fruit, ſo is a falſe prophet by his works, appear they never ſo glorious: but that ye left behind ye. And in John he hath this text: "Believe ye their outward doings." And in another place of John: "When we know the thing to be true, we may ſo judge it, and not offend." For David ſaid alſo; "Judge rightly always, ye children of men."

And as for your ſuperiority, were ye of Chriſt, ye ſhould be meek miniſters, and no proud ſuperiors.

Then ſaid doctor Walden unto him, Ye make here no difference of judgments: ye put no diverſity between the evil judgments which Chriſt hath forbidden, and the good judgments, which he hath commanded us to have. Raſh judgment and right judgment, all is one with you. So ſwift judges always are the learned ſcholars of Wickliff.

Unto whom the lord Cobham thus anſwered; It is well ſophiſtered of you forſooth. Prepoſterous are your judgments evermore. For as the prophet Eſay ſaith, "Ye judge evil good, and good evil:" and therefore the ſame prophet concludeth, That your ways are not God's ways, nor God's ways your ways. And as for the virtuous man Wickliff, whoſe judgments ye ſo highly diſdain, I ſhall ſay here of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that deſpiſed doctrine of his, I never abſtained from ſin. But ſince I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath otherwiſe I truſt been with me: ſo much grace could I never find in all your glorious inſtructions.

Then ſaid doctor Walden again yet unto him: It were not well with me (ſo many virtuous men living, and ſo many learned men teaching, the ſcripture being alſo ſo open, and the examples of fathers ſo plenteous) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the devil preach. St. Hierom ſaith, "That he that ſeeketh ſuch ſuſpected maſters, ſhall not find the mid-day light, but the mid-day devil."

The lord Cobham ſaid, Your fathers, the old phariſees, aſcribed Chriſt's miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the devil. And you as their natural children have ſtill the ſelf-ſame judgment concerning his faithful followers. They that rebuke your vicious living muſt needs be heretics, and that muſt your doctors prove, when you have no ſcripture to do it. Then ſaid he to them all; To judge you as you be, we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all God's law, that ye ſhould thus ſit in judgment of any chriſtian man, or yet give ſentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the ſcripture ſo lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiaphas, which ſat thus upon Chriſt, and upon his apoſtles after his aſcenſion. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Chriſt's members as ye do, and neither of Peter nor John.

Then ſaid ſome of the lawyers: Yes, forſooth, Sir, for Chriſt judged Judas.

Then lord Cobham ſaid, No, Chriſt judged him not, but he judged himſelf, and thereupon went forth and ſo did hang himſelf: but indeed Chriſt ſaid, "Woe unto him, for that covetous act of his," as he doth yet ſtill unto many of you. For ſince the venom of him was ſhed into the church, ye never followed Chriſt, neither yet have ye ſtood in the perfection of God's law.

Then the archbiſhop aſked him, what he meant by that venom?

The lord Cobham ſaid, Your poſſeſſions and lordſhips. For then cried an angel in the air (as your own chronicles mention), "Wo, wo, wo, this day is venom ſhed into the church of God." Before that time all the biſhops of Rome were martyrs in a manner. And ſince that time we read of very few. But indeed ſince that ſame time, one hath put down another, one hath poiſoned another, one hath curſed another, and one hath ſlain another, and done much more miſchief beſides, as all the chronicles tell. And let all men conſider well this, that Chriſt was meek, and merciful; the pope is proud, and a tyrant: Chriſt was poor, and forgave; the pope is rich, and a man-ſlayer, as his daily acts do prove him. Rome is the very neſt of antichriſt, and out of that neſt come all the diſciples of him. Of whom, prelates, prieſts, and monks, are the body, theſe pil'd friars are the tail, which covereth his moſt filthy part.

Then ſaid the prior of the friars Auguſtines, Alack, Sir, why do you ſay ſo? that is uncharitably ſpoken.

And the lord Cobham ſaid, Not only is it my ſaying, but alſo the prophet Eſaias, long afore my time. "The prophet, ſaith he, which preacheth lyes, is the tail behind." For as you friars and monks be (like phariſees) divided in your apparel and viſages, ſo make ye diviſion among the people. And thus you, with ſuch other, are the very natural members of antichriſt.

Then ſaid he unto them all, Chriſt ſaith in his goſpel, "Wo unto you ſcribes and phariſees, hypocrites; for ye cloſe up the kingdom of heaven before men, neither enter ye yourſelves, nor yet ſuffer any one that would enter into it, but ye ſtop up the ways thereunto with your own traditions, and therefore are ye the houſhold of antichriſt; ye will not permit God's verity to have paſſage, nor yet to be taught of his true miniſters, fearing to have your wickedneſs reproved." But by ſuch flatterers as uphold you in your miſchiefs, ye ſuffer the common people moſt miſerably to be ſeduced.

Then ſaid the archbiſhop, By our lady, Sir, there ſhall none ſuch preach within my dioceſe (and God will) nor yet in my juriſdiction (if I may know it) as either make diviſion, or yet diſſention among the poor commons.

The lord Cobham ſaid, Both Chriſt and his apoſtles were accuſed of ſedition-making, yet were they moſt peaceable men. But Daniel and Chriſt propheſied, that ſuch a troublous time ſhould come, as hath not been yet ſince the world's beginning. And this prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings: for many have ye ſlain already, and more ye will ſlay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promiſe. Chriſt ſaith alſo, "If thoſe days of yours were not ſhortened, ſcarcely ſhould any fleſh be ſaved;" therefore look for it juſtly, for God will ſhorten your days. Moreover, though prieſts and deacons for preaching of God's word, and for miniſtering the ſacraments, with proviſion for the poor, be grounded on God's law, yet have theſe other ſects no manner of ground hereof, ſo far as I have read.

Then a doctor of law, called maſter John Kemp, plucked out of his boſom a copy of the bill which they had afore ſent him into the Tower by the archbiſhop's council, thinking thereby to make ſhorter work with him. For they were ſo amazed with his anſwers (not at all unlike to them which diſputed with Stephen), that they knew not well how to occupy the time, their wits and ſophiſtry (as God would) ſo failed them that day.

My lord Cobham (ſaith this doctor) we muſt briefly know your mind concerning theſe four points here following. The firſt of them is this; and then he read upon the bill. The faith and determination of holy church touching the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is this, that after the ſacramental words be once ſpoken of a prieſt in his maſs, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chriſt's very body, and the material wine is turned into Chriſt's blood. And ſo there remaineth in the ſacrament of the altar from thenceforth no material bread nor material wine, which were there before the ſacramental words were ſpoken: Sir, believe you not this?

The lord Cobham ſaid, This is not my belief. But my faith is, as I ſaid to ye afore, that in the worſhipful ſacrament of the altar is Chriſt's very body in form of bread.

Then ſaid the archbiſhop, Sir John, you muſt ſay otherwiſe,

The lord Cobham ſaid, Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my ſide (as I truſt he is), but that there is Chriſt's body in form of bread, as the common belief is.

Then read the doctor again.

The ſecond point is this; Holy church hath determined, that every chriſtian man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be ſhriven of a prieſt ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir, what ſay you to this?

The lord Cobham anſwered and ſaid, A diſeaſed or ſore wounded man hath need to have a ſure wiſe chirurgeon and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the ſame. Moſt neceſſary were it therefore to be firſt ſhriven unto God, which only knoweth our diſeaſes, and can help us. I deny not in this the going to a prieſt, if he be a man of good life and learning; for the laws of God are to be required of the prieſt, which is godly learned. But if he be an ideot, or a man of vicious living that is my curate, I ought rather to fly from him, than to ſeek unto him; for ſooner might I catch evil of him that is naught, than any goodneſs towards my ſoul's health.

Then read the doctor again.

The third point is this; Chriſt ordained Saint Peter the apoſtle to be his vicar here in earth, whoſe ſee is the church of Rome. And he granted that the ſame power which he gave unto Peter ſhould ſucceed unto all Peter's ſucceſſors, which we now call popes of Rome. By whoſe ſpecial power in churches particular he ordained prelates and archbiſhops, parſons, curates, and other degrees more; to whom chriſtian men ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church, Sir, believe ye not this?

To this he anſwered, and ſaid, He that followeth Peter moſt nigheſt in pure living, is next unto him in ſucceſſion. But your lordly order eſteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor Peter, for whatſoever ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that ſucceeded him till the time of Silveſter, which for the more part were martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt yourſelves with them at all. All the world knoweth this well enough by you, and yet ye can make boaſt of Peter.

With that, one of the other doctors aſked him; Then what do ye ſay of the pope?

The lord Cobham anſwered, As I ſaid before, ſo I ſay again; that he and you together make whole the great antichriſt. Of whom he is the great head, you biſhops, prieſts, prelates, and monks, are the body, and the begging friars are the tail, for they cover the filthineſs of you both with their ſubtil ſophiſtry: neither will I in conſcience obey any of you all, till I ſee you with Peter follow Chriſt in converſation.

Then read the doctor again.

The fourth point is this; Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a chriſtian man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there ſpecially to worſhip the holy reliques and images of ſaints, apoſtles, martyrs, confeſſors, and all other ſaints beſides, approved by the church of Rome. Sir, what ſay you to this?

Whereunto he anſwered, I owe them no ſervice by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to ſeek them for your covetouſneſs. It were beſt ye ſwept them fair from cobwebs and duſt, and ſo laid them up for catching of ſcathe, or elſe to bury them fair in the ground, as ye do other aged people, which are God's images.

It is a wonderful thing, that ſaints now being dead ſhould become ſo covetous and needy, and thereupon ſo bitterly beg, which all their life time hated all covetouſneſs and begging. But this I ſay unto you, and I would all the world ſhould mark it, that with your ſhrines and idols, your feigned abſolutions and pardons, ye draw unto you the ſubſtance, wealth, and chief pleaſures of all chriſtian realms.

Why, Sir (ſaid one of the clerks) will ye not worſhip good images?

What worſhip ſhould I give unto them? ſaid the lord Cobham.

Then

Then ſaid friar Palmer unto him, Sir, will ye worſhip the croſs of Chriſt, that he died upon?

Where is it? ſaid the lord Cobham.

The friar ſaid, I put you the caſe, Sir, that it were here even now before you.

The lord Cobham anſwered, This is a great wiſe man, to put me an earneſt queſtion of a thing, and yet he himſelf knoweth not where the thing itſelf is. Yet once again I aſk you, What worſhip I ſhould do unto it?

A clerk ſaid unto him. Such worſhip as Paul ſpeaketh of, and that is this; God forbid that I ſhould joy, but only in the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt.

Then ſaid the lord Cobham, and ſpread his arms abroad; This is the very croſs, yea, and ſo much better than your croſs of wood, in that it was created of God, yet will not I ſeek to have it worſhipped.

Then ſaid the biſhop of London, Sir, ye know well that he died on a material croſs.

The lord Cobham ſaid, Yea, and I know well, that our ſalvation came not in by that material croſs, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I know, that holy Saint Paul rejoiced in none other croſs, but in Chriſt's paſſion and death only, and in his own ſufferings of like perſecution with him, for the ſelf-ſame verity that he had ſuffered for afore.

Another clerk yet aſked him, Will ye then do none honour to the holy croſs?

He anſwered him, Yes, if it were mine own, I would lay him up honeſtly, and ſee unto him that he ſhould take no more ſcath abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now adays.

Then ſaid the archbiſhop unto him, Sir John, ye have ſpoken here many wonderful words to the ſlanderous rebuke of the whole ſpirituality, giving a great evil example unto the common ſort here, to have us in the more diſdain. Much time have we ſpent here about you, and all in vain, ſo far as I can ſee. Well, we muſt now be at this ſhort point with you, for the day paſſeth away: ye muſt either ſubmit yourſelf to the ordinance of holy church, or elſe throw yourſelf (no remedy) into moſt deep danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be elſe too late.

The lord Cobham ſaid, I know not to what purpoſe I ſhould otherwiſe ſubmit me. Much more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in this troubling me before this multitude.

Then ſaid the archbiſhop again unto him, We once again require you to remember yourſelf well, and to have none other manner of opinion in theſe matters, than the univerſal faith and belief of the holy church of Rome is. And ſo like an obedient child return again to the unity of your mother. See to it I ſay in time, for yet ye may have remedy, whereas anon it will be too late.

The lord Cobham ſaid expreſsly before them all; I will none otherwiſe believe in theſe points than that I have told you here afore. Do with me what you will.

Finally, then the archbiſhop ſaid; Well, then I ſee none other but that we muſt needs do the law; we muſt proceed forth to the ſentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for an heretic.

And with that the archbiſhop ſtood, and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity vailing their bonnets. And this was the tenor thereof.

The definitive Sentence of his Condemnation.

"IN the name of God; So be it. We Thomas, by the ſufferance of God, archbiſhop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, and legate from the apoſtolic ſee of Rome, will this to be known unto all men. In a certain cauſe of hereſy and upon divers articles, whereupon Sir John Oldcaſtle, knight, and lord Cobham, after a diligent inquiſition made for the ſame, was detected, accuſed, and preſented before us in our laſt convocation of our province of Canterbury, holden in the cathedral church of Paul's in London, at the lawful denouncement and requeſt of our univerſal clergy of the ſaid convocation, we proceeded againſt him according to the law (God to witneſs) with all the favour poſſible. And following Chriſt's example in all that we might, which willeth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he might be converted, and live; we took upon us to correct him, and ſought all other ways poſſible to bring him again to the church's unity, declaring unto him what the holy and univerſal church of Rome hath ſaid, holden, determined, and taught in that behalf. And though we found him in the catholic faith far wide, and ſo ſtiff-necked, that he would not confeſs his error, nor purge himſelf, nor yet repent him thereof; We yet pitying him of fatherly compaſſion, and entirely deſiring the health of his ſoul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to ſee if he would repent, and ſeek to be reformed: but ſince that time we have found him worſe and worſe. Conſidering therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the law, and with great heavineſs of heart we now proceed to the publication of the ſentence definitive againſt him.

Then brought he forth another bill, containing the ſaid ſentence, and that he read alſo in his beggarly Latin. Which I have alſo tranſlated into Engliſh, that men may underſtand it.

Chriſt we take unto witneſs, that nothing elſe we ſeek in this our whole enterpriſe, but his only glory. Foraſmuch as we have found by divers acts done, brought forth and exhibited, by ſundry evidences, ſigns, and tokens, and alſo by many moſt manifeſt proofs, the ſaid Sir John Oldcaſtle, knight, and lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretic in his own perſon, but alſo a mighty maintainer of other heretics againſt the faith and religion of the holy and univerſal church of Rome; namely, about the two ſacraments (of the altar, and of penance) beſides the pope's power, and pilgrimages; And that he, as the child of iniquity and darkneſs, hath ſo hardened his heart, that he will in no caſe attend unto the voice of his paſtor; neither will he be allured by ſtrait admonitions, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: The worthineſs of the cauſe firſt weighed on the one ſide, and his unworthineſs again conſidered on the other ſide, his faults alſo aggravated or made double through his damnable obſtinacy (we being loth that he which is naught ſhould be worſe, and ſo with his contagiouſneſs infect the multitude) by the ſage counſel and aſſent of the very diſcreet fathers, our honourable brethren and lords, biſhops here preſent, Richard of London, Henry of Wincheſter, and Bennet of Bangor; and of other great learned and wiſe men here, both doctors of divinity, and of the laws canon and civil, ſeculars and religious, with divers other expert men aſſiſting us: we ſententially and definitively by this preſent writing judge, declare, and condemn the ſaid Sir John Oldcaſtle, knight, and lord Cobham, for a moſt pernicious deteſtable heretic, convicted upon the ſame, and refuſing utterly to obey the church again, committing him here from henceforth as a condemned heretic, to the ſecular juriſdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death.

Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accurſed, not only this heretic here preſent, but ſo many elſe beſides, as ſhall hereafter in favour of his error either receive him or defend him, counſel him, or help him, or any other way maintain him; as very fautors,

receivers, defenders, counſellors, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretics.

And that theſe premiſes may be the better known of all faithful chriſtian men, we commit it here unto your charges, and give you ſtrait commandment thereupon, by this writing alſo, That ye cauſe this condemnation and definitive ſentence of excommunication concerning both this heretic and his fautors, to be publiſhed throughout all dioceſes, in cities, towns, and villages, by your curates and pariſh-prieſts, at ſuch times as they ſhall have moſt recourſe of people. And ſee that it be done after this ſort: As the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the curate every-where go into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this exceſs in the mother-tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may be received of all men: and that upon the fear of this declaration alſo the people may fall from their evil opinions conceived now of late by ſeditious preachers. Moreover we will, that after we have delivered unto each one of you biſhops, which are here preſent, a copy hereof, that ye cauſe the ſame to be written out again into divers copies, and to be ſent unto the other biſhops and prelates of our whole province, that they may alſo ſee the contents thereof ſolemnly publiſhed within their dioceſes and cures.

Finally, we will, that both you and they ſignify again unto us ſeriouſly and diſtinctly by your writings as the matter is, without feigned colour, in every point performed; the day whereon ye received this proceſs, the time when it was of us executed, and after what ſort it was done in every condition, according to the tenor hereof, that we may know it to be juſtly the ſame.

A copy of this writing ſent Thomas Arundel, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, afterward from Maidſtone the 10th day of October, within the ſame year of our Lord 1413, unto Richard Clifford, the biſhop of London, which thus beginneth; Thomas, permiſſione divinâ, &c.

The ſaid Richard Clifford ſent another copy thereof incloſed within his own letters, unto Robert Maſchal, a Carmelite friar, which was then biſhop of Hereford in Wales, written from Haddam, the 23d of October, in the ſame year, the beginning whereof is as followeth; Reverende in Chriſto pater, &c.

This Robert Maſchal directed another copy thereof from London, the 27th day of November, in the ſame year, incloſed in his own commiſſion alſo, unto his archdeacon and deans in Hereford and Shrewſbury. And this is thereof the beginning; Venerabilibus & diſcretis viris, &c. In like manner did the other biſhops within their dioceſes.

After that the archbiſhop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, with moſt extremity, before the whole multitude; the lord Cobham ſaid with a moſt chearful countenance, Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and ſure, that ye can do no harm to my ſoul, no more than could Satan unto the ſoul of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promiſe ſave it. I have herein no manner of doubt. And as concerning theſe articles before rehearſed, I will ſtand to them, even to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God.

And therewith he turned him unto the people, caſting his hands abroad, and ſaying with a very loud voice, Good chriſtian people, for God's love be well ware of theſe men, for they will elſe beguile you, and lead you blindfold into hell with themſelves. For Chriſt ſaith plainly unto you, "If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch."

After this, he fell down there upon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, holding both his hands and his eyes towards heaven, and ſaying, Lord God eternal, I beſeech thee of thy great mercy ſake to forgive my purſuers, if it be thy bleſſed will. And then he was delivered to Sir Robert Morley, and ſo led forth again unto the Tower of London: and thus there was an end of that day's work.

While the lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he ſent out privily unto his friends; and they at his requeſt wrote this little bill here following; cauſing it to be ſet up in divers quarters of London, that the people ſhould not believe the ſlanders and lyes that his enemies the biſhop's ſervants and prieſts had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter:

FOraſmuch as Sir John Oldcaſtle, knight, and lord Cobham, is untruly convicted and impriſoned, reported and ſlandered among the common people by his adverſaries, that he ſhould both otherwiſe think and ſpeak of the ſacraments of the church, and ſpecially of the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, than was written in the confeſſion of his belief, which was intended and taken to the clergy, and ſo ſet up in divers open places of the city of London: known be it here to all the world, that he (never ſince) varied in any point therefrom; but this is plainly his belief, That all the ſacraments of the church be profitable and expedient alſo to all them that ſhall be ſaved, taking them after the intent that Chriſt and his true church hath ordained. Furthermore he believeth, That the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is verily and truly Chriſt's body in form of bread.

After this, the biſhops and prieſts were in great diſcredit both with the nobility and commons, partly for that they had ſo cruelly handled the good lord Cobham, and partly again, becauſe his opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the ſacrament.

The prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both ways, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at the laſt conſented to uſe another practice ſomewhat contrary to that they had done before.

They cauſed it by and by to be blown abroad by their fee'd ſervants, friends, babbling Sir John's, that the ſaid Lord Cobham was become a good man, and had lowly ſubmitted himſelf in all things unto holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the ſacrament. And thereupon they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people ſhould take no hold of his opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and ſo to ſtand the more in awe of them, conſidering him ſo great a man, and by them ſubdued.

This is the abjuration, ſay they, of Sir John Oldcaſtle, knight, ſome time the lord Cobham.

An Abjuration counterfeited by the Biſhops.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. I John Oldcaſtle, denounced, detected, and convicted of and upon divers articles, ſavouring both of hereſy and error, before the reverend father in Chriſt, and my good lord, Thomas, by the permiſſion of God, lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, and my lawful and rightful judge in that behalf, expreſly grant and confeſs, That as concerning the eſtate and power of the moſt holy father, the pope of Rome, of his archbiſhops, his biſhops, and his other prelates, the decrees of the church, and the holy ſacraments of the ſame, ſpecially of the ſacraments of the altar, of penance, and other obſervances beſide of our mother holy church, as pilgrimages and pardons; I affirm, I ſay, before the ſaid reverend father archbiſhop and elſewhere, that I being evilly ſeduced by divers ſeditious preachers, have grievouſly erred, and heretically perſiſted, blaſphemouſly anſwered, and obſtinately rebelled; and therefore I am by the ſaid reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Chriſt alſo, the biſhops in London, Wincheſter, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for an heretic.

Nevertheleſs, yet I now remembering myſelf, and coveting by this means to avoid that temporal pain which

which I am worthy to ſuffer as an heretic, at the aſſignation of my moſt excellent chriſtian prince and liege lord, king Henry the fifth, now by the grace of God moſt worthy king, both of England and of France; minding alſo to prefer the wholeſome determination, ſentence, and doctrine of the holy univerſal church of Rome, before the unwholeſome opinions of myſelf, my teachers, and my followers, I freely, willingly, deliberately, and thoroughly confeſs, grant, and affirm, That the moſt holy fathers in Chriſt, St. Peter the apoſtle, and his ſucceſſors, biſhops of Rome, ſpecially now at this time, my moſt bleſſed lord pope John, by the permiſſion of God, the 23d pope of that name, which now holdeth Peter's ſeat (and each of them in their ſucceſſion) hath full ſtrength and power to be Chriſt's vicar in earth, and the head of the church militant. And that by the ſtrength of his office (what though he be a great ſinner, and afore-known of God to be damned!) he hath full authority and power to rule and govern, bind and looſe, ſave and deſtroy, accurſe and abſoil all other chriſtian men.

And agreeably ſtill unto this I confeſs, grant, and affirm, all other archbiſhops, biſhops, and prelates in their provinces, dioceſes, and pariſhes (appointed for the ſaid pope of Rome to aſſiſt him in his doings or buſineſs) by his decrees, canons, or virtue of his office, to have had in times paſt, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, authority and power to rule and govern, bind and looſe, accurſe and abſoil the ſubjects or people of their foreſaid provinces, dioceſes, and pariſhes, and that their ſaid ſubjects or people ought of right in all things to obey them.

Furthermore I confeſs, grant, and affirm, that the ſaid ſpiritual fathers, as our moſt holy father the pope, archbiſhops, biſhops, and prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power for the ſtate, order and governance of their ſubjects or people, to make laws, decrees, ſtatutes, and conſtitutions, yea, and to publiſh, command, and compel their ſaid ſubjects and people to the obſervation of them.

Moreover, I confeſs, and affirm, that all theſe foreſaid laws, decrees, ſtatutes, and conſtitutions made, publiſhed and commanded, according to the form or ſpiritual law, all chriſtian people, and every man in himſelf is ſtraitly bound to obſerve, and meekly to obey, according to the diverſity of the foreſaid powers, as the laws, ſtatutes, canons and conſtitutions of our moſt holy father the pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, reſcripts, ſextiles, and extravagants over all the world; and as the provincial ſtatutes of archbiſhops in their provinces, the ſynodal acts of biſhops in their dioceſes, and the commendable rules and cuſtoms of prelates in their colleges, and curates in their pariſhes, all chriſtian people are both bound to obſerve, and alſo moſt meekly to obey.

Over and beſides all this, I John Oldcaſtle, utterly forſaking and renouncing all the foreſaid errors and hereſies, and all other errors and hereſies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this book or holy evangely of God, and ſwear, that I ſhall never more from henceforth hold theſe aforeſaid hereſies, nor yet any other like unto them, wittingly. Neither ſhall I give counſel, aid, help, or favour at any time, to them that ſhall hold, teach, affirm, and maintain the ſame, as God ſhall help me, and theſe holy evangeliſts.

And that I ſhall from henceforth faithfully obey and inviolably obſerve all the holy laws, ſtatutes, canons, and conſtitutions, of all the popes of Rome, archbiſhops, biſhops, and prelates, which are contained and determined in their holy decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, reſcripts, ſextiles, ſums, papal extravagants, ſtatutes provincial, acts ſynodal, and other ordinary regules and cuſtoms conſtituted by them, or that ſhall chance hereafter directly to be determined or made. To theſe and all ſuch other will I myſelf with all power poſſible apply.

Beſides all this, the penance which it ſhall pleaſe my ſaid reverend father the lord ardhbiſhop of Canterbury hereafter to enjoin me for my ſins, I will meekly obey and faithfully fulfil.

Finally, all my ſeducers and falſe teachers, and all other beſides, whom I ſhall hereafter know ſuſpected of hereſy or errors, I ſhall effectually preſent, ſend, or cauſe to be preſented unto my ſaid reverend father, lord archbiſhop, or to them which have his authority, ſo ſoon as I can conveniently do it, and ſee that they be corrected to my uttermoſt power.

This abjuration never came to the hands of the lord Cobham, neither was it compiled of them for that purpoſe, but only therewith to blear the eyes of the unlearned multitude for a time. After the which like fetch and ſubtil practice, was alſo deviſed the recantation of the archbiſhop Thomas Cranmer, to ſtop for a time the people's mouths. Which ſubtilty in like manner was alſo practiſed with the falſe recantation of the biſhop Hooper, and divers other.

And thus much hitherto concerning the firſt trouble of Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, with all the circumſtances of the true time, place, occaſion, cauſes, and order belonging to the ſame, wherein I truſt I have ſufficiently ſatisfied all the parts, requiſite to a faithful hiſtory, without corruption.

For the confirmation whereof, to the intent the mind alſo of the wrangling caviller may be ſatisfied, and to ſtop the mouth of the adverſary (which I ſee in all places to be ready to bark), I have therefore of purpoſe annexed withal my ground and foundation, taken out of the archives and regiſters of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ex epiſtola Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond. Whereby may appear the manifeſt error both of Polydorus, and of Edw. Hall, who, being deceived in the right diſtinction of the times, aſſign this citation and examination of the lord Cobham to be after the council of Conſtance, when as Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury, at the council of Conſtance, was not alive. The copy and teſtimony of his own letter ſhall declare the ſame, being written and ſent to the biſhop of London in form as followeth;

The Copy of the Epiſtle of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, written to the Biſhop of London, whereon dependeth the Ground and Certainty of this foreſaid Hiſtory of the Lord Cobham above premiſed.

TO the reverend father in Chriſt, and lord, the lord Robert, by the grace of God biſhop of Hereford, Richard by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of London, health and continual increaſe of ſincere love. We have of late received the letters of the reverend father in Chriſt and lord, the lord Thomas, by the grace of God archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apoſtolic ſee, to this effect.

Thomas, by the permiſſion of God, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apoſtolic ſee, to our reverend brother the lord Richard biſhop of London, health and brotherly love in the Lord. It was lately concluded before us in the convocation of prelates and clergy of our province of Canterbury, laſt celebrate in our church of St. Paul, intreating amongſt other things with the ſaid prelates and clergy upon the union and reformation of the church of England, by us and the ſaid prelates and clergy; that it was almo ſtimpoſſible to amend the hole of our Lord's coat, which was without ſeam, unleſs firſt of all certain nobles of the realm, which are authors, favourers, protectors, defenders, and receivers of theſe heretics, called Lollards, were ſharply rebuked, and if need were, by the cenſures of the church and the help of the ſecular power, they be revoked from their errors. And afterward having made diligent inquiſition in the convocation amongſt

amongſt the proctors of the clergy and others, which were there in number out of every dioceſe of our province; it were found out amongſt others, that Sir John Oldcaſtle, knight, was and is the principal receiver, favourer, protector, and defender of them; and that ſpecially in the dioceſes of London, Rocheſter, and Hereford, he had ſent the ſaid Lollards to preach, not being licenſed by the ordinaries and biſhops of the dioceſes or places, contrary to the provincial conſtitutions in that behalf made, and hath been preſent at their wicked ſermons, grievouſly puniſhing with threatenings, terrors, and the power of the ſecular ſword, ſuch as did withſtand him: alledging and affirming, amongſt others, that we and our fellow brethren, ſuffragans of our province, had not, neither have any power to make any ſuch conſtitutions. Alſo he hath holden and doth hold opinion, and teach as touching the ſacraments of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, and the worſhiping of ſaints, and of the keys, contrary to that which the univerſal church of Rome doth teach and affirm.

Wherefore on the behalf of the ſaid prelates and clergy, we were then required, that we ſhould vouchſafe to proceed againſt the ſaid Sir John Oldcaſtle upon the premiſſes. Notwithſtanding for the reverence of our lord the king, in whoſe favour the ſaid Sir John at that preſent was, and no leſs alſo for honour of his knighthood; we with our fellow brethren and ſuffragans then preſent, with a great part of the clergy of our province, coming perſonally before the preſence of our lord the king, being then at his manor of Kenington, put up againſt the ſaid Sir John a complaint, partly reciting the faults of the ſaid Sir John; but at the requeſt of our lord the king, we deſiring to reduce the Sir John to unity of the church, without any reproach, we deferred all the execution of the premiſſes for a great time.

But at the laſt, foraſmuch as our ſaid lord the king, and his great travails taken about the converſion of him, did nothing at all profit, as our ſaid lord the king vouchſafed to certify us by word and writing; we immediately decreed to call forth the ſaid Sir John perſonally to anſwer before us at a certain time already paſſed, in and upon the premiſſes, and ſent our meſſengers with thoſe our letters of citation to the ſaid Sir John, then being at his caſtle at Cowling. Unto the which meſſenger we gave commandment, that he ſhould in no caſe go into the caſtle, except he were licenſed.

But by the mean of one John Butler, porter to the king's chamber, he ſhould require the ſaid Sir John, that he would either licenſe the ſaid meſſenger to come into the caſtle, or that he would cite him, or at the leaſt, that he would ſuffer himſelf to be cited without his caſtle. The which Sir John openly anſwered unto the ſaid John Butler, declaring the premiſſes unto him on the behalf of our lord the king, that he would by no means be cited, neither in any caſe ſuffer his citation. Then we being certified of the premiſſes, lawfully proceeded further.

Firſt, having faithful report made unto us, that he could not be apprehended by perſonal citation, we decreed to cite him by an edict, to be openly ſet up in the porches of the cathedral church of Rocheſter next unto him, little more than three Engliſh miles diſtant from the ſaid caſtle of Cowling. As we had thus cauſed him to be cited, and our edict aforeſaid to be publicly and openly ſet upon the porches of the ſaid church, that he ſhould perſonally appear before us the eleventh day of September laſt paſt, to anſwer unto the premiſſes, and certain other things concerning hereſy.

The which day being come, and we ſitting in the tribunal ſeat in our great chapel within the caſtle of Leeds of our dioceſe, the which we then inhabited, and whereas we then kept reſidence with our court, and having taken an oath, which is requiſite in the premiſſes, and the information by us heard and received, as the common report goeth, in the parts whereas the ſaid Sir John dwelleth (fortifying himſelf in his ſaid caſtle) defending his opinions manifoldly, contemning the keys of the church and the archbiſhop's power; we therefore cauſed the ſaid Sir John Oldcaſtle, cited as is aforeſaid, to be openly with a loud voice called by the crier; and ſo being called, long looked for, and by no means appearing, we judged him (as he was no leſs worthy) obſtinate, and for puniſhing of his ſaid obſtinacy we did then and there excommunicate him.

And foraſmuch as by the order of the premiſſes, and other evident tokens of his doings, we underſtand that the ſaid Sir John, for the defence of his errors, doth fortify himſelf (as is aforeſaid) againſt the keys of the church, by pretence whereof vehement ſuſpicion of hereſy and ſchiſm riſeth againſt him; We have decreed, if he may be apprehended, again perſonally to cite him, or elſe, as before, by an edict, that he ſhould appear before us the Saturday next after the feaſt of St. Matthew the apoſtle and evangeliſt next coming, to ſhew ſome reaſonable cauſe, if he can, why we ſhould not proceed againſt him, to a more grievous puniſhment, as an open heretic, ſchiſmatic, and open enemy of the univerſal church. And perſonally to declare why he ſhould not be pronounced ſuch an one, or that the aid of the ſecular power ſhould not be ſolemnly required againſt him.

And further to anſwer, do, and receive as touching the premiſſes, whatſoever juſtice ſhall require. The which time being come, that is to ſay, the Saturday next after the feaſt of St. Matthew, being the twenty fourth day of September, Sir Robert Morley knight, lieutenant of the Tower of London, appeared perſonally before us, ſitting in the chapter-houſe of the church of St. Paul at London, with reverend fellow brethren and lords, Richard by the grace of God biſhop of London, and Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, and brought with him Sir John Oldcaſtle knight, and ſet him before us (for a little before he was taken by the king's ſervants, and caſt into the Tower:) unto which Sir John Oldcaſtle ſo perſonally preſent we rehearſed all the order of the proceſs, as it is contained in the acts of the day before paſſed, with good and modeſt words and gentle means; that is to ſay, how he the ſaid Sir John was detected and accuſed in the convocation of the prelates and clergy of our ſaid province, as is aforeſaid, upon the articles before rehearſed, and how he was cited, and for his contumacy excommunicate. And when we were come to that point, we offered ourſelves ready to abſolve him.

Notwithſtanding the ſaid Sir John not regarding our offer, ſaid, That he would willingly rehearſe before us, and my ſaid fellow brethren, the faith which he held and affirmed. So he having his deſire, and obtaining licenſe, took out of his boſom a certain ſchedule indented, and there openly read the contents of the ſame, and delivered the ſame ſchedule unto us, and the ſchedule of the articles whereupon he was examined, which was in form following:

The Catholic Faith and Confeſſion of the Lord Cobham.

I John Oldcaſtle, knight, lord of Cobham, deſire to make manifeſt unto all chriſtians, and God to be taken to witneſs, that I never thought otherwiſe, or would think otherwiſe (by God's help) than with a ſtedfaſt and undoubted faith to embrace all thoſe his ſacraments which he had inſtituted for the uſe of his church.

Furthermore, that I may the more plainly declare my mind in theſe four points of my faith; firſt of all I believe the ſacrament of the altar to be the body of Chriſt under the form of bread, the very ſame body which was born of his mother Mary, crucified for us, dead and buried, roſe again the third day, ſitteth on the right hand of his

immortal Father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his eternal glory. Then as touching the ſacrament of penance, this is my belief, that I do think the correction of a ſinful life to be moſt neceſſary for all ſuch as deſire to be ſaved, and that they ought to take upon them ſuch repentance of their former life, by true confeſſion, unfeigned contrition, and lawful ſatisfaction, as the word of God doth preſcribe unto us; otherwiſe there will be no hope of ſalvation.

Thirdly, as touching Images, this is my opinion, that I do judge them no point of faith, but brought into the world after the faith of Chriſt by the ſufferance of the church, and ſo grown in uſe, that they might ſerve for a calendar for the lay-people and ignorant; by the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly examples and martyrdom of Chriſt and other holy men: but if any man do otherwiſe abuſe this repreſentation, and give the reverence unto thoſe images, which is due unto the holy men whom they repreſent, or rather unto him to whom the holy men themſelves owe all their honour, ſetting all their truſt and hope in them which ought to be referred unto God: or if they be ſo affected toward the dumb images, that they be in any behalf addict unto them, either be more addicted unto one ſaint than another, in my mind they do little differ from idolatry, grievouſly offending againſt God the author of all honour.

Laſt of all, I am thus perſuaded, that there be no inhabitants here in earth, but that we ſhall paſs ſtraight either to life or puniſhment: for whoſoever doth ſo order his life that he ſtumbleth at the commandments of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vain for him to look for ſalvation, although he run over all the corners of the world. Contrariwiſe, he which obſerveth his commandments cannot periſh, although in all his life time he walk no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canterbury, nor Compoſtella, or to any other place, whither the common people are accuſtomed to walk.

This ſchedule, with the aaticles therein contained, being read (as is aforeſaid) by the ſaid Sir John, we with our fellow brethren aforeſaid, and many other doctors and learned men, had conference upon the ſame, and at the laſt by the counſel and conſent of them, we ſpake theſe words following unto the ſaid Sir John there preſent: Behold, Sir John, there are many good and catholic things contained in this ſchedule; but you have at this time to anſwer unto other matters which ſavour of errors and hereſies, whereunto (by the conſent of this ſchedule) it is not fully anſwered, and therefore you muſt anſwer thereunto, and more plainly expreſs and declare your faith and opinions as touching thoſe points in the ſame bill; that is to ſay, whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration rightly done, there remaineth material bread or not.

Item, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that it is neceſſary in the ſacrament of penance for a man to confeſs his ſins unto a prieſt appointed by the church.

The which articles in this manner delivered unto him, amongſt many other things he anſwered plainly, that he would make no other declaration or anſwer thereunto than was contained in the ſaid ſchedule. Whereupon we favouring the ſaid Sir John, with benign and gentle means we ſpake unto him in this manner: Sir John, take heed, for if you do not plainly anſwer to theſe things which are objected againſt you, within a lawful time now granted you by the judges, we may declare you to be an heretic. But the ſaid Sir John perſevered as before, and would make no other anſwer. Conſequently notwithſtanding, we together with our ſaid fellow brethren, and others of our council, took advice, and by their counſel declared unto the ſaid Sir John Oldcaſtle, what the ſaid holy church of Rome in this matter (following the ſaying of bleſſed St. Auguſtine, Hierom, Ambroſe, and other holy men) hath determined, the which determinations every catholic ought to obſerve. Whereupon the ſaid Sir John anſwered, that he would believe and obſerve whatſoever the holy church determined, and whatſoever God would he ſhould obſerve and believe. But that he would in no caſe affirm, that our lord the pope, the cardinals, archbiſhops, and biſhops or other prelates of the church, have any power to determine any ſuch matters. Whereunto, we yet favouring him, under hope of better adviſement, promiſed the ſaid Sir John, that we would give him in writing certain determinations upon the matter aforeſaid, whereunto he ſhould more plainly anſwer, written in Latin, and for his better underſtanding tranſlated into Engliſh: whereupon we commanded and heartily deſired him, that againſt Monday next following he ſhould give a plain and full anſwer: the which determinations we cauſed to be tranſlated the ſame day, and to be delivered unto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follows in this manner:

The faith and determination of the holy church upon the holy ſacrament of the altar is this: That after the conſecration done in the maſs by the prieſt, the material bread ſhall be changed into the material body of Chriſt; and the material wine into the material blood of Chriſt; therefore after the conſecration there remaineth no more any ſubſtance of bread and wine, which was there before. What do you anſwer to this article?

And the holy mother-church hath determined, that every chriſtian dwelling upon earth ought to confeſs his ſins unto a prieſt ordained by the church, if he may come unto him. How think you by this article?

Chriſt ordained St. Peter his vicar on earth, whoſe ſeat is in the church of Rome, giving and granting the ſame authority, which he gave Peter, alſo to his ſucceſſors, which are now called popes of Rome, in whoſe power it is to ordain and inſtitute prelates in particular churches, as archbiſhops, biſhops, curates, and other eccleſiaſtical orders, unto whom the chriſtian people owe obedience, according to the tradition of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy church: what think you by this article?

Beſides this, the holy church hath determined, that it is neceſſary for every chriſtian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there ſpecially to worſhip the holy relicts of the apoſtles, martyrs, confeſſors, and all ſaints whomſoever the church of Rome hath allowed? what think you of this article!

Upon which Monday, being the five and twentieth day of the ſaid month of September, before us and our fellow brethren aforeſaid, having alſo taken unto us our reverend brother Benedict, by the grace of God biſhop of Bangor, and by our commandment our counſellers and miniſter M. Hen. Ware official of our court of Canterbury, Philip Morgan doctor of both laws, Howel Kiffin doctor of the decretals, John Kempe and William Carlton doctors of law, John Witnam, Thomas Palmer, Robert Wombwell, John Withe, and Robert Chamberlain, Richard Dotington, and Tho. Walden, profeſſors of divinity; alſo James Cole, and John Stevens, our notaries appointed on this behalf: they all and every one being ſworn upon the holy goſpel of God, laying their hands upon the book, that they ſhould give their faithful counſel in and upon the matter aforeſaid, and in every ſuch cauſe, and to the whole world: by and by appeared Sir Robert Morley knight, lieutenant of the Tower of London, and brought with him the foreſaid Sir John Oldcaſtle, ſetting him before us. Unto whom we gently and familiarly rehearſed the acts of the day before paſſed. And as before we told him that he both is and was excommunicate, requiring and entreating him that he

would desire and receive in due form the absolution of the church. Unto whom the said Sir John then and there plainly answered, That in this behalf he would require no absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then afterward by gentle and soft means we desired and required him to make plain answer unto the articles which were laid against him. And first of all, as touching the sacrament of the altar. To the which article, besides other things, he answered and said thus: That as Christ being here on earth had in him both Godhead and manhood: notwithstanding, the Godhead was covered and invisible under the humanity, the which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise in the sacrament of the altar there is the very body and very bread, bread which we do see; the body of Christ hidden under the same, which we do not see. And plainly he denied, that the faith as touching the said sacrament determined by the Romish church and holy doctors, and sent unto him by us in the said schedule, was the determination of the holy church. But if it be the determination of the church, he said that it was done contrary unto the scriptures, after the church was endowed, and after that poison was poured into the church, and not afore.

Also, as touching the sacrament of penance and confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there, that if any man were in any grievous sin, out of the which he knew not how to rise, it were expedient and good for him to go unto some holy and discreet priest to take counsel of him: But that he should confess his sin to any proper priest or to any other, although he might have the use of him, it is not necessary to salvation, forasmuch as by only contrition such sin can be wiped away, and the sinner himself purged.

As concerning the worshipping of the cross, he said and affirmed, that the only body of Christ which did hang upon the cross, is to be worshipped; forasmuch as that body alone was and is the cross, which is to be worshipped.

And being demanded what honour he would do unto the image of the cross; he answered by express words, That he would only do it that honour, that he would make it clean, and lay it up safe.

As touching the power and authority of the keys, the archbishops, bishops and other prelates, he said, That the pope is very antichrist, that is, the head; that the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates be his members; and that the friars be his tail. The which pope, archbishops, and bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, manners, and conversation, and that he is the successor of Peter which is best and purest in life and manners.

Furthermore, the said Sir John, spreading his hands, with a loud voice said thus to those which stood about him, These men, which judge and would condemn me, will seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you unto hell; therefore take heed of them.

When he had spoken those words, we again, as oftentimes before, with lamentable countenance, spake unto the said Sir John, exhorting him with as gentle words as we might, that he would return to the unity of the church, to believe and hold that which the church of Rome doth believe and hold. Who expressly answered, That he would not believe or hold otherwise than he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiving, as it appeared by him, that we could not prevail, at the last with bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitive sentence in this manner:

"In the Name of God, Amen. We Thomas by the permission of God, archbishop and humble minister of the holy church of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause or matter of heresy upon certain articles, whereupon Sir John Oldcastle knight, lord Cobham, before us in the last convocation of our clergy of our province of Canterbury, holden in the church of St. Paul in London, after diligent inquisition thereupon made, was detected and accused, and by our said province notoriously and openly defamed. At the request of the whole clergy aforesaid thereupon made to us in the said convocation, with all favour possible that we might (God we take to witness) lawfully proceeding against him, following the footsteps and example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, we have endeavoured by all ways and means we might or could to reform him, and rather reduce him to the unity of the church, declaring unto him what the holy universal church of Rome doth teach, hold, and determine in this behalf. And albeit that we found him wandering astray from the catholic faith, and so stubborn and stiff necked, that he would not confess his error, or clear himself thereof, to detest the same; notwithstanding we favouring him with a fatherly affection, and heartily wishing and desiring his preservation, prefixed him a certain competent time to deliberate with himself; and, if he would, to repent and reform himself. And last of all, forsomuch as we perceived him to be unreasonable, observing chiefly those things which by the law are required; in this behalf, with great sorrow and bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of the definitive sentence in this wise.

The name of Christ being called upon, setting him only before our eyes. Forasmuch as by act enacted, signs exhibited, evidences and divers tokens, besides sundry kind of proofs, we find the said Sir John to be and have been an heretic, and a follower of heretics in the faith, and observation of the sacred universal church of Rome, and specially as touching the sacrament of the eucharist and of penance; and that as the son of iniquity and darkness he hath so hardened his heart, that he will not understand the voice of the shepherd, neither will be allured with his monitions, or converted with any fair speech: having first of all searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merits of the cause aforesaid, and of the said Sir John, his deserts and faults aggravated through his damnable obstinacy; not willing that he that is wicked should become more wicked, and infect other with his contagion; by the counsel and consent of the reverend men of profound wisdom and discretion, our brethren the lords Richard bishop of London, Henry bishop of Winchester, and Benedict bishop of Bangor, and also of many other religious and learned persons our assistants, we have judged and declared sententially, and definitively condemned the said Sir John Oldcastle knight, lord Cobham, being convict in and upon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to return unto the unity of the church, and in those things which the sacred universal church of Rome doth hold, teach, determine, and shew forth. And especially as one erring in the articles above-written, leaving him from henceforth as an heretic unto the secular judgment.

Moreover, we have excommunicated, and by these writings do pronounce and excommunicate him as an heretic, and all other which from henceforth, in favour of his error, shall receive, defend, or give him counsel, or favour, or help him in this behalf, as favourers, defenders, and receivers of heretics. And to the intent that these premises may be known unto all faithful christians, we charge and command you, that by your sentence definitive you do cause the curates which are under you, with a loud and audible voice in their churches, when as most people is present, in their mother-tongue, through all your cities and dioceses, to publish and declare the said Sir John Oldcastle, as is before said, to be by us condemned as an heretic, schismatic, and one erring in the articles abovesaid; and all other which from henceforth in favour of his errors shall receive or defend him, giving him any counsel, comfort, or favour in this behalf, to be excommunicate as receivers, favourers, and defenders of heretics;

heretics; as is more effectually contained in the proceſs. That by ſuch means the erroneous opinions of the people (which peradventure hath otherwiſe conceived the matter) by thoſe declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off. The which thing alſo we will and command to be written and ſignified by you, word for word, unto all our fellow brethren, that they all may manifeſt, publiſh, and declare throughout all their cities and dioceſes, the manner and form of this our proceſs, and alſo the ſentence by us given, and all other ſingular the contents in the ſame. And likewiſe cauſe it to be publiſhed by their curates which are under them, as touching the day of receipt of theſe preſents, and what you have done in the premiſes, how you and they have executed this our commandment. We will that you and they duly and diſtinctly certify us the buſineſs being done, by your and their letters patents, according to this tenor. Dated in our manor of Maidſtone, the 10th of October, An. 1413, and in the 18th year of our tranſlation."

Thus have you here the judicial proceſs of the biſhops againſt this moſt noble chriſtian knight, deſcribed by their own letters and ſtyle. After all this, the ſentence of death being given, the lord Cobham was ſent away, Sir Robert Morley carrying him again unto the Tower, where after he had remained a certain ſpace, in the night ſeaſon (it is not known by what means) he eſcaped out and fled into Wales, where he continued by the ſpace of four years.

Theſe men, Sir Roger Acton, John Brown, eſq; John Beverly, preacher, and about thirty-ſix more, as is ſaid, ſuffered before the lord Cobham about three years, Anno 1414, of whoſe death divers do write diverſely. Some ſay they were hanged and burnt in St. Giles's field; of whom is Fabian, with ſuch as follow him. Other there be which ſay, that ſome of them were hanged and burnt. Polydorus ſpeaking only of their burning, maketh no mention of hanging. Another certain Engliſh chronicle I have in my hands, borrowed of one M. Bowyer, who, ſomewhat differing from the reſt, recordeth thus of Sir Roger Acton, that his judgment before the juſtice was thus, to be drawn through London to Tyburn, and there to be hanged, and ſo he was naked, ſave certain parts of him covered with a cloth, &c. And when certain days were paſt (ſaith the author) a trumpeter of the king's called Thomas Cliff, got grant of the king to take him down, and to bury him, and ſo he did, &c. And thus have you the ſtory of Sir Roger Acton, and his fellow brethren. As touching their cauſe, whether it were true, or elſe by error miſtaken of the king, or by the fetch of the biſhops ſurmiſed, I refer it to the judgment of him which ſhall judge both the quick and the dead.

After the deceaſe or martyrdom of theſe above-mentioned, who were executed in the month of January, Anno 1414, in the next month following, and in the ſame year, the twentieth day of February, God took away the great enemy of his word, and rebel to his king, Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury; whoſe death following after the execution of theſe good men above recited, by the marvellous ſtroke of God ſo ſuddenly, may ſeem ſomewhat to declare their innocency, and that he was alſo ſome great procurer of their death, in that God would not ſuffer him longer to live, ſtriking him with death incontinently upon the ſame. But as I did the other before, ſo this alſo I do refer to the ſecret judgment of the Lord, who once ſhall judge all ſecrets openly.

In the mean time this may ſeem ſtrange, that the ſame Thomas Arundel, who a little before ſat in judgment againſt the lord Cobham, and pronounced ſentence of death upon him, did himſelf feel the ſtroke of death, and the ſentence of God executed upon him, before the other. Who would have thought but that the lord Cobham, being ſo caſt and condemned definitively by the archbiſhop's ſentence, ſhould have died long before the archbiſhop? But ſuch be the works of God's almighty hand, who ſo turned the wheel, that this condemned lord ſurvived his condemner three or four years.

In the death of this archbiſhop, firſt Polydore Virgil is deceived, who in his twenty-ſecond book, page 441, affirmed his death to be Anno 1415, in the ſecond year of king Henry the fifth, alſo after the beginning of the council of Conſtance, who indeed never reached the beginning thereof, nor ever ſaw the ſecond year of that king (unleſs ye count the firſt day for a year) but died before, Anno 1414, February 20. Ex Hiſt. S. Albani & multis. Furthermore, concerning the death of this Arundel, and the manner thereof, who had been ſo heavy a troubler of Chriſt's ſaints in his time, becauſe the thing ſeemeth worthy of noting, to behold the puniſhment of God upon his enemies, this is the report, as I have found it alledged out of Thomas Gaſcoin in Dictionario Theologico, whoſe plain words be theſe, Anno 1414. "Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury was ſo ſtricken in his tongue, that he could neither ſwallow nor ſpeak for a certain ſpace before his death, much like after the example of the rich glutton, and ſo died upon the ſame. And this was thought of many to come upon him, for that he ſo bound the word of the Lord, that it ſhould not be preached in his days, &c."

After this Arundel, ſucceeded next in the ſaid ſee of Canterbury Henry Chicheſly, made archbiſhop Anno 1414. and ſat five and twenty years. This Henry following likewiſe the ſteps of his predeceſſor, ſhewed himſelf no ſmall adverſary againſt the favourers of the truth. In whoſe time was much trouble and great affliction in the church. For as the preaching and teaching of the word did multiply and ſpread abroad daily more and more, ſo, on the contrary ſide, more vigilant care and ſtrait inquiſition followed and increaſed againſt the people of God, by reaſon whereof divers did ſuffer, and were burned; ſome for fear fled the country: many were brought to examination, and by infirmity conſtrained to abjure. Of whom hereafter Chriſt willing particularly in order of their times we will intreat.

The Entry of the Story of the Bohemians.

I Declared a little before how by the occaſion of queen Anne, which was a Bohemian, and married to king Richard the ſecond, the Bohemians coming thereby to the knowledge of Wickliff's books here in England, began firſt to take and favour Chriſt's goſpel, till at length by the preaching of John Hus they increaſed more and more in knowledge. Inſomuch that pope Alexander the the fifth hearing thereof, began at laſt to ſtir coals, and directeth his bull to the archbiſhop of Swinco, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no perſon in churches, ſchools, or other places, ſhould maintain that doctrine, citing alſo John Hus to appear before him. To whom the ſaid John anſwering again, declared that mandate or bull of the pope utterly to repugn againſt the manifeſt examples and doings both of Chriſt and of his apoſtles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the goſpel, in binding the word of God not to have free courſe. And therefore from this mandate of the pope he appealed to the ſame pope better adviſed. But while he was proſecuting his appeal, pope Alexander died, as is aforeſaid.

After whom ſucceeded pope John the three and twentieth, who alſo, playing his part here in this matter like a pope, ſought by all means poſſible how to repreſs and keep under the Bohemians, firſt beginning to work his malice upon the foreſaid John Hus, their preacher, who at the ſame time preaching at Prague, in the temple of Bethlehem, becauſe he ſeemed rather willing to teach the goſpel of Chriſt, than the traditions of biſhops, was there-

therefore accuſed of certain to the forenamed pope John the three and twentieth, for an heretic. The biſhop committed the whole matter unto cardinal de Columna, who, when he had heard the accuſation, he appointed a day to John Hus, that he ſhould appear in the court of Rome: which thing once done, Wenceſlaus, king of the Romans, and of Bohemia, at the requeſt ſpecially of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobility of Bohemia, as alſo at the earneſt ſuit and deſire of the town and univerſity of Prague, ſent his ambaſſadors to Rome, to deſire the biſhop to quit and deliver clearly John Hus from that ſentence and judgment: and that if the biſhop did ſuſpect the kingdom of Bohemia to be infected with any heretical or falſe doctrine, he ſhould ſend his ambaſſadors, the which might amend and correct the ſame, if there be any error or fault in them. And that all this ſhould be done at the only coſts and charges of the king of Bohemia; and to promiſe in his name that he would aid and aſſiſt the biſhop's legates with all his power and authority, to puniſh all ſuch as ſhould be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. In the mean ſeaſon alſo John Hus, before his day appointed, ſent his lawful and meek procurators unto the court of Rome, and with moſt firm and ſtrong reaſons did prove his innocency; whereupon he truſted ſo, that he thought he ſhould have eaſily obtained that he ſhould not have been compelled, by reaſon of the great danger, to appear the day appointed. But when as the cardinal de Columna (unto whoſe will and judgment the whole matter was committed) would not admit any defence or excuſe, John Hus his procurators appealed unto the high biſhop: yet notwithſtanding this laſt refuge did not ſo much prevail with cardinal de Columna, but that he would openly excommunicate John Hus as an obſtinate heretic, becauſe he came not at his day appointed unto Rome.

Notwithſtanding, forſomuch as his procurators had appealed unto the high biſhop, they had other judges appointed unto them, as cardinal Aquileianus and cardinal Venetus, with certain others. The which judges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter by the ſpace of one year and a half, at laſt they returned to the ſentence and judgment of cardinal de Columna, and, confirming the ſame, commanded John Hus his procurators that they ſhould leave off to defend him any more, for they would ſuffer it no longer. Whereupon when his procurators would not ceaſe their inſtant ſuit, certain of them were caſt into priſon, and grievouſly puniſhed; the other, leaving their buſineſs undone, returned into Bohemia.

The Bohemians notwithſtanding little cared for all this, but continuing ſtill, as they grew more in knowledge, ſo the leſs they regarded the pope, complaining daily againſt him and the archbiſhop for ſtopping the word of God, and the goſpel of Chriſt, to be preached, ſaying, "That by their indulgences and other practices of the court of Rome, and of the biſhop's conſiſtory, they ſought their own profit, and not the glory of Jeſus Chriſt; that they plucked from the ſheep of Chriſt the wool and milk, and did not feed them, either with the word of God, or with good examples. Teaching moreover and affirming, that the commandments of the pope and prelates are not to be obeyed, but ſo far as they follow the doctrine and life of Chriſt and of his apoſtles; and that laymen ought to judge the works of prelates, as Paul judged the works of Peter in correcting him, Gal. 2. Furthermore, they had amongſt them certain notes and obſervations, whereby they might diſcern how far and wherein they might obey their prelates; they derided alſo and ſcorned the pope's juriſdiction, becauſe of the ſchiſm that was then in the church, when there were three popes together, one ſtriving againſt another for the papacy."

Over and beſides this, at the ſame time John Hus did propound publicly, and by the notaries cauſed to be written three doubtful queſtions, the tenor whereof followeth here word for word, and is this; "Foraſmuch, ſaith he, as it is good for men being in doubt to aſk counſel, whereby all dubitation being removed, they may be able more firmly to adhere to the truth; three doubts ariſe here to be reſolved: The firſt doubt is, Whether we ought to believe in the pope? The ſecond, Whether it be poſſible for any man to be ſaved, which confeſſeth not with his mouth unto a mortal prieſt? The third doubt is, Whether any of the doctors do hold or ſay, that ſome of Pharaoh's hoſt being drowned in the red ſea, and of the Sodomites being ſubverted, be ſaved?"

As concerning the firſt, he did hold negatively, alledging the ſaying of Bede upon this place of the apoſtle, "To him that believeth upon him which juſtifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteouſneſs, Rom. 4.)" Upon this place, ſaith Bede, Aliud eſt credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum, &c. The ſecond doubt, ſaith he, the matter of the ſentences doth anſwer, lib. 4. diſt. 17. cap. 11. in theſe words, "What is then to be holden or ſaid herein? Certain, that without the confeſſion of the mouth, and aſſoiling of the outward pain, ſins be forgiven through contrition and humility of the heart, &c." For the third doubt, he brought in the words of St. Hierom, upon the prophet Nahum, ſpeaking of the Egyptians deſtroyed in the ſea, and of the Sodomites deſtroyed with fire, and of the Iſraelites deſtroyed in the deſert. "Know you (ſaith Hierom) that God therefore puniſhed them for their ſins here temporally, becauſe they ſhould not be puniſhed hereafter perpetually; and therefore, becauſe they were here puniſhed, they ſhould not be puniſhed hereafter, for elſe the ſcripture ſhould lye, which is not to be granted." Theſe three queſtions belike John Hus did bring in, to declare how the doctors do not agree in all things, neither with the church of Rome, neither are to be followed in all points of all men.

It followeth moreover after the death of the archbiſhop Swinco above-mentioned, that one named Conradus was placed by the pope there to be chief general, which Conradus conferring with the divines and doctors of the univerſity of Prague, required their advices and counſels, what way they might beſt take to aſſuage the diſſention and diſcords between the clergy and the people. Whereupon a certain council was deviſed to be holden after this ſort and manner as followeth:

1. Firſt, That all doctors and maſters of the univerſity of Prague ſhould be aſſembled in the court of the archbiſhop, and in his preſence, that every doctor and maſter ſhould ſwear, not to hold or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff before condemned.

2. Item, Concerning the ſeven ſacraments of the church, the keys and cenſures of the church, the manners, rites, ceremonies, cuſtoms, and liberties of the church, concerning alſo the worſhipping of reliques and indulgences, the orders and religions of the church, that every one ſhall ſwear that he doth hold, believe, and maintain, and will maintain, as doth the church of Rome, and no otherwiſe, of the which church of Rome the pope is the head, and the college of cardinals is the body: who are the true and manifeſt ſucceſſors of bleſſed Saint Peter, prince of the apoſtles, and of the college of the other apoſtles of Chriſt.

3. Item, That every one ſhall ſwear, that in every catholic matter, belonging to the church, he will ſtand to the determination of the apoſtolical ſee, and that he will obey the prelates in all manner of things, whereſoever the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden; or that which is mere ill, is not commanded; but is mean and indifferent between both. Which mean or indifferent things, yet notwithſtanding, by circumſtances of time, place, or perſon, may be either good or evil.

4. Item, That every one ſhall ſwear and confeſs by his oath, that the opinions of Wickliff and others, touch-

ing the ſeven ſacraments of the church, and other things above notified, being contrary to the ſaid church of Rome, be falſe.

5. Item, That an oath be required of them all, that none of them ſhall hold, defend, or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff aforeſaid, or in any other matter catholic, and eſpecially of the ſeven ſacraments, and other articles above ſpecified, but only as doth the church of Rome, and no otherwiſe.

6. Item, That every ordinary in his dioceſe ſhall cauſe the ſaid premiſes, contained in the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth articles aforeſaid, to be publiſhed in his ſynods, and by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kingdom of Bohemia.

7. Item, If any clerk, ſtudent, or layman ſhall withſtand any of the premiſes, that the ordinary have authority, if he be convicted thereof, to correct him according to the old laws and canons, and that no man ſhall defend ſuch a one by any means; for none but the ordinary hath power to correct ſuch a man, becauſe the archbiſhop is chancellor both of the kingdom and univerſity of Prague.

8. Item, That the ſongs lately forbidden, being odious, ſlanderous, and offenſive to others fame, be not ſung either in ſtreets, taverns, or any other place.

9. Item, That maſter John Hus ſhall not preach ſo long as he ſhall have no abſolution of the court, neither ſhall hinder the preaching in Prague by his preſence; that by this his obedience to the apoſtolical ſee may be known.

10. Item, That this council doth appear to be good and reaſonable for the putting away of ill report and diſſenſion that is in the kingdom of Bohemia.

11. Item, If maſter John Hus with his complices will perform this, which is contained in the four former articles, then we will be ready to ſay as they would wiſh us and have us, whenſoever need ſhall require, that we do agree with them in matter of faith: otherwiſe if they will not ſo do, we, in giving this teſtimony, ſhould lye greatly unto our lord the king and the whole world. And moreover, we will be content to write for them to the court of Rome, and do the beſt we can for them, our honour ſaved.

This counſel and deviſe being conſidered amongſt the the heads of the univerſity of Prague, the foreſaid adminiſtrator named Conradus, preſented unto the king and to the barons of the realm, and alſo to the ſenate of Prague. Whereof as ſoon as word came to John Hus and his adherents, they likewiſe drew out other articles in manner and form of a council as followeth:

For the honour of God and the true preaching of his goſpel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the ſiniſter and falſe infamy of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of the marquiſhip of Moravia, and of the city and univerſity of Prague, and for the reforming of peace and unity between the clergy and the ſcholars of the univerſity.

1. Firſt, Let the right and juſt decreement of the princes, and of the king's council, be holden and ſtand in force, which between the lord archbiſhop Swinco on the one party, and between the rector and maſter John Hus on the other party, was made, proclaimed, ſealed, and ſolemnly on both parts received and allowed in the court of our ſovereign lord the king.

9. Item, That the kingdom of Bohemia remain in his former rites, liberties, and common cuſtoms, ſo as other kingdoms and lands do enjoy; that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy mother univerſal church.

3. Item, That maſter John Hus (againſt whom the foreſaid lord Swinco could object no crime before the council) may be preſent in the congregation of the clergy, and there whoſoever will object to him either hereſy or error, let him object, binding himſelf to ſuffer the like pain, if he do not prove it.

4. Item, If no man will ſet himſelf on the contrary part againſt him, then let the commandment be made by our ſovereign lord the king through all his cities, and likewiſe let it be ordained and proclaimed through all villages and towns, that maſter John Hus is ready to render account of his faith; and therefore if any will object unto him any hereſy or error, let him write his name in the chancery of the lord archbiſhop, and bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

5. Item, If none ſuch be found to object, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which cauſed to be noiſed and rumoured in the pope's court, that in the kingdom of Bohemia, in the city of Prague, and in the marquiſdom of Moravia, many there be whoſe hearts be infected with hereſy and error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be puniſhed.

6. Item, That commandment be directed to doctors of divinity and of the canon law, and to the chapter of cathedral churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any ſuch to be an heretic or erroneous, and if they deny to know any ſuch, then let them make recognition thereof, before the public notary, confirming the ſame with their ſeals.

7. Item, Theſe things thus done and premiſed, then that our ſovereign lord the king, and alſo that the archbiſhop will give commandment under pain, that no man ſhall call one another heretic or erroneous, unleſs he will ſtand to the probation of that hereſy or error, as it becometh him.

8. Item, After theſe things obtained, that our ſovereign lord the king, with the conſent of his barons, will then levy a ſubſidy, or collect of the clergy, and direct an honeſt embaſſy to the pope's court, with the which embaſſadors let them alſo go upon their own proper charges or expences for their purgation, which have cauſed this kingdom falſely and grievouſly to be infamed in the apoſtolic court.

9. Item, In the mean ſeaſon for the preſence of maſter John Hus, no interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother church, &c.

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parties, the one objecting, the other anſwering in articles as is aforeſaid: in the mean time it happened by the occaſion of Ladiſlaus king of Naples, who had beſieged the pope's towns and territorities, that pope John raiſing up war againſt the ſaid Ladiſlaus, gave full remiſſion of ſins to all them which would war on his ſide to defend the church. When this bull of the pope's indulgence was come to Prague, and there publiſhed, the king Wenceſlaus, who then favoured that pope, gave commandment that no man ſhould attempt any thing againſt the ſaid pope's indulgences. But Hus with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of thoſe pardons, began manifeſtly to ſpeak againſt them; of the which company were three certain artificers; who hearing the prieſt preaching of the indulgences, did openly ſpeak againſt them, and called the pope antichriſt, which would ſet up the croſs to fight againſt his evenchriſtened. Wherefore they were brought before the ſenate, and committed to ward. But the people joining themſelves together in arms, came to the magiſtrates, requiring them to be let looſe. The magiſtrates with gentle words and fair promiſes ſatisfied the people, ſo that every man returning home to his own houſe, the tumult was aſſwaged. But the captains being in priſon, were notwithſtanding there beheaded, whoſe names were John, Martin, and Staſcon. The death and martyrdom of theſe three being known unto the people, they took the bodies of them that were ſlain, and with great ſolemnity brought them unto the church of Bethlem. At whoſe funeral divers prieſts favouring that ſide, did ſing on this wiſe; "Theſe be the ſaints which for the teſtament-

of God gave their bodies," &c. And ſo their bodies were ſumptuouſly interred in the church of Bethlem, John Hus, preaching at the ſame funeral, much commending them for their conſtancy, and bleſſing God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which had hid the way of his verity ſo from the prudent of this world, and had revealed it to the ſimple lay-people and inferior prieſts, which choſe rather to pleaſe God than men.

Thus the city of Prague was divided. The prelates with the greateſt part of the clergy, and moſt of the barons, which had any thing to loſe, did hold with the pope, eſpecially Steven Paletz, being the chiefeſt doer on that ſide. On the contrary part the commons, with part of the clergy and ſtudents of the univerſity, went with John Hus. Wenceſlaus the king, fearing leſt this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the doctors and prelates and council of his barons, thought beſt to remove John Hus out of the city, who had been excommunicated before by the pope. And further to ceaſe this diſſenſion riſen in the church, he committed the matter to the diſpoſition of the doctors and the clergy. They, conſulting together among themſelves, did ſet forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the ſentence of the king, containing the ſum of 18 articles for the maintenance of the pope and of the ſee of Rome, againſt the doctrine of Wickliff and John Hus. The names of the doctors of divinity were theſe, Steven Paletz, Staniſlaus de Znoyma, Petrus de Ikoyma, Joannes Heliæ, Andreas Broda, Johannes Hildeſen, Mattheus Monachus, Hermanus Heremita, Georgius Bota, Simon Wenda, &c. John Hus thus departing out of Prague; went to his country, where he, being protected by the lord of the ſoil, continued there preaching, to whom reſorted a great concourſe of people, neither yet was he ſo expelled out of Prague, but that ſometimes he reſorted to his church at Bethlem, and there alſo preached unto the people.

Moreover, againſt the ſaid decree of the doctors, John Hus and his company replied again, and anſwered to their articles, with contrary articles again as followeth.

The Objections of John Hus and of his Part againſt the Decree of the Doctors.

FIRST, The foundation of the doctors whereupon they found all their writings and counſels, is falſe, which foundation is this, whereas they ſay that part of the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia is peſtilent and erroneous, and holdeth falſely of the ſacraments.

2. The doctors hereby do defame the kingdom of Bohemia, and do raiſe up new diſcords.

3. Let them ſhew therefore thoſe perſons of the clergy, whom they call peſtilent, and ſo let them verify their report, binding themſelves to ſuffer the like pain, if they be not able to prove it.

4. Falſe it is that they ſay the pope and his cardinals to be the true and manifeſt ſucceſſors of Peter and of the apoſtles, and that no other ſucceſſors of Peter and of the apoſtles can be found upon the earth beſides them. When as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of favour. And all biſhops and prieſts be ſucceſſors of Peter and of the apoſtles.

5. Not the pope, but Chriſt only, is the head; and not the cardinals, but all Chriſt's faithful people, be the body of the catholic church, as all holy ſcripture and decrees of the holy fathers do teſtify and affirm.

6. And as touching the pope, if he be a reprobate, it is plain that he is no head, no nor member alſo of the holy church of God, but of the devil, and of his ſynagogue.

7. The clergy of the goſpellers agreeing with the ſaying of St. Auſtin which they alledge, and according to the ſanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother-church, do ſay and affirm laudably, that the condemnation and prohibition of the 45 articles is unlawful and unjuſt, and raſhly done: and that not only becauſe the doctors, but alſo all biſhops and archbiſhops, in ſuch great cauſes, namely touching faith (as theſe articles do) have no authority at all, as appeareth.

8. The ſecond cauſe of the diſcord which they alledge alſo is moſt falſe: ſeeing the faith of whole Chriſtendom, concerning the church of Rome, is divided in three parts by reaſon of three popes, which now together do reign: and the fourth part is neutral. Neither is it true, that we ought to ſtand in all things to the determination of the pope, and of the cardinals, but ſo far forth as they do agree with the holy ſcripture of the Old and New Teſtament, from whence the ſanctions of the fathers did firſt ſpring, as is evident.

9. In the fourth article they braſt out into a certain dotage, and are contrary to themſelves. By reaſon that they doltiſhly have reprehended the goſpellers, who in all their doings receive the holy ſcripture (which is the law of God, the way of truth and life) for their judge and meaſure; and afterwards they themſelves do alledge the ſcripture, Deut. 17. where all judges, both popes and cardinals, are taught to judge and diſcern between leper and leper, and in every eccleſiaſtical cauſe, only after the rule of God's law. And ſo are they contrary unto their ſecond article, wherein they ſay, That in every catholic matter we muſt run to the pope; which is contrary to the fooliſh condemnation of the articles aforeſaid.

10. Conſequently, like ideots they do moſt falſely alledge for their purpoſe the canon, under the name and authority of Hierom, written 24. q. 1. Hæc eſt fides Papa, &c. where they do apply the words of Hierom moſt impertinently to the pope of Rome, which he writeth to St. Auſtin, calling him a moſt bleſſed pope.

11. By the which place of Hierom it is manifeſt that the firſt article of thoſe doctors is falſe. Foraſmuch as by theſe words appeareth that other beſides the biſhop of Rome and his cardinals are called bleſſed popes, holding the faith and ſeat of Peter, and are ſucceſſors of the apoſtles, as was Auſtin and other holy biſhops more.

12. Whereof it followeth moreover, That the church of Rome is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principal ſee of his whole church. For Chriſt, which was the head prieſt of all, did firſt ſit in Jeruſalem, and Peter did ſit firſt in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Alſo other popes did ſit ſome in Bonony, ſome at Peruſiam, ſome at Avignon.

13. Item, The foreſaid prelates are falſifiers of the holy ſcriptures and canons, and therefore are worthy to be puniſhed: which affirm and ſay, That we muſt obey the pope in all things. For why, it is known that many popes have erred, and one pope was alſo a woman. To whom not only it was not lawful to give obedience, but alſo unlawful to communicate with them. As all rubrics, and infinite canons do declare.

14. Item, Their 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 articles do ſtand and are grounded upon untrue and falſe perſuaſions. And therefore are to be rejected and deteſted like the other before: ſeeing they do induce not to peace and verity, but to diſſenſion and falſity.

15. It is manifeſt alſo to the laity, that this diſſenſion among the clergy riſeth for no other cauſe, but only for the preaching of the goſpel, which reprehendeth ſuch ſimoniacs, and ſuch heretics in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, ſpreading out their branches abroad into all the world. Who deſerve to be removed and extirpate, not only of the clergy goſpellers, but alſo of the ſecular power. And ſo theſe three vices, to wit, ſimony, luxury, and avarice (which is idolworſhip) be the cauſes of all this diſſenſion among the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia, and not the other,

which they falſely aſcribe to the goſpellers of Prague. Theſe three vices being removed, peace and unity would ſoon be reſtored in the clergy.

16. Moreover, their laſt article is too groſs, and not only is without all law, but alſo without all colour of law: whereas they fondly and childiſhly do argue thus, That the proceſſes made againſt Mr. John Hus ought to be obeyed, becauſe forſooth the common ſort of the clergy at Prague hath received them. By the ſame reaſon they may argue alſo, That we muſt obey the devil, for our firſt parents Adam and Eve obeyed him. Alſo our fore-anceſtors before us were pagans, wherefore we muſt obey them, and play alſo the pagans.

17. But let this frivolous opinion go, this is certain truth, That the ſaid proceſſes, made againſt Mr. John Hus, by law, are none. Foraſmuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed contrary to the commiſſion of the pope, againſt the determination of the holy mother church, as appeareth Cap. Sacro de Sententia excom. and a thouſand other laws beſides.

18. Finally, whoſoever wittingly and obſtinately do defend and execute (the ſaid proceſs made) or conſenteth unto them, are all to be counted as blaſphemers, excommunicate, and heretics, as hath been afore written and exhibited to the lord general biſhop Olomucenſe. And more ſhall be declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the doctors.

Unto theſe objections of John Hus and his part, the catholic doctors again did anſwer in a long tedious proceſs; the ſcope whereof principally tended to defend the principality of the pope, and to maintain his obedience above all other potentates in the world; affirming and contending, that Chriſt is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are ſleeping in purgatory, and which are labouring in the church militant, and which are reſting in heaven, yet this letteth not, but the pope is head of the church here militant, that is, of all the faithful, which here in this world live under his office. Like as Chriſt is King of all kings, and yet Charles may be king of France: ſo ſay they, Chriſt may be the univerſal head, and yet the pope may be head under him of the whole church; and thus concluded they that the pope is the head, and that the college of cardinals is the body of the Romiſh church, which church of Rome is placed in the eccleſiaſtical office here over the earth, to know and define upon every eccleſiaſtical and catholic matter; to correct errors and to purge them, and to have care upon all ſuch univerſal matters, and care upon all univerſal churches, and upon the univerſal flock of faithful chriſtians. Foraſmuch as in the regiment of the church through the univerſal world, there muſt needs remain in ſuch office always ſome ſuch manifeſt and true ſucceſſors of Peter, prince of the apoſtles and of the college of the other apoſtles of Chriſt; neither can there be found or given upon earth any other ſucceſſors, but only the pope which is the head, and the college of cardinals, which is the body of the foreſaid church of Rome. And although the whole univerſal multitude of the faithful do make the body of Chriſt, yet the ſame body of Chriſt is not placed here in office to exerciſe ſuch authority upon earth. Becauſe that univerſal multitude was never yet, nor ever can be congregate together.

And therefore neceſſary it is, that ſome ſuch true and manifeſt ſucceſſors and judges be appointed, to whom recourſe muſt be had in all ſuch catholic and eccleſiaſtical matters determinable. For like as in earthly regiments every cauſe of diſcord is brought before his judge, and hath his place aſſigned where to be decided; ſo like reaſon would require, that in principal matters and controverſies of faith, ſome ſuch preſidents and places be limited for the purpoſe to have ſuch doubts reſolved.

And this being granted, then the doctors proceed, and here muſt needs conclude (ſay they) there cannot be given in all the world any other place, but only the church of Rome; the head whereof is the pope, and the body is the college of cardinals. For like as Chriſt, departing out of this world in his corporal preſence, left his body here with us under the ſacrament in another form whereby he remaineth with us (according to his promiſe, Mat. ult.) unto the conſummation of the world: even ſo Chriſt walked here on earth in his bodily preſence, he was pope himſelf and chief biſhop, and ſo head of the church here militant in earth, corporally conjoined with the ſame, as the head is to his body.

But after that he departed out of the world, becauſe his body, which is the church militant upon the earth, ſhould not be headleſs, therefore he left Peter and his ſucceſſors to his church, for an head in his place, unto the conſummation of the world, ſaying to him, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," &c. Matth. 16. And again he ſaith, Feed my ſheep, John ult. That is to ſay, Be thou Peter the head over thy brethren.

Tedious it were to recite all the bibble babble of theſe doctors in this their long reſponſal. Whoſo liſteth to ſee the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may reſort either to the hiſtory of Silvius, or elſe to maſter Cochleus in his firſt book, De Hiſt. Huſſit.

Thus then maſter John Hus being driven out of Prague (as is aforeſaid touched) by the motion of theſe doctors, and moreover being ſo excommunicate, that no maſs nor other muſt be ſaid there where he was preſent: the people began mightily to grudge, and to cry out againſt the prelates and other popiſh prieſts, which were the workers thereof, accuſing them to be ſimoniacs, covetous, whoremaſters, adulterers, proud, ſparing not to lay open their vices to their great ignominy and ſhame: and much craving reformation to be had of the clergy.

The king, ſeeing the inclination of the people, being alſo not ignorant of the wickedneſs of the clergy, under pretence to reform the church, began to require greater exactions upon ſuch prieſts and men of the clergy, as were known and accuſed to be wicked livers. Whereupon they on the other part that favoured John Hus, taking that occaſion preſent, complained of all, accuſed many, and ſpared none, whomſoever they knew to be of the catholic faction, or enemies to John Hus. By reaſon whereof the prieſts of the popiſh clergy were brought, ſuch as were faulty, into great diſtreſs; and ſuch as were not faulty, into great fear. Inſomuch that they were glad to fall in, at leaſt not to fall out with the proteſtants, being afraid to diſpleaſe them. By this means Mr. Hus began to take ſome more liberty unto him, and to preach in his church at Bethlehem, and none did controul him: by the ſame means the people alſo received ſome comfort, and the king much gain and money by that reaſon.

And thus the popiſh clergy, while they went about to perſecute John Hus, were inwrapped themſelves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every ſide, as well of laymen, as of learned men of the clergy. Inſomuch that women alſo and children were againſt them. And by the ſame reaſon wherewith they thought to intangle him, they were overthrown themſelves. For the doctors which before condemned this doctrine in John Hus for intolerable hereſy, and cried out ſo much againſt him for teaching that temporal lords might take away temporal livings from the clergy ſinning habitualiter, that is, lying, and continuing ſtill in the cuſtom of iniquity, now when the king and the lords temporal began to amerce them, and bereave them of their temporalities for their tranſgreſſions, the ſaid doctors did keep ſilence, and durſt ſpeak never a word.

Again,

Again, where the aforeſaid doctors before could not abide in John Hus, that tithes were to be counted for pure alms, now coming to the Guildhall, they were fain to intreat for their temporal goods not to be taken from them; pleading the ſame temporalities to be mere alms and devotion of good men, given unto the church. Ex Cochlæo.

And thus now did they themſelves grant the thing which before they did condemn. The more that the pope's clergy was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Hus, although he was in no cauſe thereof, but only their own wicked deſervings, for the which cauſe Stephen Paletz, and Andræas de Broda, being the chief champions of that faction, tho' they would not remedy the cauſe, yet, to eaſe their minds, wrote ſharp and cruel letters to maſter Hus.

And to help the matter forward, the pope alſo here muſt help at a pinch, who likewiſe writeth his letters to Wenceſlaus, king of Bohemia, which was brother to Sigiſmund, emperor, for the ſuppreſſing of John Hus and of his doctrine. Which was in the fifth and laſt year of his popedom, anno 1414. The tenor of whoſe letters to king Wenceſlaus in this wiſe proceedeth.

The Letter of Pope John to King Wenceſlaus.

JOHN, biſhop, ſervant of God's ſervants, to his well-beloved ſon in Chriſt, Wenceſlaus, king of Romans, and of Bohemia, greeting, and apoſtolical benediction. Among other deſires and delights of our heart, who, although unworthy, repreſent the room of Chriſt here in earth: this doth chiefly redound to our ſingular comfort, ſo often as we do hear of the brotherly entreaty of peace and concord (by which concord kingdoms do increaſe, as contrary by diſcord they are diminiſhed) which is between your honour and our well-beloved ſon in the Lord, Sigiſmund, your brother germain and couſin, for the noble king of the Romans, &c.

And furthermore it followeth in theſe words; And as we have cauſe to joy at the premiſes; ſo likewiſe again the heavy rumours which are here, do trouble and damp our minds. For we hear that in divers places under our dominion there be certain which do follow and lean to the errors of that arch-heretic Wickliff, whoſe books have been long ſince condemned in the general Roman council, to be erroneous, heretical, and ſwerving from the catholic faith.

And furthermore, which is worſt of all, the ſaid perſons cleaving to the opinions of the heretics (leſt they ſhould be corrected of their ſuperior powers for their exceſs, to cover their naughtineſs and ſtubborneſs in deſpiſing the commandments of the apoſtolical ſeat) do openly teach diſobedience and contempt of the keys and eccleſiaſtical cenſure, to the ſubverſion of the apoſtolical dignity, ſetting at nought the decrees of the holy fathers and canons.

Wherefore we do exhort your worſhip for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may or can, that it would pleaſe you, as we deſire and hope you will (ſo effectually) to ſhew forth your regal power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the catholic faith (which you go about to defend) and for the conſervation of your kingly name, ſtate, and honour, for the proſperous and ſafe government of your kingdom and dominions, as it becometh a catholic prince, whereby this blot of hereſy (which doth ſo lamentably and miſerably ſpring and creep in thoſe parts, and doth ſo infect the minds of mortal men, to the deſtruction of their ſouls, and doth ſequeſter them from the congregation of the pure and catholic faith and truth) may be rooted out, &c.

Given at Bononia, in the ides of June, in the fifth year of our popedom, &c.

In this epiſtle of pope John above prefixed, forſomuch as mention is made of a certain council before holden at Rome (which was four years before) againſt the articles and books of John Wickliff, it ſhall not be impertinent nor out of purpoſe to repeat a certain merry hiſtory, and worthy otherwiſe to be noted, written by Nicholas Clemangis, of a certain ſpirit, which ruled the popiſh councils; his words are theſe.

The ſame pope called a council at Rome about four years before, at the earneſt ſuit of divers men. And a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt being ſaid at the entrance into the ſaid council (according to the accuſtomed manner), the council being ſet, and the ſaid John ſitting higheſt in a chair prepared for him for that purpoſe: Behold, an ugly and dreadful owl, or, as the common proverb is, the evil ſign of ſome miſchance of death to follow, coming out of the back half of him, flew to and fro, with her evil-favoured voice, and ſtanding upon the middle beam of the church, caſt her ſtaring eyes upon the pope ſitting. The whole company began to marvel to ſee the night-crow, which is wont to abide no light, how he ſhould in the mid-day come in the face of ſuch a multitude, and judged (not without cauſe) that it was an ill-favoured token. For behold, ſaid they (whiſpering one in another's ear) the ſpirit appeareth in the ſhape of an owl. And as they ſtood beholding one another, and adviſing the pope, ſcarcely could they keep their countenance from laughter. John himſelf, upon whom the owl ſtedfaſtly looked, bluſhing at the matter, began to ſweat, and to fret and fume with himſelf; and not finding by what other means he might ſalve the matter, being ſo confuſed, diſſolving the council, roſe up, and departed.

After that there followed another ſeſſion: in which the owl again, after the manner aforeſaid, although, as I believe, not called, was preſent, looking ſtedfaſtly upon the biſhop; whom he beholding to be come again, was more aſhamed than he was before (and juſtly;) ſaying, he could no longer abide the ſight of her, and commanded that ſhe ſhould be driven away with bats and ſhoutings: But ſhe being afraid neither with the noiſe, neither with any thing elſe, would not away, until that with the ſtrokes of the ſticks which were thrown down at her, ſhe fell down dead before them all.

This I learned of a faithful friend, who at the ſame time came to Rome: the which thing I ſcarcely crediting for the rareneſs of the matter, he affirmed by his oath, that it was moſt certain and true: adding moreover, that all there preſent were much offended, and did greatly deride that council called for ſuch a purpoſe, and by little and little the council was diſſolved, nothing done there, as he ſaith.

Although it hath not been always ſeen, that ſuch ſpiritual doves have been preſent with popes and their councils, and governed them; yet their evil doctrine declareth no leſs. Read, gentle reader, the book of Clemangis, and thou ſhalt not think thy labour evil beſtowed. For he hath both learnedly, truly, freely and godly, bewrayed the filthineſs of antichriſt, and his miniſters, their wickedneſs, impiety, and cruelty, and the miſerable ſtate and face of the church, &c. And thus much for pope John.

The Council of Conſtance.

HERE by the way is to be noted and underſtood, that during all this time of pope John, there were three popes reigning together, neither was yet the ſchiſm ceaſed, which ſo long time had continued, the ſpace (as I ſaid, of 39 years. By reaſon whereof a general council was ordained and holden at Conſtance in the ſame year, Anno 1434. being called by Sigiſmund the emperor, and pope John, the three and twentieth, for the pacify-

pacifying of the foreſaid ſchiſm, which was then between three popes ſtriving for the popedom. The firſt whereof was John, whom the Italians ſet up. The ſecond was Gregory, whom the French-men ſet up. The third was Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this ſchiſmatical ambitious conflict, every one defended his pope, to the great diſturbance of chriſtian nations. This council endured four years long, wherein all their matters were decided moſt by four nations, to ſay, the Engliſh, German, French, and Italian nations. Out of which four nations were appointed and choſen four preſidents to judge and determine the matters of the council. The names of which preſidents were theſe; John the patriarch of Antioch for France, Anthony archbiſhop of Rigen for Italy, Nicholas archbiſhop of Geneſuenſis for Germany, and Nicholas biſhop of Bath for England; by whom many great and profitable things to the glory to God, and public profit, might have been concluded, if the rotten fleſh of churchmen could have abiden the ſalt of the goſpel, and if they had loved the truth. But as Gregorius Nazianzenus writeth, there lightly come few general councils, but they end more with diſturbance, than tranquillity: ſo it happened in this council. For whereas John the 23d in the firſt ſeſſion exhorteth them by theſe words taken out of the eighth of Zachary, Veritatem diligite, that is to ſay, Love the truth; further moniſhing them, and eſpecially the divines, every man to do his endeavour for the unity of the church, and to ſpeak their mind freely; how ſoon this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared ſhortly after by the deſpiſing of the prophets, and perſecuting of Chriſt in his members, as by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appear hereafter in the proceſs of this ſtory. Firſt, this John did reſign his papacy; the emperor giving him thanks kiſſed his feet.

Afterward the ſaid John repenting him that he had ſo done; ſought means to flee, whereunto Frederick duke of Auſtrich did aſſiſt him; for he changing his garments fled by night with a ſmall company. And when he was now come unto Schaff-houſe to go into Italy, the emperor purſuing, took him, and proclaimed Frederic traitor, and for that cauſe took away certain cities from him. At the laſt the matter was appeaſed under this condition, that Frederic ſhould require grace of the emperor, and reſign all his poſſeſſions unto him. Whereupon the emperor received him again into favour, and reſtored him to his dukedom: this pope being thus depoſed, was committed unto the count Palatine, and by him carried to the caſtle of Manheim, where he was kept priſoner by the ſpace of three years. Afterward he was again by pope Martin admitted to the number of cardinals.

This pope John was depoſed by the decree of the council, more than three and forty moſt grievous and heinous crimes being objected and proved againſt him; as that he had hired Marcilus Pemeſis a phyſician to poiſon Alexander his predeceſſor. Further, that he was an heretic, a ſimoniac, a lyar, an hypocrite, a murderer, an inchanter, a dice-player, an adulterer, and a ſodomite, and finally, what crime is it that he was not infected withal?

And now to return unto the council, firſt we will declare the order of their ſeſſions, with things therein concluded, in general; then we will (Chriſt willing) adjoin the ſpecial tractation of ſuch matters, as pertain to the ſtory of the Bohemians, and John Hus, and Jerom of Prague, who in the ſame ungodly council were condemned and burned.

This council therefore of Conſtance, which was ſummoned by the emperor Sigiſmund, and pope John the 23d, about the nativity of our Lord Jeſus, Anno 1414. began the ſame year to be aſſembled about the latter end of the year. Which firſt beginning, as the manner is, with a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, as they were ſinging according to their cuſtom their hymn, Veni; ſancte Spiritus, there was at the ſame time a certain bill ſet up in the church by ſome well-diſpoſed men, as it ſeemed, wherein were contained theſe words following; "We are otherwiſe occupied at this time, we cannot intend to come to you."

Here is alſo to be remembered the worthy ſaying of the emperor Sigiſmund, when talk was miniſtered as touching the reformation of ſpirituality; and ſome ſaid, the reformation ought firſt to begin at the Minorites; the emperor anſwering again, "Not with the Minorites, ſaith he, but with the Majorites:" meaning, there formation ought firſt to begin with the pope, cardinals and biſhops, and other ſuperior ſtates of the church; and ſo to deſcend after in the inferiors.

Thus much by the way, and now to the purpoſe and order of the ſeſſions, as we promiſed. The which council continued, as is aforeſaid, by the ſpace of four years, and had in it five and forty ſeſſions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were too long to be recited in this place; as the depoſition of three ſeveral popes, which were before ſpoken of, and the hearing of certain legates. Yet I mind to make ſome brief recapitulation of the moſt principal matters there done in the ſeſſions orderly enſuing.

In the firſt ſeſſion chiefly was concluded, firſt, that this council was lawfully congregate.

2d. Item, That the going away of the pope ſhould be no lett or ſtay, but the council might proceed.

Wherein note (gentle reader) that the authority of the general council is above the pope, contrary to their own doctrine.

3d. Item, This council ſhall not be diſſolved before the church were reformed, as well in the ſuperiors as inferiors.

In the 4th ſeſſion, amongſt other things, this was firſt concluded; that a ſynod congregate in the Holy Ghoſt, making a general council, repreſenting the whole catholic church here militant, have power of Chriſt immediately; to the which power every perſon, of what ſtate or dignity ſoever he be, yea, being the pope himſelf, ought to be obedient in all ſuch things as concern the general reformation of the church, as well in the heads, as in the ſubjects.

Item, the ſaid pope ſhould not tranſlate the court of Rome, and the officers of the ſame court, from the city of Conſtance. And that all his cenſures, doings, and workings, after the time of his departure, whatſoever he ſhould enterpriſe to do to the prejudice of this council, ſhould be of no effect.

In the fifth ſeſſion, the ſame articles were repeated and concluded again.

In the 6th ſeſſion, procuration and citation was ſent out againſt the pope.

Item, Commiſſioners were appointed out of the four nations for the hearing of John Hus, which ſhall be hereafter mentioned in his ſtory following.

Item, The memory of John Wickliff was condemned, and the ſentence given in the council holden at Rome, upon the condemnation and burning of Wickliff's books, was there confirmed.

Item, In the ſame ſeſſion citation was ſent out againſt Jerom of Prague, the tenor whereof followeth after in the ſtory of the ſaid Jerom.

Item, In this ſeſſion was decreed againſt libels of infamy.

In the 7th ſeſſion, nothing was handled, but that tenor of the citation againſt pope John was recited.

In the 8th ſeſſion, the ſentence and condemnation of John Wickliff, and his 45 articles, was recited, and ſentence given againſt his memory, and bones to be burned. The tenor whereof is rehearſed in the hiſtory of John Wickliff before paſſed.

In the 9th ſeſſion, the matter and cauſe of pope John was again intreated, and commiſſioners appointed to enquire upon his cauſe, and judges for the ſame.

In the 10th ſeſſion, ſuſpenſion was given out and read againſt the ſaid pope.

In the 11th and 12th ſeſſions, notaries were aſſigned, and definitive ſentence given againſt the ſaid pope: where alſo it was decreed, that none of them, that intended before for the papacy, ſhould be choſen pope.

In the 13th ſeſſion was decreed, That no prieſt under pain of excommunication ſhall communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine.

In the 14th ſeſſion came in the reſignation of pope Gregory the 12th, which was one of the three before mentioned, ſtriving for the papacy, with certain other articles concerning the election of the biſhop of Rome, and the ratification of their reſigning, which gave other the papacy.

Then enſueth the 15th ſeſſion, in the which ſilence was commanded on all parts under pain of excommunication, and the great curſe, that no perſon or perſons, high or low, of what eſtate or degree ſoever he were, emperor, king, cardinal, or other, ſhould diſturb the ſaid ſeſſion with any manner of noiſe, either by hand, foot, or voice. This being done, the ſentence and condemnation againſt John Hus was read and publiſhed; which after in the ſtory of John Hus followeth to be ſeen more at large.

In the 16th ſeſſion, ambaſſadors were aſſigned by the council to go into Arragon, to Benedictus the 13th, to treat with him for the reſignation of his papacy, as the other two had done before.

Item, Power was given to judges to cite under pain of deprivation all ſuch as privily departed away from the council; in the which ſeſſion alſo the ſentence againſt John Hus was confirmed and ratified.

In the 17th ſeſſion, the emperor took upon him a journey to the king of Arragon, to treat with pope Benedictus. An excommunication denounced againſt all ſuch as ſhould go about to impeach the emperor's journey about that matter, &c.

Item, Prayers and proceſſions were determined to be made by the council every Sunday for the ſame cauſe, with an hundred days of pardon given to them that would be preſent thereat; and that all prelates ſhould be preſent at every of theſe ſaid maſſes and proceſſions in their pontificalibus. Granting beſides to every prieſt that ſaid one maſs, for the ſame, a hundred days of pardon: and to all other that once a day ſhould ſay one Pater-noſter, and one Ave, for the ſafety of the emperor, forty days of pardon.

In the 18th ſeſſion, certain judges were aſſigned for the hearing of matters, which the council had no leiſure to hear.

It was there alſo decreed, That ſuch letters and bulls as were written in the name of that council, ſhould be received with no leſs credit and authority than the bulls proceeding from the ſee apoſtolical, and that the falſifiers of the ſame ſhould incur no leſs penalty than the falſifiers of the other. Legates alſo and embaſſadors were ſent into Italy.

In the 19th ſeſſion, which was the ſame year in the month of September, Jerom of Prague, who was cited as is beforeſaid, was accuſed of hereſy, and caſt into priſon by the ſaid council, and conſtrained to abjure. The which his abjuration hereafter followeth to be ſeen in his hiſtory.

Item, It was decreed, notwithſtanding the ſafe conduct given by the emperor and kings, &c. inquiry may be made againſt any man for hereſy by a ſufficient judge, and proceſs to be made according to the law.

The cauſes of hereſies were committed to certain judges and deputies.

Item, The chart called Carolina, and divers other charts and conſtitutions concerning the liberties of the church of Rome, being brought forth, were approved and confirmed.

In the 20th ſeſſion, letters and inſtruments were made and ſet upon church doors, to require and admoniſh duke Frederic to reſtore again unto George, biſhop of Auſtrich, ſuch lands, rents, and revenues, as he detained and with-held, under pain of interdictment, ſuſpending and excommunicating.

During the time of this ſeſſion, the embaſſadors returned out of Arragon from pope Benedict, and were heard with great audience; whereas certain articles and conditions between the pope and the council were brought forth and agreed upon to the number of twelve.

In the year of our Lord 1416, was the 21ſt ſeſſion, beginning after this manner, with a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, with proceſſion, and ſuch other rites; in the time of which maſs, James, biſhop of Londy, made a ſermon, taking for his theme theſe words: "The Lord rebuked this miſbelief and hardneſs," &c.

This ſermon being ended, Jerom of Prague, which had abjured, as is ſaid, the year before, being preſent thereat, ſtood up upon a certain bench or form, replying againſt the foreſaid James and his ſermon, alledging and preaching divers and ſundry things; whereupon the patriarch of Conſtantinople, one of the commiſſioners, proceeded againſt him, pronouncing the ſentence definitive, which he had in writing againſt the ſaid Jerom, which ſentence being read and approved by the council (the tenor whereof enſueth in his hiſtory) the ſaid Jerom was delivered unto the ſecular power, and burned.

The 22d and 23d ſeſſions contain no worthy matter, but only the placing of the embaſſadors of Alphonſus, king of Arragon, and granting them voices in the council.

In the 24th ſeſſion citation was given out againſt Benedict, keeping with Alphonſus, king of Arragon.

The 25th ſeſſion containeth nothing but a certain Commendam given to the church of Olemucenſis.

In the 26th ſeſſion there was nothing elſe handled, but the uniting and incorporating of the embaſſadors of the king of Navarre into the council, as alſo concerning the derogation of the priority of voices.

After this followed the 27th and 28th ſeſſions, which were in the year 1714, wherein was treated the relation and declaration concerning the cauſe betwixt duke Frederic and the biſhop of Trent, and proceſs given out againſt the ſaid duke, accuſing him of ſacrilege; and alſo excommunicating him for not obeying the admonition of the council, concerning the uſurpation and detaining of the city of Trent, and other poſſeſſions, from biſhop George, as is before ſpecified.

In the 29th and 30th ſeſſions protectors and notaries were given out in the cauſe againſt pope Benedict, and order decreed upon his obſtinacy; wherein alſo the withdrawing of the king of Arragon from the ſame pope was recited, and approved by the council.

In the 31ſt ſeſſion certain inſtruments and ſpecial letters monitory were directed from the council to a certain earl of Italy, named Comes Virtutum, for laying violent hands upon Albert, biſhop of Aſce, and for bringing him to priſon, requiring the ſaid earl, under pain of interdiction and excommunication, to ſet the ſaid biſhop at liberty. Alſo another decree was ſet forth for reſtoring again the liberties of the church of Baron.

In the 32d and 33d ſeſſions, the accuſation of pope Benedict was renewed, and his obſtinacy accuſed, and witneſs brought in; at which thing doing the emperor Sigiſmund was preſent.

In the 34th ſeſſion, the cauſe of the foreſaid pope was heard, and proceſs given out againſt him.

In the 35th ſeſſion, the ambaſſadors of the king of Caſtile were brought in, and united to the council, and inſtruments thereof made and read. Alſo that notwithſtanding

ſtanding the oaths made to the foreſaid pope, men might lawfully forſake his obedience.

In the 36th ſeſſion, a certain citation was made and read againſt the pope, containing his deprivation, and the ſentence againſt him, and inſtruments made upon the ſame. And whereas this pope had thundered out curſes, deprivations, and excommunications, againſt them; the ſaid ſynod did annihilate all his doings.

The 37th ſeſſion did renew again the accuſation of the foreſaid pope; and the ſentence definitive againſt him was publiſhed.

In the 38th ſeſſion certain decrees were made touching the annihilating of the penalties of the embaſſadors of king Henry, ſon of Alphonſus, king of Arragon. Alſo another decree was made touching the revocation of the voices granted to the embaſſadors of the king of Arragon.

Thus pope Benedict being depoſed and excommunicated, as is aforeſaid, in the next ſeſſions following they addreſſed themſelves to the election of a new pope, beginning firſt, in the 39th ſeſſion, to give out decrees concerning general councils, and proviſion for the avoiding of ſuch like ſchiſms hereafter. Decreeing every tenth year to have a general council, after the two councils that ſhould follow immediately after this; of the which, the one ſhould be kept within five years then next following, and the ſecond within ſeven years after that.

Item, In the ſame ſeſſion was drawn out a form touching ſuch things as the pope ſhould profeſs and bind himſelf to obſerve at the time of his election, of the which form the order and tenor is this:

I, N. elected for pope, profeſs with heart and mouth unto Almighty God, whoſe church I take upon me to govern by his help, and to bleſſed St. Peter, the prince of the apoſtles, ſo long as I ſhall endure in this frail and brittle life, firmly to believe and hold the holy catholic faith after the traditions of the apoſtles, of general councils, and other holy fathers, and namely of the eight general councils: Nicene the firſt, the ſecond of Conſtantinople, Epheſine the third, Chalcedon the fourth, the fifth and ſixth of them in Conſtantinople, the ſeventh of Nice, the eighth of Conſtantinople. And alſo of the general councils of Lateran, Lyons, and Vienna, willing to obſerve the ſame faith unviolable, even to the uttermoſt, and to preach and defend the ſame, even to the ſpending of my life and blood; and alſo by all means poſſible to proſecute and obſerve the rite of the ſacraments canonically delivered to the catholic church.

And this my profeſſion and confeſſion, by my commandment being written out by the notary of the arches of the holy church of Rome, I have ſubſcribed with mine own hand, and ſincerely with a pure mind and devout conſcience I offer it unto the Almighty God, upon ſuch an altar, &c. in the preſence of ſuch witneſs, &c. Given, &c.

It was alſo decided in this ſeſſion, that no prelates ſhould be tranſlated againſt their wills.

The third of the ſame month, and the ſame year, followed the 40th ſeſſion, wherein certain decrees were conſtituted and read, as touching reformations to be made through the whole church by the pope that next ſhould be, with the council, before the ſynod ſhould break up.

Item, That they ſhould ſo proceed to the election of the biſhop of Rome, notwithſtanding the abſence of thoſe cardinals which were with pope Benedict in Spain. This done, the order and manner was decreed for the election of the pope.

After theſe things thus decreed, in the next ſeſſion, which was 41, the conſtitution of Clement the ſixth was read, concerning the order and diet of the cardinals being then in the conclave about the chuſing of the pope, and upon the ſame, oaths were miniſtered unto the cardinals and other electors, binding them to obſerve and keep all ſuch things as they ſhould be bound to, during the time of the election.

Theſe things thus prepared and ſet in order, the patriarch of Conſtantinople, with the cardinals and other archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, doctors, with other electors, entering into the conclave, upon Monday, on Thurſday after they had hatched out a pope, being St. Martin's even, whereupon they named him Martin.

This Martin thus being elected, was ſtraightway brought in by the emperor and the council into the church of Conſtance, and there inthronized for pope, not without great ſolemnity and triumph. The twenty-firſt day of the ſaid month, this foreſaid Martin, according to their accuſtomed pomp, was honourably brought in to be crowned with ſumptuous proceſſion from the high church of Conſtance, unto the monaſtery of Saint Auſtin: the emperor on foot leading his horſe by the bridle on the right hand, and the marquis of Brandenburgh, prince elector, likewiſe leading his horſe on the left hand, the pope himſelf riding in the midſt upon his palfrey.

And thus being brought into the monaſtery aforeſaid, and ſo reduced round about again from thence to the high church of Conſtance, he was there crowned with all magnificence.

Notwithſtanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanity of this council, more great than wiſe, did not end thus: for in the next ſeſſion, which was the 42d, came out a decree in the name of the pope and the council, diſcharging the bond of the emperor and the count palatine, touching the ſafe cuſtody of pope John, who was by bond committed unto them, to be kept in ſafety.

In the 43d ſeſſion, certain other decrees and ſtatutes were made by pope Martin in the ſaid ſynod, annullating and reproving all the acts and proceedings of the other popes before, during the time of the ſchiſm from the time of Gregory the eleventh. As in matters concerning exemptions, unions, fruits, and profits of the church, benefices, ſimony, diſpenſations, tithes, and other burdens of the church. Alſo concerning the apparel of the clergy, and other ſuch things.

In the 44th ſeſſion, the ſage fathers of this council were occupied about the determining what place the next council ſhould be kept in. The 45th ſeſſion brake up, and diſſolved this ſynod.

Now, to finiſh our tedious rehearſal of this ſynod, the cardinal Umbald, by the commandment of the pope and the council, with a high and loud voice pronounced theſe words, Lords, depart in peace; whereunto the ſtanders-by anſwered, Amen.

Thus the council being diſſolved, friar John biſhop of Catthan, by the conſent and commandment of the pope and the council, went up into the pulpit to make a ſermon, taking for his theme, "You are now in ſadneſs; I will ſee you again, and then your hearts ſhall rejoice."

The which collation being ended, another cardinal, named Anthony, was ſent up by the pope and the council, with his proclamation;

Firſt, To diſmiſs the ſynod, and to give every man leave to depart home.

Alſo to declare the pope's indulgence unto them, who, by the authority of God Almighty, had granted to them all and every one preſent at that council full abſolution once in their life; ſo that every one, within two months after the hearing of this indulgence, ſhould procure the ſame form in writing.

Alſo another indulgence was granted in like manner of penalty, remiſſion at the hour of death, and that was underſtood as well of the houſhold, as of the maſters themſelves. But under this condition, that from the time of the notification of the ſame, they ſhould faſt by the ſpace of one whole year every Friday, for the abſolution

lution in their life time: and for the abſolution at the hour of death, to faſt the ſame Friday another year, except they had ſome lawful impediment to the contrary; ſo that after the ſecond year, they ſhould faſt unto their lives end, or elſe to do ſome other good work. The which being in this manner proclaimed, the ſynod brake up, and every man departed home.

The number of the foreigners reſorting to this council, both ſpiritual and temporal, was 60500, whereof the number of archbiſhops and biſhops was 346.

Secular men	Princes, Dukes, Earls, Knights, Eſquires,	16000.

Beſides common women belonging to the ſame council, 450.

Barbers, 600. Minſtrels, cooks, and jeſters, 320.

So that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the town of Conſtance, between Eaſter and Whitſuntide, were numbered to be 60500 ſtrangers and foreigners at that council.

Here is to be noted, that in this council of Conſtance nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the pope's authority is under the council, and that the council ought to judge the pope.

And as touching the communion in both kinds, although the council did not deny, but that it was uſed by Chriſt and his apoſtles, yet notwithſtanding by the ſame council it was decreed to the contrary.

Hitherto we have comprehended the order and the diſcourſe of this council, with the acts and ſeſſions concerning the ſame; which council although it was principally thought to be aſſembled for quieting the ſchiſm between the three popes, yet notwithſtanding a great part thereof was for the cauſe of the Bohemians, and eſpecially for John Hus, as appeared by their preparation before the council. For before the council began, the emperor Sigiſmund aforeſaid ſent certain gentlemen Bohemians, which were of his own houſhold, giving them in charge to bring John Hus, bachelor of divinity, unto the ſaid council, and that under his ſafe conduct.

The meaning and intent whereof was, that John Hus ſhould purge and clear himſelf of the blame which they had laid againſt him: and for the better aſſurance, the emperor did not only promiſe him ſafe conduct, that he might come freely unto Conſtance, but alſo that he ſhould return again into Bohemia, without fraud or interruption: he promiſed alſo to receive him under his protection and under ſafeguard of the whole empire. For the ſame only cauſe the emperor ſent him afterwards the ſame ſafe conduct double written, both in Latin and Almain, the form whereof doth hereafter enſue.

Sigiſmund by the grace of God king of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmark, Croatia, &c. To all princes as well eccleſiaſtical as ſecular, dukes, marquiſſes, and earls, barons, captains, borough-maſters, judges and governors, officers of towns, burgeſſes and villagers, and unto all rulers of the commonalty, and generally to all the ſubjects of our empire, to whom theſe letters ſhall come; grace and all goodneſs.

We charge and command you all, That you have reſpect unto John Hus, the which is departed out of Bohemia, to come unto the general council; the which ſhall be celebrate and holden very ſhortly at the town of Conſtance. The which John Hus we have received under our protection and ſafeguard of the whole empire, deſiring you that you will chearfully receive him when he ſhall come towards you, and that you intreat and handle him gently, ſhewing him favour and good will, and ſhew him pleaſure in all things, as touching the forwardneſs, eaſe and aſſurance of his journey, as well by land as by water.

Moreover, we will, That he and all his company, with his carriage and his neceſſaries, ſhall paſs throughout all places, paſſages, ports, bridges, lands, governances, lordſhips, liberties, cities, towns, bourgages, caſtles, and villages, and all other your dominions, without paying of any manner of impoſition or Dane-money, peage, tribute, or any other manner of toll whatſoever it be. We will alſo, That you ſuffer him to paſs, reſt, tarry, and to ſojourn at liberty, without doing unto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need ſhall ſo require, you do provide a faithful company to conduct him withal, for the honour and reverence which you owe unto our imperial majeſty. Yeven [Given] at Spire the 18th of October, in the year of our Lord God 1414.

John Hus ſeeing ſo many fair promiſes, and the aſſurance which the emperor had given unto him, ſent anſwer unto the emperor, that he would come unto the council. But before he departed out of the realm of Bohemia, and ſpecially out of the town of Prague, he did write certain bills long enough afore, as well in Latin as in the Bohemian language, and Almain, and cauſed them to be ſet and faſtened upon the gates of the cathedral churches and pariſh churches, cloiſters and abbies, ſignifying unto them all, that he would go to the general council of Conſtance; wherefore if any man have any ſuſpicion of his doctrine, that he ſhould declare it before the lord Conrade or biſhop of Prague, or, if he had rather, at the general council, for there he would render and give up unto every one, and before them all, an account and reaſon of his faith. The example of his letters and intimations ſet up, were theſe; the copy whereof here followeth:

The Letters of John Hus, ſet up in common Places of the City of Prague.

MASTER John Hus, bachelor of divinity, will appear before the moſt reverend father the lord Conrade, archbiſhop of Prague, and legate of the apoſtolic ſeat, in their next convocation of all their prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, being ready always to ſatisfy all men which ſhall require him to give a reaſon of his faith and hope that he holdeth, and to hear and ſee all ſuch as will lay unto his charge, either any ſtubbornneſs of error or hereſy, that they ſhould write in their names there, as is required both by God's law and man's. And if ſo be that they could not lawfully prove any ſtubbornneſs of error or hereſies againſt him, that then they ſhould ſuffer the like puniſhment that he ſhould have had; unto whom altogether he will anſwer the next general council at Conſtance, before the archbiſhop and the prelates, and, according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, ſhew forth his innocency in the name of Chriſt. Dated the Sunday next after the feaſt of St. Bartholomew.

The Intimations following, were drawn out of the Bohemian Tongue.

I Maſter John Huſnetz, do ſignify unto all men, That I am ready to come and ſtand before the face of my lord the archbiſhop, and to anſwer to all things whereof I am falſely accuſed in the convocation of bachelors; and chiefly to this point, That in many places they do report me to be an an heretic, not having reſpect unto juſtice or law, neither yet to my merits or deſerts. Therefore ſince that you, which do never ceaſe to ſlander and backbite me with your words, do underſtand and know theſe things, come forth openly before the face and preſence of the lord archbiſhop, and with an open mouth declare and ſhew forth what falſe doctrine or other

other things ye have heard me teach, contrary to the catholic faith; and if that I ſhould be found faulty in never ſo ſmall a matter, contrary or againſt the faith of Chriſt, or in any falſe doctrine, and that I do chuſe that or other things contrary to the faith of Chriſt, then I will hold my peace and ſuffer puniſhment as an heretic. And if there will be no man that will reſiſt againſt me, or accuſe me in this point, once again I ſay unto you, That I am ready to appear at Conſtance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may ſtand in the company of divines, even before the face of the pope. Therefore whoſoever knoweth any falſe doctrine contrary to the faith of Chriſt in me, let him come thither and ſhew it forth boldly, if he have any thing to lay againſt me, and for my part I will not be ſlack, if I may underſtand or know it, to anſwer as well to ſmall as great, as touching the truth which I have received of God, and deſire to be defended. All you good men therefore which love the truth, ſay now whether by theſe my words I do think or go about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it known and manifeſt unto all men, that it happeneth not through my fault the ſame day.

This Epiſtle which followeth was ſet upon the Gates of the King's Palace, tranſlated into Latin, out of the Bohemian Tongue.

UNTO the king's majeſty, the queen, and to all ſuch as are of his council, and to all other rulers and magiſtrates, which now are in the king's court, I John Hus do ſignify and publiſh, That I have underſtood, not by any vain rumour and tale, that there be letters brought from the pope to the king's majeſty; the contents whereof are: That the king's majeſty ſhould bring to paſs, that the heretics which were now lately ſprung up in his kingdom and dominions, ſhould not take any firm or ſtrong root. Forſomuch as without any deſert, as I truſt by God's grace the fame or noiſe is ſprung and blown abroad; it ſhall be our part to foreſee and take heed, that neither the king's majeſty, neither the noble kingdom of Bohemia, ſhould be driven to bear or ſuffer any reproach or ſlander for me. Where now of late I have ſent my letters to and fro, which I have with great labour and diligence cauſed to be openly ſet up to this intent, that I might thereby cauſe the archbiſhop to be careful and diligent about the matter, ſignifying openly, that if there were any man in all Bohemia, which did know me to be a follower of any falſe or corrupt doctrine, he ſhould profeſs his name in the archbiſhop's court, and there ſhew forth and declare what he thought. And foraſmuch as there would none be found or come forth, which would accuſe me, the archbiſhop commanded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and deſire the king's majeſty, which is the defender of the truth, alſo the queen and their counſellors, and all other rulers and magiſtrates, that they would give me a faithful teſtimonial of this matter; forſomuch as I have oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath either accuſed me or troubled me. I do it moreover to be known unto all Bohemia, and to all nations, that I will be preſent even at the firſt time before the council of Conſtance, in the moſt famous place, in the preſence of the pope, the pope being preſident; and finally, in the preſence of all others which will come to that moſt famous place; and that whoſoever hath any ſuſpicion of me, that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the faith of Chriſt, let him come hither alſo, let him declare there, before or in the preſeence of the pope and all the doctors of divinity, what erroneous and falſe doctrine I have at any time followed or holden. More, if he ſhall convince me of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary unto the chriſtian faith, I will not refuſe to ſuffer whatſoever puniſhment ſhall be due for an heretic. But I hope and truſt even from the bottom of my heart, that God will not give the victory to unfaithful and unbelieving men, the which do willingly kick and ſpurn againſt the truth.

The ſame time John Hus ſent his procurers to the lord biſhop of Nazareth, ordained by the apoſtolical ſee, inquiſitor of hereſy of the city and dioceſe of Prague, requiring him, That if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the ſaid biſhop before the ſaid procurer, and the public notary, with many other credible witneſſes, anſwered, That he had often talked with John Hus, and that he never knew any thing in him, but as becometh a goodly and faithful man; and this his teſtimony of John Hus, he approved by his letters, the copy whereof is hereunder written.

The Biſhop of Nazareth his Teſtimonial.

WE Nicholas, by the grace of God biſhop of Nazareth, and inquiſitor, ſpecially deputed by the apoſtolical ſeat, for hereſies both of the city and dioceſe of Prague, by theſe preſents do it to be known unto all men, that we in times paſt have often communed and talked with that honourable man maſter John Hus, bachelor of divinity, of the famous univerſity of Prague, and have had divers and ſundry conferences with him, both of the ſcriptures and divers other matters, and in all his ſayings, doings, and behaviour, we have proved and found him to be faithful and a catholic man, finding no manner of evil, ſiniſter, or by any means erroneous doings in him unto this preſent. We do witneſs and proteſt moreover, how the ſaid John Hus, of late, in the cathedral church of Prague, and in other both collegiate and pariſh churches, and in the colleges of the univerſity of Prague, and in the gates and porches of the moſt noble prince and lord, the lord Wenceſlaus king of Romans and of Bohemia; alſo in the gates of the reverend father the lord Conrade archbiſhop of Prague, legate of the apoſtolical ſee, and chancellor of the univerſity of Prague, and of other princes and barons, then being in the city of Prague, hath ſet up his letters written both in Latin, and in the Bohemian tongue, containing ſententially in effect, how the foreſaid maſter John Hus would appear before the reverend father the lord Conrade, the foreſaid archbiſhop of Prague, and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, that ſhall be congregated and called together by the ſaid archbiſhop, at the day appointed in the ſaid city of Prague, ready always to ſatisfy every man that ſhall deſire and require him to ſhew a reaſon of his faith and hope that he holdeth, and to ſee and hear all and every one which could prove any obſtinacy of error or hereſy lawfully againſt him, under the pain to receive the like puniſhment: unto whom altogether he would, by God's help, anſwer in the council of Conſtance, which was now at hand, before the ſaid lord archbiſhop and us, with all other prelates; and there in Chriſt's name, according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, to declare and ſhew forth his innocency. After the which letters, as is aforeſaid by the ſaid maſter John Hus openly ſet up, there did no man appear before us, the which would accuſe the ſaid maſter John Hus of any error, either of any hereſy. For the evident witneſs of all which things we have commanded theſe preſent letters to be made, and confirmed the ſame with the ſetting to of our ſeal. Dated in Prague the thirteenth of Auguſt, anno 1414.

After this, as all the barons of Bohemia were aſſembled in the abbey of St. James, about the affairs of the realm, where the archbiſhop of Prague was alſo preſent: there the ſaid John Hus preſented ſupplications, by the which he moſt humbly deſired the barons, that they would ſhew him that favour towards the ſaid archbiſhop, that

if the ſaid archbiſhop did ſuſpect him of any error or hereſy, that he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and ſuffer correction for the ſame at his hands. And if that he had found or perceived no ſuch thing in him, that he would then give him a teſtimonial thereof, through the which he being as it were armed, he might the more freely go unto Conſtance. The ſaid archbiſhop confeſſed openly before all the aſſembly of barons, That he knew not that the ſaid John Hus was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his only counſel; that the ſaid John Hus ſhould purge himſelf of the excommunication he had incurred. This report, which the archbiſhop had given of John Hus, doth appear by the letters which the barons of Bohemia ſent unto the emperor Sigiſmund by the ſaid Hus, in the town of Conſtance.

Finally, all the prelates and clergy aſſembled together in the town of Prague, in the archbiſhop his court, where appeared perſonally the worſhipful maſter John Jeſenitz, doctor of decretals and procurer, in the name and behalf of the honourable man maſter John Hus, requiring that either the ſaid John Hus, or that he in the name and behalf of him, might be ſuffered to come into the archbiſhop's court, to the preſence of the archbiſhop, and the prelates which were there congregated together, foraſmuch as maſter John Hus is ready to ſatisfy all men which ſhall require him to ſhew any reaſon of his faith or hope which he holdeth, and to ſee and hear all and ſingular which were there gathered together, that is to ſay, the lord archbiſhop and prelates, or any of them which would lay any manner of obſtinacy, or error, or hereſy unto him, that they ſhould there write in their names, and according both unto God's law and man's, and the canon law, prepare themſelves to ſuffer like puniſhment, if they could not lawfully prove any obſtinacy of error or hereſy againſt him: unto whom altogether he would, by God's help, anſwer before the ſaid archbiſhop and the prelates in the next general council holden at Conſtance, and ſtand unto the law, and according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers, ſhew forth and declare his innocency in the name of Chriſt. Unto the which, maſter John of Jeſenitz, doctor, one called Ulricus Swabe of Swabenitz, marſhal of the ſaid archbiſhop, coming forth of the laid court, did utterly deny unto the ſaid maſter doctor and his party, all manner of ingreſs and entrance into the court, and to the preſence of the archbiſhop aforeſaid, and of the prelates there gathered together. Pretending that the archbiſhop, with the prelates aforeſaid, were occupied about the king's affairs, requiring the ſaid maſter doctor, that he would tarry in ſome place without the ſaid court, that when the archbiſhop, and the prelates had finiſhed the king's affairs, he might then return, and to have liberty to come into the court there. The ſaid Maſter John Hus and the doctor of law tarried awhile, intreating to be admitted into the archbiſhop's court: but ſeeing he could prevail nothing, he made there a ſolemn proteſtation of his requeſt, that both he, and alſo maſter John Hus and his part, could not be ſuffered to come into the archbiſhop's court, to the preſence of the archbiſhop and the prelates. Requiring of the notary public inſtruments to be made of the ſame, which alſo was done.

And theſe were the things which were done before John Hus took his journey to the general council of Conſtance, the which I minded briefly to rehearſe, whereunto I will alſo annex ſomewhat as touching his journey thitherwards.

About the ides of October 1414, John Hus being accompanied with two noble gentlemen, that is to wit, Wancelat of Duba, and John of Clum, he parted from Prague, and took his journey towards Conſtance. And in every place as he paſſed, he notified his preſence by his letters which he ſent abroad, and eſpecially in every good town or city of name, the tenor whereof enſueth:

The Copy of the Letters which John Hus ſet up in the Common Places of the Cities which he paſſed through, going to the Council.

MASTER John Hus goeth now unto Conſtance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this preſent doth hold, and by God's help will defend and keep even unto death. Therefore even as he hath manifeſted throughout all the kingdom of Bohemia by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to have ſatisfied and given an account of his faith unto every man, which ſhould object or lay any thing againſt him in the general convocation holden in the archbiſhop of Prague's court: ſo likewiſe he doth manifeſt and ſignify, that if there be any man in this noble and imperial city, the which will impute or lay any error or hereſy unto him, that he ſhould prepare himſelf to come unto the council, foraſmuch as the ſaid maſter John Hus is ready to ſatisfy every man at the ſaid council, which ſhall lay any thing unto his charge as touching his faith.

In all cities as he paſſed by, and principally when he was departed out of Bohemia, and entered into Almain, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained of his hoſts through all the towns of Germany, and eſpecially of the citizens and burgeſſes, and oftentimes of the curates. Inſomuch that the ſaid Hus did confeſs in a certain epiſtle, that he found in no place ſo great enemies as in Bohemia. And if it happened that there were any bruit or noiſe before of his coming, the ſtreets were always full of people, which were deſirous to ſee John Hus and gratify him; and amongſt all other, eſpecially at Nuremberg, whereas certain merchants, which went before, certified the citizens of his coming. In the ſame city there were many curates which came unto him, deſiring him that they might talk with him ſecretly apart: unto whom he anſwered, That he loved much rather to pronounce and ſhew forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, than in hugger mugger, for he would keep nothing cloſe nor hidden. So after dinner, until it was night, he ſpake before the prieſts and ſenators, and divers other citizens, inſomuch that they all had him in great eſtimation and reverence, one only doctor except, which was a Charter-houſe monk, and the curate of St. Sebauld, which did improve all that he had ſaid.

The twentieth day after that he departed out of the town of Prague, which was the third day of November, he came unto Conſtance, and lodged at an honeſt matron's houſe, being a widow named Faith, in St. Galles-ſtreet.

The morrow after, the gentleman maſter John de Clum, and maſter Henry Latzemboge, went to ſpeak with the pope, and certified him that John Hus was come, whom they had brought to Conſtance to the general council, under the emperor his ſafe conduct: deſiring him alſo that he on his part would grant the ſaid John Hus liberty to remain in Conſtance, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. Unto whom the pope anſwered, That albeit that John Hus had killed his brother, yet would he go about, as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt ſhould be done unto him during his abode in the town of Conſtance.

In this mean time, the greateſt adverſary that John Hus had, named maſter Steven Paletz, the which was alſo a Bohemian born, was come unto Conſtance. But his companion maſter Staniſlaus Znoma was not yet paſſed the borders of Bohemia, when he was ſtricken with an

an impoſtume, whereof he died. As ſoon as the ſaid Paletz was come to Conſtance, he did aſſociate unto him one Michael de Cauſis, the which had before falſly accuſed and blamed the ſame John Hus. And this may not be forgotten, that the ſaid Paletz had been familiarly converſant and acquainted with the ſaid John Hus from his youth upward; but after that there was a bull brought unto Prague, from pope John the 23d, againſt the king of Apulia, named Ladiſlaus, the ſaid John Hus withſtood it openly, forſomuch as he ſaw that it was wicked and naught.

And as touching the ſaid Paletz, albeit that he had confeſſed at a certain banquet in the preſence of the ſaid John Hus, that the ſaid bull was contrary to all equity and right; yet notwithſtanding forſomuch as he was obliged and bound unto the pope, by means of certain benefices received at his hand, he maintained and defended the ſaid bull againſt John Hus. And this was the cauſe of the diſcord and falling out between them. As for Michael de Cauſis, the companion of maſter Paletz, he was ſome time the curate of New Prague; but he not being content therewith, but ſeeking after a further prey, dreamed and imagined out a new device how to attain unto it, for he made a ſemblance that he had found out a new invention or mean, whereby the mines of gold in Gilory, which were periſhed and loſt, might be renewed and ſet on work again. By this means he did ſo much with the king Wenceſlaus, that he did put a great ſum of money into his hands, to do that withal which he had promiſed.

This honeſt man, after he had laboured and travailed certain days about it, and perceiving that he brought nothing to that paſs, and that by that means he was utterly in deſpair of his purpoſe, he conveyed himſelf privily out of the realm of Bohemia with the reſt of the money, and withdrew himſelf, as a worthy bird for ſuch a neſt, into the court of Rome. Such a man of ſuch conditions was eaſily corrupt with money, and that by the adverſaries of the ſaid Hus, and promiſed them to do what he could for them, the which he did ſhortly after. Theſe two jolly roiſters, Steven Paletz and Michael de Cauſis, drew out certain articles againſt the ſaid Hus, ſaying, That they had gathered them out of his own writings, and ſpecially out of his treatiſe which he had written of the church. They trotted up and down, hither and thither, taking great pains to ſhew the ſaid articles unto the ſaid cardinals, biſhops, and monks, and ſuch other of that ſort, doing them alſo to underſtand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the ſaid John Hus had committed and done againſt the holy conſtitutions, and other ordinances of the pope and the church; which if need were, they ſaid they would propound before the council. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did ſo incenſe the cardinals, and all the prieſts, that all they with one mind and conſent thought to cauſe the good man to be taken and laid hands on.

The 26th day after the ſaid Hus was come to Conſtance, during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his friends; the cardinals, through the inſtigation and motion of Paletz and Michael de Cauſis, ſent two biſhops; to wit, the biſhop of Auguſta, and of Trent, and with them the borough-maſter of the town of Conſtance, and a certain knight, to the place where John Hus lodged, about dinner-time, which ſhould make report unto him that they were ſent by the pope and his cardinals, to advertiſe him that he ſhould come to render ſome knowledge or witneſs of his doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes deſired, and that they were ready to hear him.

Unto whom John Hus anſwered, I am not come for any ſuch intent, as to defend my cauſe particularly before the pope and his cardinals, proteſting that I never deſired any ſuch thing, but that I would willingly appear before the whole aſſembly of the council, and there anſwer for my defence openly, without any fear or doubt, unto all ſuch things as ſhall be demanded or required of me. Notwithſtanding, ſaid he, foraſmuch as you require me ſo to do, I will not refuſe to go with you before the cardinals. And if it happen that they evil intreat or handle me; yet nevertheleſs I truſt in my Lord Jeſus, that he will ſo comfort and ſtrengthen me, that I ſhall deſire much rather to die for his glory ſake, than to deny the verity and truth which I have learned by his holy ſcriptures. Wherefore it came to paſs, that the biſhops being inſtant upon him, and not ſhewing any outward ſemblance that they bare any malice or hatred againſt him in their hearts, albeit they had privily laid garriſons both in the houſe where they were aſſembled, and alſo in other houſes; John Hus took his horſe which he had at his lodging, and went unto the court of the pope and the cardinals.

When he was come thither, and had ſaluted the cardinals, they began to ſpeak to him in this ſort: We have heard many reports of you, the which, if they be true, are in no caſe to be ſuffered: for men ſay, That you have taught great and manifeſt errors, and contrary and againſt the doctrine of the true church; and that you have ſowed your errors abroad through all the realm of Bohemia, by a long ſpace of time; wherefore we have cauſed you to be called hither before us, that we might underſtand and know how the matter ſtandeth.

Unto whom John Hus anſwered in few words, Reverend fathers, you ſhall underſtand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I ſhould rather chuſe to die, than I ſhould be found culpable of one only error, much leſs of many and great errors. For this cauſe I am the more willingly come unto the general council, which is here appointed, to ſhew myſelf ready even with all my heart to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me. The cardinals anſwered him again, That his ſayings pleaſed them very well; and upon that they went away, leaving the ſaid John Hus, with maſter John de Clum, under the guard and keeping of the armed men.

In the mean ſeaſon, they did ſuborn and furniſh out a certain divine, a friar franciſcan, a ſubtil and crafty man, and a malicious hypocrite, to queſtion with the ſaid John Hus, which was compaſſed round about with armed men. This man drawing near in his monkiſh geſture, ſaid, Reverend maſter, I, a ſimple and rude ideot, am come unto you to learn; for I have heard many ſtrange and contrary things againſt the catholic faith to be aſcribed unto you, the which do diverſly move my mind, being wholly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do deſire you, even for the love which you bear unto the truth, and to all good and godly men, that you would teach me moſt ſimple and miſerable man, ſome certainty and truth. And firſt, men ſay, That you hold opinion, that after the conſecration and pronunciation of the words in the ſacrament of the altar, there remaineth only material bread. John Hus anſwered, That it was falſly attributed and imputed unto him. Then ſaid he, I pray you, is not this your opinion? No verily, ſaid John Hus, I do not ſo think of it. When the monk aſked this queſtion the third time, maſter John de Clum being moved ſomewhat with him, ſaid, Why art thou ſo importunate upon him? Verily, if any man had affirmed or denied any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him. And thou albeit he hath ſhewed thee his mind ſo often, yet ceaſeſt not to trouble him. Then ſaid the monk, Gentle maſter, I pray you pardon me a poor ideot and ſimple friar; ſurely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and deſirous to learn. This friar put forth another queſtion unto him, proteſting his ſimplicity and ignorance, What manner of unity of the Godhead and manhood was in the perſon of Chriſt? When John Hus had heard this queſtion, he turning himſelf unto maſter John de Clum, in the Bohemian

hemian language ſaid, Truly this friar is not ſimple as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded unto me a very hard queſtion. And afterward turning himſelf to the friar, he ſaid unto him, Brother, you ſay that you are ſimple, but as I have heard of you, I perceive very well that you are double and crafty, and not ſimple. It is not ſo verily, ſaid the friar. Well, ſaid John Hus, I will cauſe you well to underſtand that it is ſo. For as touching the ſimplicity of a man, it is required in things that concern civility and manners; that the ſpirit, the underſtanding, the heart, the words and the mouth ſhould agree together: and I do not perceive that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certain ſemblance of ſimplicity, the which would very well declare you to be an ideot and ſimple; but your deeds ſhew plainly and evidently a great ſubtilty and craft in you, with a great quickneſs and livelineſs of wit, in that you have proponed unto me ſo hard and difficult a queſtion.

Notwithſtanding, I will not fear to ſhew you my mind in this queſtion. And when he had made an end, the monk gave him great thanks for his gentleneſs, and ſo departed. After that the pope's garriſon which were about the ſaid John Hus, told him, That this friar was called maſter Didace, who was eſteemed and counted the greateſt and moſt ſubtil divine in all Lombardy. Oh, ſaid John Hus, that I had known that afore, I would have handled him after another ſort and faſhion; but I would to God they were all ſuch, then through the help and aid of the holy ſcriptures I would fear none of them. In this manner the ſaid Hus, and maſter John de Clum, were left under the keeping of theſe men of arms, until four of the clock at afternoon. After which time the cardinals aſſembled again in the pope's court, to deviſe and take counſel what they ſhould do with John Hus. Then Stephen Paletz, and Michael de Cauſis, with divers others of their adherents, made earneſt ſuit that he ſhould not be let go at liberty again, and having the favour of the judges on their part, they brag'd up and down in a manner, as they had been mad men, and mocked the ſaid John Hus, ſaying, Now we will hold thee well enough, thou art under our power and juriſdiction, and ſhalt not depart until ſuch time as thou haſt paid the uttermoſt farthing.

A little afore night, they ſent the provoſt of the Roman court unto maſter John de Clum, to ſhew him that he might return to his lodging; but as for John Hus, they had otherwiſe provided for him. When maſter John de Clum heard theſe news, he was wonderfully diſpleaſed, forſomuch as through their crafts, ſubtilties, and gloſing words, they had ſo trained this good man into their ſnares, whereupon he went unto the pope, declaring unto him all that was done: moſt humbly beſeeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promiſe which he had made unto him and maſter Henry Latzembog, and that he would not ſo lightly falſify and break his faith and promiſe. The pope anſwered, That all theſe things were done without his conſent or commandment, and ſaid further to maſter Clum apart, What reaſon is it that you ſhould impute this deed unto me, ſeeing that you know well enough that I myſelf am in the hands of theſe cardinals and biſhops?

In mine opinion, foraſmuch as pope John feared that which indeed did after follow, that he ſhould be deprived of his dignity, he thought to win the favour of theſe Herodian cardinals and biſhops, by betraying this good man unto them. So the ſaid maſter Clum returned very penſively ſorry; he complained very ſore, both privily and openly, of the injury and outrage that the pope had done, but all profited nothing. After this the ſaid John Hus was led by the officers to the chapter-houſe of the great church of Conſtance, where he was kept priſoner by the ſpace of eight days; from thence he was carried unto the Jacobines, hard by the river of Rhine, and was ſhut up in the priſon of the abbey, the which was hard by the Bogards.

After he had been incloſed there a certain time, he fell ſore ſick of an ague, by means of the ſtench of the place, and became ſo weak, that they deſpaired of his life. And for fear leſt this good man ſhould die in priſon, as others are wont to do, the pope ſent unto him certain of his phyſicians to cure and help him. In the midſt of his ſickneſs his accuſers made importunate ſuit to the principals of the council, that the ſaid John Hus might be condemned, and preſented unto the pope theſe articles hereunder written:

Articles preſented againſt John Hus.

FIRST, He doth err about the ſacraments of the church, and ſpecially about the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, forſomuch as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be miniſtered openly unto the people under both kinds, that is to ſay, the body and blood. This article is evident, forſomuch as his diſciples at this inſtant in Prague do miniſter the ſame in both kinds. Moreover, it is affirmed by divers, that he hath taught both in the ſchools and in the church, or at the leaſt that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of conſecration pronounced upon the altar, there remaineth ſtill material bread in the ſacrament This article ſhall be known by his examination.

Secondly, He doth err as touching the miniſters of the church, forſomuch as he ſaith, That they cannot conſecrate or miniſter the ſacraments when they are in mortal ſin. This article ſhall likewiſe be known by his examination. Notwithſtanding, all that which is here contained, may be gathered by his writings De Eccleſia; the which if he deny, let there then be ſome divines and others appointed, to peruſe and look over his ſaid writings of the church. Moreover he ſaith, That other men beſide prieſts may miniſter the ſacrament. This article is evident, forſomuch as his diſciples do the ſame at Prague, the which of themſelves do violently take the ſacrament out of the treaſury, and communicate among themſelves, when the holy communion is denied unto them. By this and other things alſo it is ſufficiently evident, that he hath taught that every man, being without mortal ſin, hath the power of orders or prieſthood, forſomuch as ſuch only as have taken orders ought to miniſter the ſacrament unto themſelves. And becauſe he proceedeth from ſmall matters unto great and weightier, it doth conſequently appear and follow, that thoſe which be in the ſtate of grace, can bind and looſe.

Thirdly, He doth err as touching the church, and ſpecially for that he doth not allow and admit, that the church ſignifieth the pope, cardinals, archbiſhops, and the clergy underneath them; but ſaith, that this ſignification was drawn out from the ſchool-men, and is in no caſe to be holden or allowed. This article is manifeſt by his ſaid treatiſe upon the church.

Moreover, he doth err concerning the church, in that he ſaith, That the church ought not to have any temporal poſſeſſions. And that the temporal lords may take them away from the church and the clergy without any offence. This error is evident, forſomuch as through his doctrine and inticements many churches in the kingdom of Bohemia, and in the city of Prague, are already ſpoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalities and goods. He ſaith alſo, that Conſtantinus and other ſecular princes erred by inriching and endowing churches and monaſteries. This article is manifeſt by that which goeth next before.

Fourthly, He erreth as touching the church, in that he ſaith, That all prieſts are of like power, and therefore affirmeth that the reſervations of the pope's caſualties, the ordering of biſhops, and the conſecration of the prieſts, were invented only for covetouſneſs. This article

cle doth ſomewhat appear by thoſe aforegoing, but by his examination ſhall be more evident.

Fifthly, He erreth concerning the church, in that he ſaith, That the church being in ſin, hath no power of the keys, when as the pope, cardinals, and all other of the prieſts and clergy, are in deadly ſin; the which he ſaith is poſſible enough. This alſo doth appear in his treatiſe upon the church, in his firſt error as touching the miniſters of the church.

Sixthly, He erreth touching the church, foraſmuch as through contempt he doth not fear excommunication. This doth notoriouſly appear by his own doings, that he did contemn and deſpiſe the apoſtolic and ordinary cenſure, and in all the apoſtolic excommunications and injunctions he hath borne himſelf upon the divine commandments; and in contempt of the keys, to the ſetting out of his hypocriſy, he hath ſaid maſs all the ways between this and the city of Prague, and thereby hath prophaned the proceſs and authority of the church.

Seventhly, He erreth again, as touching the church, becauſe he keepeth not the inſtitutions and inveſtitures thereof, but holdeth opinion that every man hath authority to inveſt and appoint any man to the cure of ſouls. This is evident by his own doings, forſomuch as many in the kingdom of Bohemia, by their defenders and favourers, or rather by himſelf, were appointed and put into pariſh churches, the which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the apoſtolic ſee, neither yet by the ordinary of the city of Prague.

Eighthly, He erreth as touching the church, in that he holdeth opinion, That a man, being once ordained a prieſt or deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept back from the office of preaching. This is likewiſe manifeſt by his own doings, foraſmuch as he himſelf could never be letted from preaching, neither by the apoſtolic ſee, neither yet by the archbiſhop of Prague.

And to the intent that the ſaid John Hus, who is clothed in ſheep's clothing, and inwardly a ravening wolf, may be the better known by his fruits, for the better information of you, moſt reverend fathers, I ſay, that from the firſt time that he took in hand, or went about to ſow ſuch errors and hereſies, the which afterward he did indeed, he underſtanding and perceiving himſelf to be withſtanded and gainſayed by the Germans, which were in the univerſity of Prague, forſomuch as he could conclude nothing, becauſe they had three voices, and he on his part had but one only voice: he went about and brought to paſs, and that by the ſecular power, that the Germans ſhould have but one voice, and he and his parts three voices: the which thing when the Germans once perceived, rather than they would loſe or forſake any part of their right which they had in voices, or be in danger in their perſons, the which would then have enſued upon it, to ſave themſelves, they wholly with one conſent agreed together to depart out of Prague; and by this means this ſolemn and famous univerſity of Prague was made deſolate, which had brought forth ſo many notable men in divers ſciences. Behold this his firſt fruits, which divided that ſo famous univerſity, forſomuch as grapes are not gathered of thorns, neither figs of brambles.

Moreover, when there were queſtions moved amongſt the divines of the univerſity of Prague upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff, and that they had called a convocation, and all the divines of Bohemia (for the Germans were already departed), they concluded that every one of thoſe articles were either heretical, ſeditious, or erroneous. He alone held the contrary opinion, that none of thoſe articles were either heretical, ſeditious, or erroneous, as afterward he did diſpute, hold, and teach, in the common ſchools of Prague, whereby it is evidently enough foreſeen, that he doth affirm thoſe articles of Wickliff, the which are not only condemned in England, but alſo by the whole church, becauſe they were firſt invented and ſet forth by the members of antichriſt.

Moreover, he being complained of to the archbiſhop of Prague, that he preached and ſet forth certain articles which were heretical, falſe, and ſeditious, he was forbidden by the ſaid archbiſhop to preach any more, who proceeded againſt him, according to the canonical ſanctions, the which proceſs is confirmed by the apoſtolic ſee, and publiſhed as well in the court of Rome, as without; the which John Hus and his adherents have divers and manifold ways violated and prophanated. And whoſoever did ſpeak againſt him, they were deprived of their benefices, and others placed in, which have ruled and yet do rule the ſaid churches, and the flocks pertaining to the ſame, not having any cure or charge of the ſouls committed unto them, neither by the apoſtolic ſee, neither yet by the ordinary of the place.

Alſo as many, as well prieſts as laymen in the city of Prague, and kingdom of Bohemia, which have ſpoken againſt the doctrine of Hus, and the prophanation of the proceſs aforeſaid, or at the leaſt not allowed the ſame, have ſuffered moſt mortal hatred and perſecutions, and yet to this day do ſuffer. But that at this preſent it is diſſimuled until the end of the proceſs againſt John Hus. Wherefore if he be now let go again, without doubt they ſhall ſuffer great perſecution both in body and goods, and throughout all the realm of Bohemia, houſe ſhall be againſt houſe, and this miſchief will creep, yea ſuddenly ſpring up throughout all Germany, and innumerable ſouls ſhall be infected, ſo that there ſhall be ſuch perſecution of the clergy and faithful, as hath not been ſince the time of the emperor Conſtantine to this preſent day; for he ceaſeth not to move and ſtir up the laity againſt the clergy and faithful chriſtians. And when any of the clergy would draw him away, or call him from his hereſy, and for that cauſe doth forbid him to preach, that he doth not teach any hereſies: then ſaith he, and teacheth, that the clergy doth that of envy and malice, becauſe he rebuketh their vices and faults; that is to ſay, their ſimony, and pride, and covetouſneſs.

Moreover, he ſtirreth up the ſecular princes againſt the prelates of churches, monaſteries, and univerſities, and generally againſt the whole clergy. Going about by this means, he preacheth and teacheth that prelates and other men of the church ought not to have any temporal goods or poſſeſſions, but only to live upon alms. And by this means he hath done already very much hurt, and annoyed divers and many prelates, clerks, and churches in the kingdom of Bohemia, and city of Prague, forſomuch as thereby they are already ſpoiled and robbed of their poſſeſſions. Yea, he teacheth alſo that it is lawful for the lay people without ſin to withhold and keep back the tithes and oblations, or to give the church goods to any other miniſter; all the ſecular princes are greatly inclined thereunto, but ſpecially the laity, who follow every man his own will.

He hath generally to lay for himſelf all thoſe heretics which do but very ſmally regard the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and hate the authority of the Roman church, yea do utterly deteſt and abhor the ſame: the which thing will more and more increaſe, except it be effectually and manfully withſtood; and if he do by any means eſcape from the council, he and his favourers will ſay that his doctrine is juſt and true, and that it is allowed by the authority of the univerſal ſacred council, and that all his adverſaries are wicked and naughty men, ſo that he would do more miſchief than ever any heretic did ſince the time of Conſtantinus Magnus.

Wherefore, moſt holy fathers, provide and take heed to yourſelves, and to the whole flock, amongſt whom the Holy Ghoſt hath placed you, to rule the church of Chriſt, the which he hath purchaſed with his own blood; and whilſt the diſeaſe is new and freſh, help and remedy it, as well touching him which doth ſo infect and trouble

the church of God, as alſo concerning the occaſions, through the which he hath preſumed, and might do the ſame, becauſe the prelates do abuſe the eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and as well the prelates, as thoſe that are under them, do not keep and obſerve the order of the church which is appointed them by God, whereby it cometh to paſs, that whilſt they themſelves do walk the broken and unknown paths, their flock falleth headlong into the ditch.

Wherefore let our ſovereign lord the pope, and this moſt ſacred council, ordain and depute commiſſioners, the which may examine the ſaid John Hus upon all afore-written, and other things in the preſence of them which know the matter. Let there be alſo certain doctors and maſters appointed to read over and peruſe his books which he hath written, whereof ſome are here preſent, that the church may be ſpeedily purged and cleanſed from theſe errors.

Upon this his accuſation, they ordained and appointed three commiſſioners or judges, that is to ſay, the patriarch of Conſtantinople, and the biſhop of Caſtile, and the biſhop of Lybuſs. The which prelates being thus deputed, heard the accuſation and the witneſs which was brought in by certain babbling prieſts of Prague, confirmed by their oaths, and afterward recited the ſaid accuſation unto the ſaid Hus in the priſon, at ſuch time as his ague was fervent and extremely upon him.

Upon this, John Hus required to have an advocate to anſwer for him; the which was plainly and utterly denied him. And the reaſon that the maſters and commiſſioners brought againſt it was this, that the plain canon doth forbid that any man ſhould be a defender of any cauſe of his, which is ſuſpect of any kind of hereſy. The vanity and folly of the witneſſes was ſuch, that if in caſe they had not been both the accuſers and judges themſelves, there ſhould have needed no diſtinct confutation. I would have rehearſed the teſtimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be ſuch as the prudent and wiſe reader could not have read without great tediouſneſs. Howbeit, ſome of them ſhall be declared, when we come to the proceſs of his judgment.

Afterward, when John Hus had recovered a little ſtrength or health, by the commandment of the three commiſſioners, there were preſented unto him certain articles, many in number, which, they ſaid, they had gathered out of his book which he made of the church; of which articles ſome were forged and invented by maſter Paletz, and other ſome were gathered only by halves, as ſhall be more plainly declared hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the judgment pronounced and given againſt the ſaid Hus.

Thus John Hus remained in the priſon of the covent of the Franciſcans, until the Wedneſday before Palm Sunday, and certain appointed to keep him; and in the mean ſeaſon, to employ and ſpend his time withal, he wrote certain books, that is to ſay, of the ten commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of matrimony, of penance, of the three enemies of mankind, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the ſupper of our Lord.

The ſame day pope John the 23d changed his apparel, and conveyed himſelf ſecretly out of Conſtance, fearing the judgment by the which afterward he was deprived of his papal dignity, by means of moſt execrable and abominable forfeits and doings. This was the cauſe that John Hus was tranſported and carried unto another priſon: for the pope's ſervants, which had the charge and keeping of John Hus, underſtanding that their maſter was fled and gone, delivered up the keys of the priſon unto the emperor Sigiſmund, and to the cardinals, and followed their maſter the pope. Then by the whole conſent of the council, the ſaid John Hus was put into the hands of the biſhop of Conſtance, who ſent him to a caſtle on the other ſide of the river of Rhine, not very far from Conſtance, where he was ſhut up in a tower with fetters on his legs, that he could ſcarce walk in the day-time, and at night he was faſtened up to a rack againſt the wall hard by his bed.

In the mean ſeaſon, certain noblemen and gentlemen of Pole and Bohemia did all their endeavour to purchaſe his deliverance, having reſpect to the good renown of all the realm, the which was wonderfully defamed and ſlandered by certain naughty perſons. The matter was grown unto this point, that all they which were in the town of Conſtance, that ſeemed to bear any favour unto John Hus, were made as mocking-ſtocks, and derided of all men, yea, even of the ſlaves and baſe people. Wherefore they took counſel and concluded together to preſent their requeſt in writing unto the whole council, or at the leaſt unto the four nations of Almain, Italy, France, and England; this requeſt was preſented the 14th day of May, anno 1415, the tenor here enſueth.

The Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of Bohemia delivered up to the Council, for the Deliverance of John Hus, the fourteenth day of May, anno 1415.

MOST reverend fathers and lords, the nobles and lords of Bohemia and Pole here preſent, by this their preſent writing do ſhew and declare unto your fatherly reverences, how that the moſt noble king and lord, the lord Sigiſmund, king of the Romans, always Auguſtus, king of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c. hearing of the great diſſention that was in the kingdom pf Bohemia, as heir, king, and lord ſucceſſor, willing to foreſee and provide for his own honour, ſent theſe noblemen, maſter Wenceſlate de Duba, and John de Clum, here preſent, that they would bring and aſſure maſter John Hus, under the king his name and ſafe conduct. So that he would come to the ſacred general council of Conſtance, under the ſafe conduct of the ſaid king, and the protection of the ſacred empire, openly given and granted unto the ſaid maſter John Hus, that he might purge himſelf and the kingdom of Bohemia from the ſlander that was raiſed upon them, and there to make an open declaration of his faith to every man that would lay any thing to his charge. The which the ſaid nobles, with the forenamed maſter John Hus, have performed and done, according to the king's commandment.

When as the ſaid maſter John Hus was freely of his own accord come unto Conſtance, under the ſaid ſafe conduct, he was grievouſly impriſoned before he was heard, and at this preſent is tormented both with fetters, and alſo with hunger and thirſt. Albeit that in times paſt at the council holden at Payſan, in the year of our Lord 1410, the heretics, which were condemned, were ſuffered to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely; notwithſtanding this, maſter John Hus, neither being convicted nor condemned, no not ſo much as once heard, is taken and impriſoned, when as neither king nor any prince elector, neither any embaſſador of any univerſity, was yet come or preſent. And albeit the lord the king, together with the nobles and lords here preſent, moſt inſtantly required and deſired, that as touching his ſafe conduct they would foreſee and have reſpect unto his honour, and that the ſaid maſter John Hus might be heard, forſomuch as he would render and ſhew a reaſon of his faith; and if he were found and convicted obſtinately to affirm or maintain any thing againſt the truth of holy ſcripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the ſame, according to the inſtruction and determination of the council; yet could he never obtain this. But the ſaid maſter John Hus, notwithſtanding all this, is moſt grievouſly oppreſſed with fetters and irons, and ſo weakened with thin and ſlender diet, that it is to be feared,

feared, leſt that, his power and ſtrength being hereby conſumed and waſted, he ſhould be put in danger of his wit or reaſon.

And although the lords of Bohemia here preſent are greatly ſlandered, becauſe they ſeeing the ſaid maſter John Hus ſo to be tormented and troubled, contrary to the king's ſafe conduct, have not by their letters put the king in mind of his ſaid ſafe conduct, that the ſaid lord and king ſhould not any more ſuffer any ſuch matters, forſomuch as they tend to the contempt and diſregard of the kingdom of Bohemia, which, from the firſt original and beginning, ſince it received the catholic faith, never departed or went away from the obedience of the holy chuch of Rome; yet notwithſtanding they have ſuffered and borne all theſe things patiently hitherto, leſt by any means occaſion of trouble or vexation of this ſacred council might ariſe or ſpring thereof.

Wherefore moſt reverend fathers and lords, the nobles and lords before-named, do wholly and moſt earneſtly deſire and require your reverences here preſent, that both for the honour of the ſafe conduct of our ſaid lord the king, and alſo for the preſervation and increaſe of the worthy fame and renown, both of the foreſaid kingdom of Bohemia, and your own alſo, you will make a ſhort end about the affairs of maſter John Hus; forſomuch as by the means of his ſtrait handling he is in great danger by any longer delay; even as they do moſt ſpecially truſt upon the moſt upright conſciences and judgments of your fatherly reverences. But foraſmuch as, moſt reverend fathers and lords, it is now come to the knowledge and underſtanding of the nobles and lords of Bohemia here preſent, how that certain backbiters and ſlanderers of the moſt famous kingdom of Bohemia aforeſaid, have declared and told unto your reverences, how that the ſacrament of the moſt precious blood of our Lord is carried up and down through Bohemia, in veſſels not conſecrate or hallowed, and that cobblers do now hear confeſſions, and miniſter the moſt bleſſed body of our Lord unto others: The nobles therefore of Bohemia here preſent require and deſire you, that you will give no credit unto falſe promoters and tale bearers, for that, as moſt wicked and naughty ſlanderers and backbiters of that kingdom aforeſaid, they do report and tell untruths; requiring alſo your reverences, that ſuch ſlanderous perſons of the kingdom aforeſaid may be named and known. And the lord the king, together with your reverences, ſhall well perceive and ſee that the lords of Bohemia will go about in ſuch manner to refel and put away the falſe and frivolous ſlanders of theſe naughty perſons, that they ſhall be aſhamed to appear hereafter before the lord the king and your reverences.

As ſoon as this their ſupplication was read, the biſhop of Luthonis, riſing up, ſaid, "Moſt reverend fathers, I well perceive and underſtand, that the laſt part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars and friends, as though the kingdom of Bohemia were ſlandered by us. Wherefore I deſire to have time and ſpace of deliberation, that I may purge myſelf from this crime that is laid againſt me." The principal of this council appointed him the 17th day of May, at the which day the lords of Bohemia ſhould be preſent again, to hear both the anſwer of the council, and alſo the excuſe of the biſhop of Luthonis; the which thing indeed was afterward performed: for the 17th day of May, which was the fourth day before Whitſuntide, they met there again; where firſt of all a certain biſhop, in the name of the whole council, anſwered by word to the nobles of Bohemia; the contents of whoſe anſwer may eaſily be known by the ſecond ſupplication, which the Bohemians put up to the council. But firſt I ſhall here in theſe few words following ſhew how the biſhop of Luthonis defended himſelf againſt that which is before written.

The Anſwer of the Biſhop of Luthonis to the laſt part of the Supplication which the Nobles of Bohemia preſented unto the Council.

MOST reverend fathers and noble lords, as Peter de Mladoneywitz, bachelor of art, in the name of certain of the nobles of the kingdom of Bohemia, in his writings, amongſt other things, did propound, how that certain ſlanderers and backbiters of the ſaid kingdom have brought to the ears of your reverences, that the moſt precious blood of Chriſt is carried up and down in Bohemia in bottles, and that cobblers do hear confeſſions, and miniſter the body of Chriſt unto others; whereupon, moſt reverend fathers and lords, albeit that I, together with the other prelates, doctors, maſters, and other innumerable catholics of the ſaid kingdom, the which do deſire, as much as in them lieth, to defend the faith of Chriſt, have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that moſt wicked and deteſtable ſect of Wickliff's, which now (alas for ſorrow) beginneth to ſpring and riſe in the ſaid kingdom, as it is well known: notwithſtanding, here in this my oration, not for any ſhame or reproof, but for the honour of the kingdom aforeſaid, I have propounded and declared a certain new ſect, which is now lately ſprung up in the ſaid kingdom, the followers whereof do miniſter and communicate the ſacraments in many cities, towns, and places of the ſaid kingdom, under both kinds both of bread and wine, and do conſtantly teach the common people, both men and women, that it is ſo to be communicated, obſtinately affirming the ſame, and that the clergy which do repugn or ſay nay unto it, are to be counted church robbers, as by the writings of their aſſertions, being directed and preſented hither, ſhall openly appear.

Moreover, by the report and fame which goeth here abroad, and by the writings which were ſent over unto me, I have propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the blood of Chriſt is carried about in veſſels not conſecrated, approving the foreſaid erroneous aſſertion of the Wickleviſts, that affirm it neceſſary for ſalvation, that the people ſhould communicate under both kinds of bread and wine; and that it is neceſſary, as the body of Chriſt is carried in the pix or box, ſo the blood of Chriſt ſhould be carried in bottles, or other neceſſary veſſels, from place to place, and eſpecially about the miniſtration of the ſick. Alſo I declared not of myſelf, but I heard to be declared by others, both great and credible perſons, that there was a certain woman, a follower of that ſect, the which taking by violence the body of Chriſt out of a prieſt's hands, did communicate unto herſelf, and affirmed, that all men ought to do ſo, if the prieſts ſhould deny them the communion. And the ſame woman, amongſt many other errors, of the which ſhe was convicted, did affirm, that a good lay woman might better conſecrate and give abſolution, than an evil prieſt; affirming, that an evil prieſt can neither conſecrate nor abſolve. But I know that neither I, neither any of my aſſiſtants in this matter, have brought this at any time unto your ears, that cobblers in the ſaid kingdom do hear confeſſion, or miniſter the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, as is alledged by the ſaid Peter, in behalf of the ſaid ſupplicants. Notwithſtanding that we did fear, if means were not found to recounter or ſtop the offences before named, that this would immediately follow upon it. Wherefore, moſt reverend fathers, leſt that the kingdom might be defamed any more by ſuch peſtiferous ſects, and that the chriſtian faith might happen to be indangered; with all reverence and charity I do deſire you, even by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this moſt ſacred council would provide ſome ſpeedy remedy for this kingdom, as touching the premiſes.

More-

Moreover, whether be they backbiters and ſlanderers, or wicked and falſe enviers of the kingdom of Bohemia, the which do lett the errors aforeſaid, and many others more, which are ſown by the Wickleviſts in the ſaid kingdom, and alſo elſewhere, which alſo both do labour and have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of thoſe errors out of the kingdom aforeſaid, and as catholic men, for the zeal of their faith have manifeſtly put forth themſelves againſt the maintainers of the ſaid errors, or ſuch as do maintain and defend the teachers of thoſe errors; this anſwer I have here preſented before your reverences, always wholly ſubmitting myſelf and aſſiſtance unto your judgment, and to the definition of this moſt ſacred council of Conſtance.

The Anſwer of the Nobles of Bohemia.

THE day before Whitſuntide, the nobles of Bohemia did confute this their anſwer made two days before in the council to their former writing, as here followeth:

Moſt reverend fathers and lords; forſomuch as upon Thurſday it was anſwered in the behalf of your reverences, to the requeſts of the nobles and lords of Bohemia, that the ſaid lords were miſinformed of divers points contained in the declaration of their ſaid bill: therefore the foreſaid lords have now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requeſts more at large unto your reverences, not minding hereby to argue or reprove your fatherly wiſdoms and circumſpections, but that your reverences (their deſires being partly on this behalf fulfilled) might the more effectuouſly and diſtinctly diſcern and judge as touching this matter.

And firſt of all, whereas the lords alledged and ſaid, how that maſter John Hus was come hither unto Conſtance, freely of his own good will, under the ſafe conduct of the lord the king, and the proceſſion of the ſacred empire; it is anſwered on the behalf of your reverences, how that the ſaid lords are miſinformed as touching the ſafe conduct, and that you have underſtood by ſueh as are worthy credit, that the friends and favourers of the ſaid maſter John Hus did firſt procure and get his ſafe conduct fifteen days after his impriſonment.

The lords of Bohemia, and eſpecially the lord John de Clum here preſent, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth anſwer, that not only the fifteenth day after, but even the very ſame day that John Hus was apprehended and taken, when as our reverend father the pope, in the preſence of all his cardinals, demanded of maſter John de Clum, whether maſter John Hus had any ſafe conduct from the king his ſon: he anſwered, "Moſt holy father and cardinals, know ye that he hath a ſafe conduct;" and when he was aſked the queſtion again the ſecond time, he anſwered in like manner.

Yet notwithſtanding none of them required to have the ſafe conduct ſhewed unto them: and again, the third day following, the lord John de Clum complained unto our lord the pope; how, notwithſtanding the ſafe conduct of our ſovereign lord the king, he detained and kept Mr. John Hus as priſoner, ſhewing the ſafe conduct unto many. And for the further truth herein, he referreth himſelf unto the teſtimonies and witneſſes of divers earls, biſhops, knights, gentlemen, and famous citizens of the city of Conſtance, the which all together at this preſent did ſee the ſaid ſafe conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the ſaid John de Clum is ready to bind himſelf under what penalty ſhall be required, evidently to prove and confirm that which he hath promiſed, whoſoever ſay to the contrary.

Moreover, the lords of Bahemia refer themſelves unto the knowledge of certain princes electors, and other princes, biſhops, and many other noblemen, which were preſent before the king's majeſty, where and when as the ſaid ſafe conduct was granted, and given out by the ſpecial commandment of our ſaid lord the king.

Hereby your fatherly reverences may underſtand and perceive that the ſaid lords of Bohemia are not evil informed, as touching the ſaid ſafe conduct; but rather they which by ſuch reports have falſely and untruly informed your reverences. And firſt of all, they have offended againſt the lord the king and his chancellors. Secondarily, againſt the lords and nobles of Bohemia, as though we had privily and by ſtealth purchaſed the ſaid ſafe conduct. Wherefore the lords aforeſaid moſt humbly require and deſire your reverences, that you will not ſo lightly believe ſuch as be not worthy of credit, but rather hearing the contrary part, to labour and diſcuſs, that the truth may the more evidently appear.

Secondly, Whereas the lords aforeſaid, alledging how maſter John Hus coming unto Conſtance of his own free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was impriſoned, your reverences have made anſwers thereunto, that he the ſaid Mr. John Hus, in the time of Alexander the 5th, was infamed and ſlandered upon certain hereſies, and thereupon cited perſonally to appear in the court of Rome, and there was heard by his procurers.

And forſomuch as he refuſed obſtinately to appear, he was excommunicated, in the which excommunication he continued (as you affirm) by the ſpace of five years, for the which he was judged, and counted not only a ſimple and plain heretic, but an hereſiarch, that is to ſay, an inventer and ſower of new and ſtrange hereſies, and that he, coming toward Conſtance, did preach by the way openly. To this the lords aforeſaid do anſwer, that as touching his ſlander and citation, they can affirm nothing, but by report. But as touching that he did not perſonally appear, they ſay they have heard both himſelf and divers other credible perſons ſay, yea even the moſt famous prince Wenceſlaus, king of Bohemia, and almoſt all the whole nobility is witneſs, that he would willingly have appeared at Rome, or elſewhere, if he might ſafely have come thither, and that deadly enmity had not letted; and moreover, his procurers which he ſent unto the court of Rome, alledging reaſonable cauſes for his non-appearance, ſome of them were caſt into priſon, and others were evil intreated.

As for the excommunication which he had ſo long ſuſtained, they have heard him often ſay, that he hath not reſiſted againſt the ſame by contumacy, or ſtubbornneſs, but under evident appellation, and thereupon referreth himſelf unto the acts of his cauſes which were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherein all this is more largely contained, the which your reverences may evidently perceive and ſee in this our public tranſumpt, which we have offered unto you upon certain points aforeſaid.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithal his enemies do report and charge, that maſter John Hus did preach openly in the city of Conſtance; the lords aforeſaid, and eſpecially the lord John de Clum here preſent, do anſwer, that he hath continually lodged with the ſaid maſter John Hus here in Conſtance; and that whoſoever they be, that have been ſo bold, or dare be ſo bold to ſay and affirm that maſter John Hus had preached (as is premiſed), or that which is leſs, ſince the time of his coming unto this city, even unto the very day and time of his captivity and impriſonment, that he went but one ſtep out of the houſe of his lodging, that the ſaid lord John de Clum will and is content to bind himſelf, with any ſuch as ſhall affirm the ſame, under what penalty ſoever it be, of money or otherwiſe, that that which he hath falſely reported unto your reverences, he ſhall never be able juſtly and truly to affirm and prove.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Whereas your reverences do ſay, that you do not underſtand or know, what the lords do mean, by the heretics condemned at the council holden at Piſa, whether the mocking or deriding of the pope, whoſe embaſſadors came thither for unity or concord, the which were ſuffered, and gently treated, as their lords were moſt inclined unto unity and peace; or elſe that they did underſtand or mean the particular heretics, which were there condemned; adjoining thereunto, that the heretics alſo coming unto the council under the pretence of that unity, ſhould be gently handled and intreated, &c. Reverend fathers and lords, whether they be counted the firſt, or that they be thought the ſecond or laſt, the lords aforeſaid require none other thing, but that the ſaid maſter John Hus may uſe ſuch liberty as they uſed, forſomuch as he came willingly unto this moſt ſacred council, not for any other purpoſe, but only publicly to recogniſe his faith. And in what point ſoever he ſhall ſeem to vary from the word of God, and the union of the holy mother the church, in that point he will willingly be united and reconciled again thereunto; and not only himſelf, but alſo his favourers and adherents, he would move and provoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the kingdom of Bohemia. Alſo he is come hither, that he might purge and clear the noble kingdom of Bohemia from the ſiniſter and evil ſlander which was raiſed upon it.

Laſt of all, moſt reverend fathers and lords, forſomuch as your reverences have moſt favourably anſwered unto the principal requeſt made by the lords aforeſaid, that the proceſs of maſter John Hus, through God's help, ſhould be determined and ended with all expedition and gentleneſs; the lords aforeſaid do render moſt hearty thanks unto your reverences, and whenſoever their deſire by God's help ſhall come to the end or effect long wiſhed or looked for, they will not only here, but alſo before the whole kingdom of Bohemia, and in all other places whereſoever they come, render moſt immortal thanks unto your reverences for ever.

When as the noblemen of Bohemia by long time could receive no anſwer of thoſe ſupplications which they had already put up, they determined the laſt day of May following, by another ſupplication being put up unto the principals of the council, to intreat that John Hus might be delivered out of priſon, and defend his own cauſe openly: they alſo put up the teſtimonial of the biſhop of Nazareth, as touching John Hus. The copy whereof is expreſſed in the beginning of this hiſtory, word by word.

Another Supplication of the Nobles of Bohemia.

"MOST reverend fathers and lords in Chriſt, of late there was a ſupplication put up unto your reverences on the behalf of the lords and nobles of Bohemia, and the nation of Pole, wherein they moſt humbly deſired your reverences to conſider how the informations which were put up unto your reverences, by the enemies of maſter John Hus, were inſufficient; and with reverence be it ſpoken, in many points untrue, as in the ſafe conduct granted by the king's majeſty, and alſo in other articles, as more plainly appeareth in the ſchedule, which was then offered unto you: upon the which ſaid ſchedule and other things at that preſent, being put up, they could not as yet receive any anſwer.

Wherefore the lords aforeſaid moſt humbly require your fatherly reverences, that it would pleaſe you to conſider the ſaid ſupplication, and to give ſome anſwer to the lords aforeſaid thereupon, and ſpecially having reſpect unto the great injuries and griefs which are done unto the ſaid maſter John Hus, the which may be underſtood and known by the ſchedule aforeſaid, that you will mercifully conſider and foreſee, that all thoſe griefs and evils, ſo far different from all brotherly love and charity, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred.

To the intent therefore their rancour and malice may be confounded and overthrown, and the plain and evident truth appear, it may pleaſe your fatherly reverences to underſtand that it is notified and known unto the barons, nobles and citizens, clergy and laity of the kingdom of Bohemia, that maſter John Hus in all his acts and doings, as well ſcholaſtical as eccleſiaſtical, and eſpecially in all his public and open ſermons, hath made and hath accuſtomed to make theſe manner of proteſtations, and which without any thing to the contrary, he hath always endeavoured to have them ſtrong and firm, as by this proteſtation here following, which he made about the determination of a certain queſtion, it may moſt evidently and plainly appear unto every man which would behold and look upon the ſame; the form and tenor whereof here followeth, and is ſuch.

The proteſtation of John Hus.

FOrſomuch as above all things I do deſire the honour of God, the profit of the holy church, and that I myſelf may be a faithful member of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which is the head and huſband of the holy church which he hath redeemed; therefore, as heretofore oftentimes I have done, even ſo now again, I make this proteſtation, That I never obſtinately ſaid, or hereafter will ſay, any thing that ſhall be contrary unto the truth and verity: and moreover, that I have always holden, do hold, and firmly deſire to hold the very true and infallible truth and verity; ſo that before that I would defend and maintain any error contrary thereunto, I would rather chooſe by the hope and help of the Lord to ſuffer extreme puniſhment, even unto death: yea, and through the help of God, I am ready to offer this my miſerable life unto death for the law of Chriſt, the which I do believe every part and parcel thereof to be given and promulgate for the ſalvation of mankind, by the council and determination of the moſt holy Trinity and the ſaints of God, &c.

By the which his proteſtation, and alſo other proteſtations by the ſaid maſter John Hus, being well obſerved and noted, it may be eaſily gathered and known, that his whole intent and purpoſe was and is, that he neither would nor will have ſpoken or written any thing in his books, treatiſes, doctrines or public ſermons; or elſe to have affirmed any articles, the which willingly and wittingly he did underſtand or know to be erroneous, offenſive, ſeditious, heretical, or offending the godly ear; albeit that theſe and ſuch like things are falſely imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath alway been his chief intent and purpoſe, and ſo is, that every point, concluſion or article contained in his books or articles, to have put and affirmed to this end, according to the truth of the goſpel, the holy doctors and writers upon the holy ſcriptures, and to that end and purpoſe, as is before expreſſed in his proteſtations; and if in any point he ſhould be found to vary or go aſtray, or that he were not well underſtood of others, by like information to be informed, underſtood, corrected and amended, and that he will by no means ſuſtain or defend any manner of article againſt the holy church of Rome, or the catholic faith.

Wherefore, moſt reverend fathers, the premiſes notwithſtanding, his enemies, through the extreme hatred which they bear unto him, have picked and taken out by piece-meal, certain articles out of the books of maſter John Hus, rejecting and not looking upon the allegations and reaſons, neither having any relation unto the diſtinction of their equivocations, have compounded and made thereof certain falſe and feigned articles againſt him to this end, that all charity and love being ſet apart, they might the better overthrow him, and bring him

unto death, contrary unto the ſafe conduct upon good and juſt occaſion openly aſſigned, and given unto the ſaid maſter John Hus, by the moſt noble prince the lord Sigiſmund, king of the Romans and of Hungary, for his juſt defence againſt all the frivolous accuſations and aſſaults of the enemies, not only of the ſaid maſter John Hus, but alſo of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and for the quiet appeaſing of all ſuch tumults and rumors riſing and ſpringing in the ſaid kingdom of Bohemia or elſewhere; the avoiding of which moſt perilous uproars, the ſaid king of the Romans doth greatly deſire and wiſh, as the right heir and ſucceſſor of the ſaid kingdom.

Whereupon the barons and nobles aforeſaid moſt humbly deſire and require, the premiſes being conſidered, and reſpect had unto the great infamy and ſlander which may happen by the premiſes unto the ſaid kingdom and inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands, and take ſome order and mean, that maſter John Hus may be directly heard by ſome famous men, divines already deputed, or otherwiſe to be appointed, upon all and ſingular ſuch articles as ſhall be laid unto him, to declare his own mind and intent, and alſo the mind of the doctors alledged for this purpoſe, with the manifold diſtinctions and equivocations; in the which the the drawers out of the moſt part of his articles have alſo made equivocations, that ſo according to the dipoſition of the witneſſes, of the which a great number of them are and have a long time been his mortal enemies, that at the frivolous inſtigation of his enemies, when he was miſerably detained priſoner, that he ſhould not be condemned unheard.

Forſomuch as by the ſaid declarations, your fatherly reverences might be the more better informed of the truth, he himſelf is ready always to ſubmit himſelf under the determination of this moſt ſacred council. For your reverences, by the crafty and feigned perſuaſions of his enemies, are thus informed, that maſter John Hus hath been incurably obſtinate by a long time, in moſt perilous articles, the which your reverences may now plainly perceive to be untrue: and for the more evidence herein to be ſhewed, there is preſented unto your reverences an inſtrument of public recognition of the moſt reverend father in Chriſt the lord Nicholas biſhop of Nazareth, and inquiſitor of hereſies, eſpecially appointed by the apoſtolic ſee in the dioceſe of Prague, the which by your reverences is more diligently to be hearkened unto.

Wherefore it may pleaſe your fatherly reverences to command the ſaid maſter John Hus, neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chains, in the which he is now moſt grievouſly detained and kept, and to put him into the hands of ſome reverend lords biſhops, or commiſſioners, appointed or to be appointed by this preſent council; that the ſaid maſter John Hus may ſomewhat be relieved, and recover again his health, and be the more diligently and commodiouſly examined by the commiſſioners. And for the more aſſurance, the barons and nobles aforeſaid of the kingdom of Bohemia will provide moſt ſure and good ſureties, the which will not break their fidelity and faith for any thing in the world. Which alſo ſhall promiſe in this behalf, that he ſhall not flee or depart out of their hands, until ſuch time as the matter be fully determined by the ſaid commiſſioners.

In the execution of the which premiſes, we have determined to provide and foreſee unto the fame and honour of the ſaid kingdom of Bohemia, and alſo to the ſafe conduct of the moſt worthy prince, the king of the Romans, leſt that the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the kingdom aforeſaid might not a little ſlander and reprove the ſaid lords, pretending and ſhewing forth hereafter, that they had made unreaſonable or unlawful requeſts; for the withſtanding of which miſchief, we require your fatherly reverences, that you will decree, and moſt graciouſly conſent that this our petition and ſupplication may be drawn out again by your notary, and reduced into a public form and order.

After this ſupplication was read before the deputies of the four nations, the patriarch of Antioch anſwered in the name of them all unto every article of the ſaid ſupplication; but it was done in few words.

Firſt, as touching the proteſtation of John Hus, whether it be true or falſe, it ſhall be made evident in the proceſs of his cauſe. Moreover, whereas they ſay that the adverſaries of John Hus have perverſely drawn certain things out of his books, that alſo the matter it ſelf ſhall declare in the end. Whereas if it ſhall be found and decreed that John Hus is unjuſtly and untruly accuſed, that then it ſhall come to paſs that his adverſaries ſhall incur perpetual ignominy and ſlander. But as touching ſureties, albeit there might be a thouſand put in or bound, yet can it not by any means be that the deputies of the council with a ſafe conſcience may receive, or take them in this man's cauſe, unto whom there is no faith or credit to be given. Howbeit thus much they will do: upon the fifth day of June next, John Hus ſhall be brought again unto Conſtance, and there have free liberty to ſpeak his mind before the council, and he promiſed that they would lovingly and gently hear him; but the matter in the end fell out far contrary to this promiſe.

The ſame day the ſaid barons and lords preſented a ſupplication of this tenor unto the emperor:

Unto the moſt high and mighty prince, the lord Sigiſmund king of the Romans, always Auguſtus, king of Hungary, Croatia and Dalmatia, our moſt gracious lord, faithful and true ſervice in all things, and at all times. Moſt noble prince, and gracious lord, we ſignify unto your worthineſs, that we all together with one mind, conſent and accord, have delivered up unto the reverend fathers and lords, the deputies of the four nations, and to the whole ſacred council of Conſtance, this our ſupplication hereunder writren, as reaſonable, juſt, and worthy of conſideration, the tenor whereof here followeth word by word, and is this.

The copy of the ſupplication, which was preſented unto the deputies of the council, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed.

WHerefore we moſt humbly require and deſire your princely majeſty, that both for the love of juſtice, and alſo of the fame and renown of that moſt famous kingdom of Bohemia, whereof we acknowledge you undoubtedly the true lord, heir and ſucceſſor; and alſo foreſeeing unto the liberty of your ſafe conduct, that you will with your favourable countenance, beholding theſe moſt reaſonable and juſt ſupplications, which we have put up to the lords aforeſaid, put to your helping hand toward the ſaid moſt reverend fathers and lords, that they will effectually hear us, in this our moſt juſt petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforeſaid; leſt that the enemies of the renown and honour of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and ſuch be our ſlanderers alſo, hereafter may detract and ſlander us, that we ſhould make unreaſonable and unlawful requeſts unto the ſaid reverend fathers and lords; and therefore we required and deſired of them, that it would pleaſe them to decree by ſetting to their public hand and ſeal, to authoriſe our ſaid publication. Likewiſe, we do moſt heartily require your highneſs, that you would vouchſafe in like manner to give us your teſtimony of the premiſes.

But what anſwer the emperor made hereunto, we could never underſtand or know: but by the proceſs of the

the matter a man may eaſily judge, that this good emperor was brought and led even unto this point, through the obſtinate miſchief of the cardinals and biſhops, to break and falſify his promiſe and faith which he had made and promiſed; and this was their reaſon whereby he was driven thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by ſafe conduct, or by any other mean unto him, which was ſuſpected or judged to be an heretic. But by the epiſtles and letters of John Hus, a man may eaſily judge what the king's mind was. Now we will proceed in the hiſtory.

The fifth day of June, the cardinals, biſhops, and the reſt of the prieſts all that were almoſt in Conſtance, aſſembled at a great number, at the covent of the Franciſcans in Conſtance; and there it was commanded, that before John Hus ſhould be brought forth, in his abſence they ſhould rehearſe the witneſſes and articles which they had ſlanderouſly gathered out of his books: the which articles, with John Hus's anſwer, we will hereafter repeat.

By chance there was then preſent a certain notary, named Mladoniewitz, the which bare great love and amity unto the ſaid Hus, who, as ſoon as he perceived that the biſhops and cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemn the ſaid articles in the abſence of John Hus, he went with all ſpeed unto maſter Wencelate de Duba, and John of Clum, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the emperor. Who underſtanding their intent, ſent Lewis the County Palatine of Heydelburgh, and the lord Frederic burgave of Nuremberg, to ſignify unto them which ruled the council, that nothing ſhould be reſolved or done in the caſe of John Hus, before that it were firſt heard with equity, and that they ſhould ſend him all ſuch articles as were laid againſt the ſaid Hus, which were either falſe or heretical; and he would do ſo much, that the ſaid articles ſhould be examined by good and learned men. Then according to the emperor's will, the judgment of the principals of the council was ſuſpended, until ſuch time as John Hus was preſent.

In the mean ſeaſon, theſe gentlemen, maſter of Duba and of Clum, did give unto the two princes, which the emperor had ſent, certain ſmall treatiſes which the ſaid John Hus had made, out of the which they had drawn certain articles to preſent unto them which rule the council, under this condition, that they would render them again, when they ſhould demand them. The intent and meaning of theſe barons was, that by this means the adverſaries of John Hus might the more eaſily be reproved, the which of a naughty and corrupt conſcience had picked out corrupt ſentences out of the ſaid books of John Hus. The books were delivered unto the cardinals and biſhops; and that done, John Hus was brought forth, and the princes which were ſent by the emperor, departed back again. After they ſhewed the books unto John Hus, and he confeſſed openly before the whole aſſembly that he had made them, and that he was ready, if there were any fault in them, to amend the ſame.

Now hearken a little to the holy proceedings of theſe reverend fathers, for here happened a ſtrange and ſhameful matter. With much ado they had ſcarcely read one article, and brought forth a few witneſſes upon the ſame againſt him, but as he was about to open his mouth to anſwer, all this mad herd or flock began ſo to cry out upon him, that he had not leiſure to ſpeak one only word. The noiſe and trouble was ſo great and ſo vehement, that a man might well have called it a bruit or noiſe of wild beaſts, and not of men; much leſs was it to be judged a congregation of men gathered together to judge and determine ſo grave and weighty a matter. And if it happened that the noiſe and cry did never ſo little ceaſe, that he might anſwer any thing at all, out of the holy ſcriptures or eccleſiaſtical doctors, by and by he ſhould hear theſe goodly replies upon him, That maketh nothing to the purpoſe.

Beſides all this; ſome did outrage in words againſt him, and other ſome ſpitefully mocked him; ſo that he ſeeing himſelf overwhelmed with theſe rude and barbarous noiſes and cries, and that it profited nothing to ſpeak, he determined finally with himſelf to hold his peace and keep ſilence. From that time forward, all the whole rout of his adverſaries thought that they had won the battle of him, and cried out all together, "Now he is dumb, now he is dumb: This is a certain ſign and token, that he doth conſent unto theſe his errors." Finally, the matter came to this point, that certain of the moſt moderate and honeſt among them, ſeeing this diſorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all ſhould be deferred and put off until another time. Thro' their advice, the prelates and others departed from the council for that preſent, and appointed to meet there again the morrow after, to proceed in judgment.

The next day, which was the ſeventh of June, on which day the ſun was almoſt wholly eclipſed, ſomewhat after, above ſeven of the clock, this ſame flock aſſembled again in the cloyſter of the friars minors, and by their appointment John Hus was brought before them accompanied with a great number of armed men. Thither went alſo the emperor, whom the gentlemen, maſter of Duba, and Clum, and the notary named Peter, which were great friends of the ſaid Hus, did follow, to ſee what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard that in the accuſation of Michael de Cauſis, they read theſe words following: John Hus hath taught the people divers and many errors both in the chapel of Bethlehem, and alſo in many other places in the city of Prague, of the which errors ſome of them he hath drawn out of Wickliff's books, and the reſt he hath forged and invented of his own head, and doth maintain the ſame very obſtinately and ſtiffly.

Firſt, that after the conſecration and pronunciation of the words in the ſupper of the Lord, there remaineth material bread; and this proved by the witneſs of John Protiwaie pariſh-prieſt of St. Clement's in Prague, John Pecklow preacher at St. Giles's in Prague, Beniſe preacher in the caſtle of Prague, Andrew Brodue canon of Prague, and divers other prieſts. Unto this John Hus taking a ſolemn oath, anſwered, that he never ſpake any ſuch word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the archbiſhop of Prague forbad him to uſe any more that term or word bread, he could not allow the biſhop's commandment; foaſmuch as Chriſt in the ſixth chapter of John doth oftentimes name himſelf the bread of angels, which came down from heaven, to give life unto the whole world. But as touching material bread, he never ſpake any thing at all. Then the cardinal of Cambray taking a certain bill in his hand, which he ſaid he received the day before, ſaid unto John Hus, Will you put any univerſalities, à parte rei, i. e. as touching the thing? when John Hus anſwered, that he would, becauſe St. Anſelm and divers others had ſo done: the cardinal did proceed to gather his argument in this manner.

It followeth then, ſaid he, that after the conſecration is made, there remaineth the ſubſtance of material bread; and that I do thus prove: that the conſecration being done, whiles the bread is changed and tranſubſtantiated into the body of Chriſt as you ſay, either there doth remain the common ſubſtance of material bread, or contrariwiſe. If the ſubſtance do remain, then is our purpoſe at an end. If contrariwiſe, then it doth follow, that by the deciſion of the ſingularity, the univerſal ceaſeth any more to be. John Hus anſwered, Truly it ceaſeth to be in this ſingular material bread, by means of this tranſubſtantiation, when as it is changed and tranſubſtantiated into the body of Chriſt; but notwithſtanding in other ſingularities it is made ſubject.

Then a certain Engliſhman by that argument would prove out of the firſt poſition, that there remained material

terial bread. Then ſaid John Hus, That is a childiſh argument, which every boy in ſchools knoweth, and thereupon gave a ſolution. Then another Engliſhman would prove, that there remained material bread in the ſacrament, becauſe the bread after the conſecration was not annihilate. Unto whom John Hus anſwered, Although, ſaid he, that the bread be not annihilate or conſumed, yet ſingularly it ceaſeth there to be by means of the alteration of his ſubſtance into the body of Chriſt. Here another Engliſhman ſtepping forth, ſaid, John Hus ſeemeth unto me to uſe the ſame kind of crafty ſpeech which Wickliff uſed, for he granted all theſe things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully perſuaded that material bread remained in the ſacrament after the conſecration. The which when John Hus had denied, ſaying, that he ſpake nothing but only ſincerely and uprightly, according to his conſcience; the Engliſhman proceeded to demand of him again, Whether the body of Chriſt be totally and really in the ſacrament of the altar? Whereunto John Hus anſwered, Verily, I do think that the body of Chriſt is really and totally in the ſacrament of the altar, even that body which was born of the virgin Mary, ſuffered, died, and roſe again, and ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. When they had diſputed a good while to and fro, as touching univerſalities, the Engliſhman which before would prove that material bread remained in the ſacrament, becauſe that the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talk, ſaid, To what purpoſe is this diſputation upon univerſalities, the which maketh nothing to the purpoſe, as touching faith? For as far as I can perceive or hear, this man holdeth a good opinion as touching the ſacrament of the altar.

Then another Engliſhman named Stokes, ſaid, I have ſeen at Prague (ſaith he) a certain treatiſe, the which was aſcribed unto this man John Hus, wherein it was plainly ſet forth, that after the conſecration there remained material bread in the ſacrament. Verily, ſaid John Hus, ſaving your reverence, that is not true.

Then they returned again unto the witneſſes of them which were ſpoken of a little before, who every man for himſelf affirmed with an oath that which he had ſaid. Amongſt whom John Protywaie, pariſh prieſt of St. Clement's in Prague, when he ſhould come to confirm his teſtimony, added more, that John Hus ſhould ſay, that St. Gregory was but a rhimer, when he did alledge his authority againſt him. Unto whom John Hus anſwered, that in this point they did him great injury, forſomuch as he always eſteemed and reputed St. Gregory for a moſt holy doctor of the church.

Theſe contentions and diſputations being ſomewhat appeaſed, the cardinal of Florence turned himſelf toward John Hus, and ſaid, Maſter, you know well enough that it is written, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all witneſs is firm and ſtable; and here you ſee now almoſt twenty witneſſes againſt you, men of authority and worthy of credit, amongſt the which ſome have heard you teach theſe things themſelves, the others by report or common bruit or voice do teſtify of your doctrine, and all together generally bring reaſons and proofs of their witneſs, unto the which we are forced and conſtrained to give credit; and for my part, I ſee not how you can maintain and defend your cauſe againſt ſo many notable and well learned men. Unto whom John Hus anſwered in this manner, I take God and my conſcience to witneſs, that I never taught any thing, neither was it ever in my mind or fancy to teach in ſuch ſort or manner, as theſe men here have not feared to witneſs againſt me that which they never heard.

And albeit they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more eſteem, yea and without compariſon, regard the witneſs of my Lord God, before the witneſs and judgment of all mine adverſaries upon whom I do in no point ſtay myſelf. Then ſaid the cardinal again unto him, It is not lawful for us to judge according to your conſcience; for we cannot chooſe, but that we muſt needs ſtay ourſelves upon the firm and evident witneſs of theſe men here. For it is not for any diſpleaſure or hatred, that theſe men do witneſs thus againſt you (as you do alledge): for they alledge and bring forth ſuch reaſons of their witneſs, that there is no man can perceive any hatred in them, or that we can in any caſe be in doubt thereof.

And as touching maſter Stephen Paletz, whereas you ſay, you do ſuſpect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawn out certain points or articles out of your books, to betray them afterward; it ſeemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in mine advice he hath uſed and ſhewed a great fidelity and amity toward you, in that he hath alleviated and moderated many of your articles much more than they are in your own books. I underſtand alſo that you have like opinion of divers other notable men, and ſpecially you have ſaid, that you do ſuſpect M. chancellor of Paris, than whom there is no more excellent and chriſtian man in all the whole world.

Then was there read a certain article and accuſation, in the which it was alledged, That John Hus had taught, and obſtinately defended certain erroneous articles of Wickliff's in Bohemia. Whereunto Hus anſwered, that he never taught any errors of John Wickliff's, or of any other man's. Wherefore if it be ſo that Wickliff hath ſowed any errors in England, let the Engliſhmen look to that themſelves. But to confirm their article, there was alledged, that John Hus did withſtand the condemnation of Wickliff's articles, the which were firſt condemned at Rome; and afterward alſo, when the archbiſhop of Swinco, with other learned men, held a convocation at Prague for the ſame matter, when as they would have been condemned for this cauſe, that none of them were agreeing to the catholic faith or doctrine, but were either heretical, erroneous, or offenſive: he anſwered, that he durſt not agree thereunto, for offending his conſcience, and eſpecially for theſe articles, that Silveſter the pope and Conſtantine did err in beſtowing thoſe great gifts and rewards upon the church. Alſo that the pope or prieſt, being in mortal ſin, cannot conſecrate nor baptize. This article, ſaid he, I have thus determined, as if I ſhould ſay, that he doth unworthily conſecrate or baptize, when as he is in deadly ſin, and that he is an unworthy miniſter of the ſacrament of God. Here his accuſers, with their witneſſes, were earneſt and inſtant that the article of Wickliff was written by the very ſame words of Stephen Paletz. Verily ſaid John Hus, I fear not to ſubmit myſelf, even under the danger of death, if you ſhall not find it ſo as I have ſaid. When the book was brought forth, they found it written as John Hus had ſaid. He added alſo moreover, that he durſt not agree unto them which had condemned Wickliff's articles, for this article, "The tenths were pure alms."

Here the cardinal of Florence objected unto him this argument, as touching the alms: "It is required that it ſhould be given freely without bond or duty. But tenths are not given freely without bond or duty; therefore they are no alms." John Hus denying the major of this ſyllogiſm, brought this reaſon againſt him:

Forſomuch as rich men are bounden under the pain of eternal damnation, unto the fulfilling of the ſix works of mercy, which Chriſt repeated in the 25th chapter of Matthew, and theſe works are pure alms: Ergo, alms is alſo given by bond and duty.

Then an archbiſhop of England ſtepping up, ſaid, If we all be bound unto thoſe ſix works of mercy, it doth follow that poor men, which have nothing at all to give, ſhould be damned. I anſwer, ſaid Hus, unto your antecedent, that I ſpake diſtinctly of rich men, and of thoſe which had wherewithal to do thoſe works: they, I ſay, were bound to give alms under pain of damnation.

He anſwered moreover unto the minor of the firſt argument, "That tenths were at firſt given freely, and afterward

afterward made a bond and duty;" and when as he would have declared it more at large, he could not be ſuffered. He declared alſo divers other cauſes why he could not with ſafe conſcience conſent unto the condemnation of Wickliff's articles.

But howſoever the matter went, he did affirm and ſay, that he did never obſtinately confirm any articles of Wickliff's, but only that he did not allow and conſent that Wickliff's articles ſhould be condemned before that ſufficient reaſons were alledged out of the holy ſcripture for their condemnation; and of the ſame mind, ſaith John Hus, are a great many other doctors and maſters of the univerſity of Prague. For when as Swineo the archbiſhop commanded all Wickliff's books to be gathered together in the whole city of Prague, and to be brought unto him, I myſelf brought alſo certain books of Wickliff's which I gave unto the archbiſhop, deſiring him, that if he found any error or hereſy in them, he would note and mark them, and I myſelf would publiſh them openly.

But the archbiſhop, albeit that he ſhewed me no error nor hereſy in them, burned my books, together with thoſe that were brought unto him, notwithſtanding that he had no ſuch commandment from pope Alexander the fifth of that name. But notwithſtanding by a certain policy, he obtained a bull from the ſaid pope by means of Jaroſlaus biſhop of Sarepte, of the order of Franciſcans, that all Wickliff's books, for the manifold errors contained in them (whereof there was none named) ſhould be taken out of all men's hands.

The archbiſhop, uſing the authority of this bull, thought he ſhould bring to paſs, that the king of Bohemia and the nobles ſhould conſent to the condemnation of Wickliff's books; but therein he was deceived. Yet nevertheleſs he calling together certain divines, gave them in commiſſion to ſit upon Wickliff's books, and to proceed againſt them by a definitive ſentence in the canon law.

Theſe men, by a general ſentence, judged all thoſe books worthy to be burned. The which when the doctors, maſters, and ſcholars of the univerſity heard report of, they all together, with one conſent and accord (none excepted, but only they which before were choſen by the archbiſhop to ſit in judgment) determined to make ſupplication unto the king to ſtay the matter. The king granting their requeſt, ſent by and by certain unto the archbiſhop to examine the matter.

There he denied that he would decree any thing as touching Wickliff's books, contrary unto the king's will and pleaſure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burn them the next day after, yet for fear of the king, the matter was paſſed over.

In the mean time pope Alexander the 5th being dead, the archbiſhop, fearing leſt the bull which he had received of the pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and ſhutting the gates of his court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed ſoldiers, conſumed and burned all Wickliff's books.

Beſides this great injury, the archbiſhop by means of his bull aforeſaid, committed another no leſs intolerable. For he gave out commandment, that no man after that time, under pain of excommunication, ſhould teach any more in chapels. Whereupon I did appeal unto the pope: who being dead, and the cauſe of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewiſe unto his ſucceſſor John 23. before whom when as by the ſpace of two years I could not be admitted by my advocate to defend my cauſe, I appealed unto the high judge Chriſt.

When John Hus had ſpoken theſe words, it was demanded of him whether he had received abſolution of the pope, or no? He anſwered, No. Then again, whether it were lawful for him to appeal unto Chriſt, or no? Whereunto John Hus anſwered, Verily I do affirm here before you all, that there is no more juſt or effectual appeal, than that appeal which is made unto Chriſt, foraſmuch as the law doth determine, that to appeal, is no other thing than in a cauſe of grief or wrong done by an inferior judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher judge's hand. Who is then an higher judge than Chriſt? Who, I ſay, can know or judge the matter more juſtly, or with more equity? when as in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceived; or who can better help the miſerable and oppreſſed than he? While John Hus with a devout and a ſober countenance, was ſpeaking and pronouncing thoſe words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole council.

Then was there rehearſed another article of his accuſation in this manner; that John Hus, to confirm the hereſy which he had taught the common and ſimple people out of Wickliff's books, ſaid openly theſe words, that at what time a great number of monks and friars, and other learned men, were gathered together in England, in a certain church, to diſpute againſt John Wickliff, and could by no means vanquiſh him, or give him the foil, ſuddenly the church door was broken open with lightning, ſo that with much ado Wickliff's enemies hardly eſcaped without hurt. He added moreover, that he wiſhed his ſoul to be in the ſame place where John Wickliff's ſoul was. Whereunto John Hus anſwered, that a dozen years before that any books of divinity of John Wickliff's were in Bohemia, he did ſee certain works of philoſophy of his, the which, he ſaid, did marvellouſly delight and pleaſe him. And when he underſtood the good and godly life of the ſaid Wickliff, he ſpake theſe words, "I truſt, ſaid he, that Wickliff is ſaved; and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wiſh, that my ſoul were in the ſame place where John Wickliff's is." Then again did all the company jeſt and laugh at him.

It is alſo in his accuſation, that John Hus did counſel the people, according to the example of Moſes, to reſiſt with the ſword againſt all ſuch as did gainſay his doctrine. At the next day after he had preached the ſame, there were found openly in divers places certain intimations, that every man, being armed with his ſword about him, ſhould not ſpare brother, neither one neighbour another. John Hus anſwered, that all theſe things were laid to his charge by his adverſaries; for he at all times when he preached, did diligently admoniſh and warn the people, that they ſhould all arm themſelves to defend the truth of the goſpel, according to the ſaying of the apoſtle, "with the helmet and ſword of ſalvation;" and that he never ſpake of any material ſword, but of that which is the word of God. And as touching intimations, or Moſes' ſword, he never had any thing to do withal.

It is moreover affirmed in his accuſation and witneſs, that many offences are ſprung up by the doctrine of Hus. For firſt of all, he ſowed diſcord between the eccleſiaſtical and the politic ſtate: whereupon followed the perſecution, ſpoiling and robbery of the clergy and biſhops. And moreover, that he through his diſſention diſſolved the univerſity of Prague. Hereunto John Hus briefly anſwered, that theſe things had not happened by his means or default. For the firſt diſſention that was between the eccleſiaſtical and politic ſtate, ſprang and grew upon this cauſe, that pope Gregory, the twelfth of that name, promiſed at his election, that at all times at the will and pleaſure of the cardinals he would depart from, and give over his ſeat again; for under that condition he was elect and choſen. This man, contrary and againſt Winceſlaus king of Bohemia, who was then alſo king of the Romans, made Lewis duke of Bavaria emperor.

A few years after it happened when as pope Gregrory would not refuſe and give over his ſeat and office at the requeſt of the cardinals, that the whole college of cardinals ſent letters to the king of Bohemia, requiring him, that together with them he would renounce and forſake

his obedience unto pope Gregory, and ſo it ſhould come to paſs, that by the authority of a new biſhop he ſhould recover again his imperial dignity. For this cauſe the king conſented to the will of the cardinals as touching a neutrality; that is to ſay, that he would neither take part with pope Gregory, neither yet with Benedict the twelfth, biſhop of Avignon, which was then named pope, as it doth appear by chronicles. In this cauſe then, forſomuch as the archbiſhop Swinco with the clergy were againſt the king, and abſtaining from the divine ſervice, many of them departed out of the city, and the archbiſhop himſelf breaking down the tomb of the lord Wincelate, contrary and againſt the king's will, did alſo take Wickliff's books and burned them: thereupon the king without any gain-ſaying, ſuffered that certain goods of theirs, which of their own wills were fled away, ſhould be ſpoiled, becauſe they ſhould not aſſent or accord with the biſhop. Whereupon it is eaſy to be underſtood and known that John Hus was falſely accuſed for that matter. Howbeit a certain man, one Naſo, riſing up, ſaid, The clergy (ſaid he) did not abſtain from the divine ſervice, becauſe they would not ſwear to conſent unto the king, but becauſe that they were ſpoiled and robbed of their goods and ſubſtance. And the cardinal of Cambray, who was one of the judges, ſaid, Here I muſt ſay ſomewhat which is come into my mind.

When as I came frome Rome, the ſame year that theſe things were done, by chance I met on the way certain prelates of Bohemia. Whom when I demanded what news they had brought out of Bohemia, they anſwered, that there was happened a wonderful cruel and heinous fact: for all the clergy were ſpoiled of all their ſubſtance, and very ill treated and handled. Then John Hus alledging the ſame cauſe that he did before, went forward unto the ſecond part of the article which was objected againſt him, denying alſo that it happened through his fault, that the Germans departed from the univerſity of Prague. But when as the king of Bohemia, according to the foundation of Charles the fourth his father, granted three voices unto the Bohemians, and the fourth unto the Germans; whereat the Germans grudging that they ſhould be exempted from their voices, of their own accord departed and went their ways; binding themſelves with a great oath, and under a great penalty, both of their fame, and alſo money, that none of them ſhould return again unto Prague. Notwithſtanding, I am not aſhamed to confeſs, that I did approve and allow the doings of the king, unto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commodity and profit of my country. And becauſe you ſhall not think that I have not ſpoken any untruth, here is preſent Albert Warren Trapius, which was deacon of the faculties, who had ſworn to depart with the reſt of the Germans; he, if that he will ſay the truth, ſhall eaſily clear me of this ſuſpicion.

But when as Albert would haye ſpoken, he could not be heard. But the foreſaid Naſo, of whom before is made mention, after he had aſked leave to ſpeak, ſaid, This matter do I underſtand well enough, for I was in the king's court when theſe things were done in Bohemia, when as I ſaw the maſters of the three nations, of the Germans, Bavarians, Saxons, and Sileſians, amongſt whom the Polonians were alſo numbered, moſt humbly come unto the king, requiring that he would not ſuffer the right of their voices to be taken from them. Then the king promiſed them that he would foreſee and provide for their requeſts. But John Hus and Jerom of Prague, with divers others, perſuaded the king that he ſhould not do ſo. Whereat the king at the firſt being not a little moved, gave him a ſore check, that he and Jerom of Prague did ſo much intermeddle themſelves, and moved ſuch open controverſies, inſomuch that he threatened them, that except they would foreſee and take heed, he would bring it to paſs that the matter ſhould be determined and decreed by fire. Wherefore, moſt reverend fathers, you ſhall underſtand that the king of Bohemia did never favour with his heart theſe men, whoſe unſhamefacedneſs is ſuch, that they feared not even of late to intreat me evil, being ſo much in the king's favour and credit. After him ſtepped forth Paletz, ſaying, Verily, moſt reverend fathers, not only the learned men of other nations, but alſo of Bohemia itſelf, are through the counſel of John Hus and his adherents baniſhed out of Bohemia; of the which number ſome remain yet in exile in Moravia. Hereunto John Hus anſwered: How can this be true, ſaid he, ſince I was not at Prague at that time, when as theſe men you ſpeak of departed and went away from thence? Theſe things were thus debated the day aforeſaid as touching John Hus.

This done, the ſaid John Hus was committed to the cuſtody of the biſhop of Reigen, under whom Jerom of Prague was alſo priſoner. But before that he was led away, the cardinal of Cambray calling him back again in the preſence of the emperor, ſaid, John Hus, I have heard you ſay, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come unto Conſtance, neither the emperor himſelf, neither the king of Bohemia could have compelled you to do it. Unto whom John Hus anſwered, Under your licenſe, moſt reverend father, I never uſed any ſuch kind of talk or words. But this I did ſay, That there was in Bohemia a great number of gentlemen and noblemen, which did favour and love me, the which alſo might eaſily have kept me in ſome ſure and ſecret place, that I ſhould not have been conſtrained to have come into this town of Conſtance, neither at the will of the emperor, neither of the king of Bohemia. With that the cardinal of Cambray, even for very anger began to change his colour, and deſpiteouſly ſaid, Do you not ſee the unſhamefacedneſs of the man here? And as they were murmuring and whiſpering in all parts, the lord John de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which John Hus had ſpoken, ſaid, That John Hus had ſpoken very well; for on my part, ſaid he, which in compariſon of a great many others am but of ſmall force in the realm of Bohemia, yet always if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him eaſily by the ſpace of one year, even againſt all the force and power of both theſe great and mighty kings. How much better might they have done it which are of more force or puiſſance than I am, and have ſtronger caſtles and places than I have? After that the lord de Clum had ſpoken, the cardinal of Cambray ſaid, Let us leave this talk. And I tell you, John Hus, and counſel you, that you ſubmit yourſelf unto the ſentence and mind of the council, as you did promiſe in the priſon; and if you will do ſo, it ſhall be greatly both for your profit and honour.

And the emperor himſelf began to tell him the ſame tale, ſaying, Albeit that there be ſome which ſay, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to priſon, you obtained of us our letters of ſafe conduct: notwithſtanding, I can well prove by the witneſs of many princes and noblemen, that the ſafe conduct was obtained and gotten of us by my lords de Dube and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prague, under whoſe guard we have ſent for you, to the end that none ſhall do you any outrage or hurt, but that you ſhould have full liberty to ſpeak freely before all the council, and to anſwer as touching your faith and doctrine: and as you ſee, my lords the cardinals and biſhops have ſo dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good will towards you, for the which we have great cauſe to thank them. And forſomuch as divers have told us, that we may not or ought not of right to defend any man which is an heretic or ſuſpect of hereſy; therefore now we give you even the ſame counſel which the cardinal of Cambray hath given you already, that you be not obſtinate to maintain any opinion, but that you do ſubmit yourſelf under ſuch obedience as you owe unto the authority of the holy council, in all things

that

that ſhall be laid againſt you, and confirmed by credible witneſſes. The which thing if you do according to our counſel, we will give order that for the love of us, of our brother, and the whole realm of Bohemia, the council ſhall ſuffer you to depart in peace, with an eaſy and tolerable penance and ſatisfaction. The which thing if you contrariwiſe refuſe to do, the preſidents of the council ſhall have ſufficient wherewithal to proceed againſt you. And for our part be ye well aſſured, that we will ſooner prepare and make the fire with our hands, to burn you withal, than we will endure or ſuffer any longer that you ſhall maintain or uſe this ſtiffneſs of opinion which you have hitherto maintained and uſed. Wherefore our advice and counſel is, that you ſubmit yourſelf wholly unto the judgment of the council. Unto whom John Hus anſwered in this ſort, O moſt noble emperor, I render unto your highneſs moſt immortal thanks for your letters of ſafe conduct. Upon this lord John de Clum did break him off his purpoſe, and admoniſhed him that he did in no point excuſe himſelf of the blame of obſtinacy.

Then ſaid John Hus, O moſt gentle lord, I do take God to my witneſs, that I was never minded to maintain any opinion ever obſtinately, and that for this ſame intent and purpoſe I did come hither of mine own good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine than mine, that then I would change mine opinion without any further doubt. After he had ſpoken and ſaid theſe things, he was ſent away with ſerjeants.

The morrow after, which was the eighth day of June, the very ſame company which was aſſembled the day before, aſſembled now again at the covent of the Franciſcans. And in this aſſembly were alſo John Hus his friends, lord de Dube, and lord de Clum, and Peter the notary. Thither was John Hus alſo brought: and in his preſence there were read about thirty-nine articles, the which they ſaid, were drawn out of his books. Hus acknowledged all thoſe that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of the which ſort there were but very few. The reſidue were counterfeited and forged by his adverſaries, and ſpecially by Stephen Paletz, the principal author of this miſchief: for they could find no ſuch thing in the books, out of the which they had drawn and gathered them; or at the leaſt, if they were, they were corrupted by ſlanders, as a man may eaſily perceive by the number of articles.

Theſe be the ſame articles in a manner which were ſhewed before in the priſon to John Hus, and are rehearſed here in another order. Howbeit there were more articles added unto them, and other ſome corrected and enlarged. But now we will ſhew them one with another, and declare what the ſaid Hus did anſwer both openly before them all, as alſo in the priſon, for he left his anſwers in the priſon briefly written with his own hand in theſe words.

I John Hus, unworthy miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, maſter of art, and bachelor of divinity, do confeſs that I have written a certain ſmall treatiſe, intituled, Of the church; the copy whereof was ſhewed me by the notaries of the three preſidents of the council, that is to ſay, the patriarch of Conſtantinople, the biſhop of Caſtle, and the biſhop of Libuſſe; the which deputies or preſidents, in reproof of the ſaid treatiſe, delivered unto me certain articles, ſaying, that they were drawn out of the ſaid treatiſe, and were written in the ſame.

The firſt article: There is but one holy univerſal or catholic church, which is the univerſal company of all the predeſtinate. I do confeſs that this propoſition is mine, and is confirmed by the ſaying of St. Auguſtine, upon St. John.

The ſecond article: St. Paul was never any member of the devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant church. And likewiſe St. Peter which fell into an horrible ſin of perjury and denial of his maſter, it was by the permiſſion of God, that he might the more firmly and ſtedfaſtly riſe again and be confirmed. I anſwer according to St. Auguſtine, that it is expedient that the elect and predeſtinate ſhould ſin and offend.

Hereby it appeareth that there are two manner of ſeparations from the holy church. The firſt is, not to perdition, as all the elect are divided from the church. The ſecond is to perdition, by the which certain heretics are through their deadly ſin divided from the church. Yet notwithſtanding by the grace of God, they may return again unto the flock, and be of the fold of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, of whom he ſpeaketh himſelf, ſaying, "I have other ſheep which are not of this fold." John 20.

The third article: No part or member of the church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, forſomuch as the charity of predeſtination, which is the bond and chain of the ſame, doth never fall. This propoſition is thus placed in my book: as the reprobates of the church proceed out of the ſame, and yet are not as parts or members of the ſame; forſomuch as no part or member of the ſame finally fall away, becauſe that the charity of predeſtination, which is the bond and chain of the ſame, doth never fall away. This is proved by the thirteenth chapter of the firſt to the Corinthians, and to the Romans the eighth chapter: "All things turn to good to them that love God. Alſo I am certain that neither death nor life can ſeparate us from the charity and love of God," as it is more at large in the book.

The fourth article: The predeſtinate, although he be not in the ſtate of grace according to preſent juſtice, yet is he always a member of the univerſal church. This is an error, if it be underſtood of all ſuch as be predeſtinate: for thus it is in the book, about the beginning of the fifth chapter, where it is declared, that there be divers manners and ſorts of being in the church; for there are ſome in the church, according to the miſhapen faith, and other ſome according to predeſtination, as chriſtians predeſtinate now in ſin, but ſhall return again unto grace.

The fifth article: There is no degree of honour or dignity, neither any human election, or any ſenſible ſign, that can make any man a member of the univerſal church. I anſwer, this article is after this manner in my book. And ſuch ſubtilties are underſtood and known by conſidering what it is to be in the church, and what it is to be a part or member of the church, and that predeſtination doth make a man a member of the univerſal church, the which is a preparation of grace for the preſent, and of glory to come: and not any degree of dignity, neither election of man, neither any ſenſible ſign. For the traitor Judas Iſcariot, notwithſtanding Chriſt's election, and the temporal graces which were given him for his office of apoſtleſhip, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, yet was he no true diſciple, but a wolf covered in a ſheep's ſkin, as St. Auguſtine ſaith.

The ſixth article: A reprobate man is never a member of the holy church. I anſwer, It is in my book with ſufficient long probation out of the 26th pſalm, and out of the fifth chapter to the Epheſians, and alſo by St. Bernard's ſaying, The church of Jeſus Chriſt is more plainly and evidently his body, than the body which he delivered for us to death. I have alſo written in the fifth chapter of my book, that the holy church is the barn of the Lord, in the which are both good and evil, predeſtinate and reprobate, the good being as the good corn or grain, and the evil as the chaff: and thereunto is added the expoſition of St. Auguſtine.

The ſeventh article: Judas was never a true diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt. I anſwer, and I do confeſs the ſame. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is paſſed before, and by Saint Auguſtine, in his book of penance, where

where he doth expound the meaning of Saint John, in the firſt epiſtle, and ſecond chapter, where he ſaid, "They came out from amongſt us, but they were none of us." He knew from the beginning all them which ſhould believe, and him alſo which ſhould betray him, and ſaid, "And therefore I ſay unto you, that none cometh unto me except it be given him of my Father." From that time many of the diſciples parted from him; and were not thoſe alſo called diſciples, according to the words of the goſpel? And yet notwithſtanding they were not true diſciples, becauſe they did not remain and continue in the word of the Son of God, according as it is ſaid, "If you remain in my word, you be my diſciples." Forſomuch then as they did not continue with Chriſt as his true diſciples, ſo likewiſe are they not the true ſons of God: although they ſeem ſo, unto him they are not ſo, unto whom it is known what they ſhall be, that is to ſay, of good, evil. Thus much writeth St. Auguſtine: It is alſo evident, that Judas could not be the true diſciple of Chriſt, by means of his covetouſneſs: for Chriſt himſelf ſaid in the preſence of Judas, as I ſuppoſe, Except a man forſake all that he hath, he cannot be my diſciple. Forſomuch then as Judas did not forſake all things, according to the Lord's will, and follow him, he was a thief, as it is ſaid, John the twelfth, and a devil, John the ſixth, whereby it is evident by the word of the Lord, that Judas was not his true but feigned diſciple. Whereupon Saint Auguſtine writing upon John, declaring how the ſheep hear the voice of Chriſt, ſaith, What manner of hearers, think we, his ſheep were? Truly Judas heard him, and was a wolf, yet followed he the ſhepherd; but being clothed in a ſheep's ſkin, he lay in wait for the ſhepherd.

The eighth article of the congregation of the predeſtinate, whether they be in the ſtate of grace, or no, according unto preſent juſtice, is the holy univerſal church, and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the ſame church which hath neither wrinkle, neither ſpot in it, but is holy and undefiled, the which the Son of God doth call his own. The anſwer, the words of the book out of the which this article was drawn are theſe: Thirdly, The church is underſtood and taken for the congregation and aſſembly of the faithful, whether they be in the ſtate of grace, according to preſent juſtice, or not. And in this ſort it is an article of our faith, of the which St. Paul maketh mention, in the fifth chapter to the Epheſians: "Chriſt ſo loved his church, that he delivered and offered himſelf for the ſame," &c. I pray you then, is there any faithful man the which doth doubt that the church doth not ſignify all the elect and predeſtinate, the which we ought to believe to be the univerſal church, the glorious ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, holy and without ſpot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, the which we ought firmly to believe according to our creed, "I believe the holy catholic church:" and of this church doth St. Auguſtine, St. Gregory, St. Jerom, and divers others, make mention.

The ninth article: Peter never was, neither is, the head of the holy univerſal church. The anſwer: This article was drawn out of theſe words of my book: All men do agree in this point, that Peter had received of the rock of the church (which is Chriſt) humility, poverty, ſtedfaſtneſs of faith, and conſequently bleſſedneſs. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was, when he ſaid, Upon this rock I will build my church, that he would build every militant church upon the perſon of Peter, for Chriſt ſhould build his church upon the rock which is Chriſt himſelf, from whence Peter received his ſtedfaſtneſs of faith, forſomuch as Jeſus Chriſt is the only head and foundation of every church, and not Peter.

The tenth article: If he that is called the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt do follow Chriſt in his life, then he is his true vicar. But if ſo be he do walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the meſſenger of antichriſt, and the enemy and adverſary of St. Peter, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and alſo the vicar of Judas Iſcariot. I anſwer, The words of my book are theſe: If he which is called the vicar of St. Peter, walk in the ways of chriſtian virtues aforeſaid, we do believe verily that he is the true vicar, and true biſhop of the church which he ruleth; but if he walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the meſſenger of antichriſt, contrary both to St. Peter, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And therefore St. Bernard in his fourth book did write in this ſort unto pope Eugenie: Thou delighteſt and walkeſt in great pride and arrogancy; being gorgeouſly and ſumptuouſly arrayed, what fruit or profit do thy flock or ſheep receive of thee? If I durſt ſay it, theſe be rather the paſtures and feedings of devils than of ſheep. St. Peter and St. Paul did not ſo; wherefore thou ſeemeſt by theſe thy doings to ſucceed Conſtantine, and not St. Peter. Theſe be the very words of St. Bernard. It followeth after in my book, that if the manner and faſhion of his life and living be contrary to that which St. Peter uſed, or that he be given to avarice and covetouſneſs, then is he the vicar of Judas Iſcariot, which loved and choſe the reward of iniquity, and did ſet out to ſale the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. As ſoon as they had read the ſame, thoſe, which ruled and governed the council, beheld one another, making mocks and mows, they nodded their heads at him.

The eleventh article: All ſuch as do uſe ſimony, and prieſts living diſſolutely and wantonly, do hold an untrue opinion of the ſeven ſacraments, as unbelieving baſtards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the keys or cenſures, rites and ceremonies, neither of the divine ſervice of the church, or of veneration or worſhipping of reliques, neither of the orders conſtituted and ordained in the church, neither yet of indulgences or pardons. I anſwer, that it is placed in this manner in my book: This abuſe of authority or power is committed by ſuch as do ſell and make merchandize of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by ſimony, making fairs and markets of the holy ſacraments, and living in all kind of voluptuouſneſs and diſſolute manners, or in any other filthy or villainous kind of living: they do pollute and defile the holy eccleſiaſtical ſtate. And albeit that they profeſs in words that they do know God, yet do they deny it again by their deeds, and conſequently believe not in God: but as unbelieving baſtards they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the ſeven ſacraments of the church. And this appeareth moſt evidently, forſomuch as all ſuch do utterly contemn and deſpiſe the name of God, according to the ſaying of Malachi, the firſt chapter, "Unto you, O prieſts, be it ſpoken, which do deſpiſe and contemn my name."

The twelfth article: The papal dignity hath its original from the emperors of Rome. I anſwer, and mark well what my words are: the preheminence and inſtitution of the pope is ſprung and come of the emperor's power and authority. And this is proved by the ninety-ſixth diſtinction: for Conſtantine granted this privilege unto the biſhop of Rome, and other after him confirmed the ſame: that like as Auguſtus, for the outward and temporal goods beſtowed upon the church, is counted always the moſt high king above all others: ſo the biſhop of Rome ſhould be called the principal father above all other biſhops. This notwithſtanding, the papal dignity hath his original immediately from Chriſt, as touching his ſpiritual adminiſtration and office to rule the church. Then the cardinal of Cambray ſaid, In the time of Conſtantine there was a general council holden at Nice, in the which, albeit the higheſt room and place in the church was given to the biſhop of Rome, for honour's cauſe, it is aſcribed unto the emperor. Wherefore then do ye not as well affirm and ſay, that the papal dignity took his original rather from that council, than by the emperor's authority and power?

The thirteenth article: No man would reaſonably affirm (without relation) either of himſelf or of any other, that he is the head of any particular church. I anſwer, I confeſs it to be written in my book, and it followeth ſtrait after, albeit that through his good living he ought to hope and truſt that he is a member of the holy univerſal church, the ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, according to the ſaying of the preacher, "No man knoweth whether he be worthy and have deſerved grace and favour, or hatred". And Luke 17. "When ye have done all that ye can, ſay, that you are unprofitable ſervants."

The fourteenth article: It ought not to be believed, that the pope, whatſoever he be, may be the head of any particular church, unleſs he be predeſtinate or ordained of God. I anſwer, that I do acknowledge this propoſition to be mine, and this is eaſy to prove, forſomuch as it is neceſſary that the chriſtian faith ſhould be depraved, forſomuch as the church was deceived by N. as it appeareth by St. Auguſtine.

The fifteenth article: The pope's power as vicar, is but vain and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and addreſs his life according to Jeſus Chriſt, and follow the manners of St. Peter. I anſwer, that it is thus in my book, That it is meet and expedient that he which is ordained vicar, ſhould addreſs and frame himſelf, in manners and conditions, to the authority of him which did put him in place. And John Hus ſaid moreover, before the whole council: I underſtand that the power and authority in ſuch a pope as doth not repreſent the manners of Chriſt, is fruſtrate and void, as touching the merit and reward which he ſhould obtain and get thereby, and doth not get the ſame; but not as concerning his office. Then certain others ſtanding by, aſked of him, ſaying, Where is that gloſs in your book? John Hus anſwered, You ſhall find it in my treatiſe againſt Mr. Paletz; whereat all the aſſiſtants (looking one upon another) began to ſmile and laugh.

The ſixteenth article: The pope is moſt holy, not becauſe he doth ſupply and hold the room and place of St. Peter, but becauſe he hath great revenues. I anſwer, that my words are mutilate, for thus it is written, He is not moſt holy, becauſe he is called the vicar of St. Peter, or becauſe he hath great and large poſſeſſions; but if he be the follower of Jeſus Chriſt in humility, gentleneſs, patience, labour, and travail, and in perfect love and charity.

The ſeventeenth article: The cardinals are not the manifeſt and true ſucceſſors of the other apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt, if they live not according to the faſhion of the apoſtles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Jeſus. I anſwer, that it is thus written in my book, and it proveth itſelf ſufficiently: for if they enter in by another way than by the door, which is the Lord Jeſus, they be murderers and thieves.

Then ſaid the cardinal of Cambray, Behold both this and all other articles before rehearſed, he hath written much more deteſtable things in his book than are preſented in his articles. Truly John Hus, thou haſt kept no order in thy ſermons and writings. Had it not been your part to have applied your ſermons according to your audience? For to what purpoſe was it, or what did it profit you before the people, to preach againſt the cardinals, when as none of them were preſent? It had been meeter for you to have told them their faults before them all, than before the laity. Then anſwered John Hus, Reverend father, forſomuch as I did ſee many prieſts, and other learned men, preſent at my ſermons, for their ſakes I ſpake thoſe words. Then ſaid the cardinal, Thou haſt done very ill, for by ſuch kind of talk thou haſt diſturbed and troubled the whole ſtate of the church.

The eighteenth article: An heretic ought not to be committed to the ſecular powers to be put to death, for it is ſufficient only that he abide and ſuffer the eccleſiaſtical cenſure. Theſe are my words, That they might be aſhamed of their cruel ſentence and judgment, ſpecially as Jeſus Chriſt, biſhop both of the Old and New Teſtament, would not judge ſuch as were diſobedient by civil judgment, neither condemn them to bodily death. As touching the firſt point, it may evidently be ſeen in the twelfth chapter of St. Luke. And for the ſecond, it appeareth alſo by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whom it is ſpoken in the eighth chapter of St. John. And it is ſaid in the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew; "If thy brother have offended thee," &c. Mark therefore what I do ſay, That an heretic, whatſoever he be, ought firſt to be inſtructed and taught with chriſtian love and gentleneſs by the holy ſcriptures, and by the reaſons drawn and taken out of the ſame, as St. Auguſtine and others have done, diſputing againſt the heretics. But if there were any which after all theſe gentle and loving admonitions and inſtructions, would not ceaſe from or leave off their ſtiffneſs of opinions, but obſtinately reſiſt againſt the truth, ſuch, I ſay, ought to ſuffer corporal or bodily puniſhment.

As ſoon as John Hus had ſpoken thoſe things, the judges read in his book a certain clauſe, wherein he ſeemed grievouſly to inveigh againſt them which delivered an heretic unto the ſecular power, not being confuted or convicted of hereſy, and compared them unto the high prieſts, ſcribes, and phariſees, which ſaid unto Pilate. "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," and delivered Chriſt unto him: and yet notwithſtanding, according unto Chriſt's own witneſs, they were greater murderers than Pilate. "For he, ſaith Chriſt, which hath delivered me unto thee, hath committed the greateſt offence." Then the cardinals and biſhops made a great noiſe, and demanded of John Hus, ſaying, Who are they that thou doſt compare or aſſimule unto the phariſees? Then he ſaid, All thoſe which delivered up any innocent unto the civil ſword, as the ſcribes and phariſees delivered Jeſus Chriſt unto Pilate. No, no, ſaid they again; for all that, you ſpake here of doctors. And the cardinal of Cambray, according to his accuſtomed manner, ſaid, Truly they which have made and gathered theſe articles, have uſed great lenity and gentleneſs, for his writings are much more deteſtable and horrible.

The nineteenth article: The nobles of the world ought to conſtrain and compel the miniſters of the church to obſerve and keep the law of Jeſus Chriſt. I anſwer, that it ſtandeth thus word for word in my book. Thoſe which be on our part do preach and affirm, that the church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is divided, and conſiſteth in theſe parts: that is to ſay, miniſters of the church, which ſhould keep purely and ſincerely the ordinances and commandments of the Son of God, and the nobles of the world that ſhould compel and drive them to keep the commandments of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the common people, ſerving to both theſe parts and ends, according to the inſtitution and ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt.

The twentieth article: The eccleſiaſtical obedience is a kind of obedience, which the prieſts and monks have invented without any expreſs authority of the holy ſcriptures. I anſwer and confeſs, that thoſe words are thus written in my book. I ſay that there be three kinds of obedience, ſpiritual, ſecular, and eccleſiaſtical. The ſpiritual obedience is that which is only due according to the law and ordinance of God, under the which the apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt did live, and all chriſtians ought to live. The ſecular obedience is that which is due according to the civil laws and ordinances. The eccleſiaſtical obedience is ſuch as the prieſts have invented, without any expreſs authority of ſcripture. The firſt kind of obedience doth utterly exclude from it all evil, as well on his part which giveth the commandment, as on his alſo which doth obey the ſame. And of this obedience it is ſpoken in Deut. 24. "Thou ſhalt do all that which the prieſts of the kindred of Levi ſhall

teach and inſtruct thee, according as I have commanded them."

The twenty-firſt article: He that is excommunicated by the people, if he refuſe and forſake the judgment of the pope, and the general council, and appealeth unto Jeſus Chriſt, after he hath made his appellation, all the excommunications and curſes of the pope cannot annoy or hurt him. I anſwer, that I do not acknowledge this propoſition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my book, that they had both done me, and ſuch as favoured me, great wrong, and that they refuſe to hear me in the pope's court. For after the death of one pope, I did appeal to his ſucceſſor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeal from the pope to the council it were too long; and that were even as much as if a man in trouble ſhould ſeek an uncertain remedy. And therefore laſt of all I have appealed to the head of the church my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for he is much more excellent and better than any pope, to diſcuſs and determine matters and cauſes, forſomuch as he cannot err, neither yet deny juſtice to him that doth aſk or require it in a juſt cauſe, neither can he condemn the innocent. Then ſpake the cardinal of Cambray unto him, and ſaid, Wilt thou preſume above St. Paul, who appealed unto the emperor, and not unto Jeſus Chriſt? John Hus anſwered, Forſomuch then as I am the firſt that do it, am I therefore to be reputed and counted an heretic? And yet notwithſtanding St. Paul did not appeal unto the emperor of his own motion or will, but by the will of Chriſt, which ſpake unto him by revelation, and ſaid, "Be firm and conſtant, for thou muſt go unto Rome." And as he was about to rehearſe his appeal again, they mocked him.

Forſomuch as mention here is made of the appeal of the ſaid Hus, it ſeemeth here to ſhew the manner and form thereof.

The Copy and Tenor of the Appeal of John Hus.

FOrſomuch as the moſt mighty Lord, one in eſſence, three in perſon, is both the chief and firſt, and alſo the laſt, and uttermoſt refuge of all thoſe which are oppreſſed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing juſtice to ſuch as be wronged, being ready and at hand to all thoſe which call upon him in verity and truth, unbinding thoſe that are bound, and fulfilling the deſires of all thoſe which honour and fear him; defending and keeping all thoſe that love him, and utterly deſtroying and bringing to ruin the ſtiff-necked and unpenitent ſinner: and that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt very God and man, being in great anguiſh, compaſſed in with the prieſts, ſcribes and phariſees, wicked judges and witneſſes, willing by the moſt bitter and ignominious death to redeem the children of God, choſen before the foundation of the world, from everlaſting damnation; hath left behind him this godly example for a memory unto them which ſhould come after him, to the intent they ſhould commit all their cauſes into the hands of God, who can do all things, and knoweth and ſeeth all things, ſaying in this manner: O Lord, behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himſelf againſt me, and thou art my protector and defender. O Lord, thou haſt given me underſtanding, and I have acknowledged thee, thou haſt opened unto me all their enterpriſes; and for mine own part, I have been as a meek lamb which is led unto ſacrifice, and have not reſiſted againſt them. They have wrought their enterpriſes upon me, ſaying, Let us put wood in his bread, and let us baniſh him out of the land of the living, that his name be no more ſpoken of nor had in memory. But thou, O Lord of hoſts, which judgeſt juſtly, and ſeeſt the devices and imaginations of their hearts, haſten thee to take vengeance upon them, for I have manifeſted my cauſe unto thee, forſomuch as the number of thoſe which trouble me is great, and have counſelled together, ſaying, The Lord hath forſaken him, purſue him and catch him. O Lord my God, behold their doings, for thou art my patience, deliver me from mine enemies, for thou art my God; do not ſeparate thyſelf far from me, forſomuch as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which will ſuccour me. My God, my God, look down upon me, wherefore haſt thou forſaken me? So many dogs have compaſſed me in, and the company of the wicked have beſieged me round about, for they have ſpoken againſt me with deceitful tongues, and have compaſſed me in with words of deſpite, and have inforced me without cauſe. Inſtead of love towards me, they have ſlandered me, and have recompenſed me with evil for good, and in place of charity they have conceived hatred againſt me.

Wherefore behold, I ſtaying myſelf upon this moſt holy and fruitful example of my Saviour and Redeemer, do appeal before God for this my grief and hard oppreſſion, from this moſt wicked ſentence and judgment, and the excommunication determined by the biſhops, ſcribes, phariſees, and judges, which ſit in Moſes' ſeat, and reſign my cauſe wholly unto him; ſo as the holy patriarch of Conſtantinople, John Chryſoſtom, appealed twice from the council of the biſhops and clergy; and Andrew, biſhop of Prague, and Robert, biſhop of Lincoln, appealed unto the ſovereign and moſt juſt Judge, the which is not defiled with cruelty, neither can he be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet be deceived by falſe witneſs. Alſo I deſire greatly, that all the faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, and eſpecially the princes, barons, knights, eſquires, and all other which inhabit our country of Bohemia, ſhould underſtand and know theſe things, and have compaſſion upon me, which am ſo grievouſly oppreſſed by the excommunication which is out againſt me, the which was obtained and gotten by the inſtigation and procurement of Michael de Cauſis, my great enemy, and by the conſent and furtherance of the canons of the cathedral church of Prague, and given and granted out by Peter of Saint Angels, dean of the church of Rome, and cardinal, and alſo ordained judge by pope John 23, who hath continued almoſt theſe two years, and would give no audience unto my advocates and procurators, which they ought not to deny (no not to a Jew or pagan, or to any heretic, whatſoever he were), neither yet would he receive any reaſonable excuſe, for that I did not appear perſonally, neither would he accept the teſtimonials of the whole univerſity of Prague, with the ſeal hanging at it, or the witneſs of the ſworn notaries, and ſuch as were called unto witneſs. By this all men may evidently perceive, that I have not incurred any fault or crime of contumacy or diſobedience, forſomuch as that I did not appear in the court of Rome, was not for any contempt, but for reaſonable cauſes.

And moreover, forſomuch as they had laid ambuſhments for me on every ſide by ways that I ſhould paſs, and alſo becauſe the perils and dangers of others have made me the more circumſpect and adviſed: and forſomuch as my procurers were willing and contented to bind themſelves even to abide the puniſhment of the fire to anſwer to all ſuch as would oppoſe or lay any thing againſt me in the court of Rome; as alſo becauſe they did impriſon my lawful procurator in the ſaid court without any cauſe, demerit, or fault, as I ſuppoſe. Forſomuch then as the order and diſpoſition of all ancient laws, as well divine of the Old and New Teſtament, as alſo of the canon laws, is this, that the judges ſhould reſort unto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and there to inquire of all ſuch crimes as ſhall be objected and laid againſt him which is accuſed or ſlandered, and that of ſuch men as by converſation have ſome knowledge or underſtanding of the party ſo accuſed (the which may not be the evil willers or enemies of

him which is ſo accuſed or ſlandered; but muſt be men of an honeſt converſation, no common quarrel-pickers or accuſers, but fervent lovers of the law of God:) and finally, that there ſhould be a fit and meet place appointed, whither as the accuſed party might without danger of peril reſort or come, and that the judge and witneſſes ſhould not be enemies unto him that is accuſed. And alſo forſomuch as it is manifeſt, that all theſe conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearance for the ſafeguard of my life, I am excuſed before God from the frivolous pretended obſtinacy and excommunication. Whereupon I John Hus do preſent and offer this my appeal unto my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, my juſt judge, who knoweth and defendeth, and juſtly judgeth every man's juſt and true cauſe."

The twenty-ſecond article: A vicious and naughty man liveth viciouſly and naughtily; but a virtuous and godly man liveth virtuouſly and godly. I anſwer, my words are theſe, That the diviſion of all human works is in two parties, that is, that they be either virtuous or vicious; forſomuch as it doth appear, that if any man be virtuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then virtuouſly and godly. And contrariwiſe, if a man be vicious and naughty, that which he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice, which is called crime or offence, and thereby underſtand deadly ſin, doth univerſally infect or deprave all the acts and doings of the ſubject, that is, of the man which doth them: ſo likewiſe virtue and godlineſs doth quicken all the acts and doings of the virtuous and godly man; inſomuch that he being in the ſtate of grace is ſaid to pray and do good works, even ſleeping, as it were by a certain means working; as St. Auguſtine, St. Gregory, and divers others, affirm. And it appeareth in the ſixth chapter of Luke, If thine eye, that is to ſay, the mind or intention be ſimple, not depraved with the perverſeneſs of any ſin or offence, all the whole body, that is to ſay, all the acts and doings ſhall be clear and ſhining, that is, acceptable and grateful unto God. But if thine eye be evil, the whole body is darkened. And in the ſecond to the Corinthians, tenth chapter, "All things that you do, do them to the glory of God." And likewiſe in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, and laſt chapter, it is ſaid, "Let all your doings be done with charity." Wherefore all kind of life and living according unto charity, is virtuous and godly; and if it be without charity, it is vicious and evil. This ſaying may well be proved out of the 23d chapter of Deuteronomy, where God ſpeaketh to the people, that he that keepeth his commandments is bleſſed in the houſe and in the field, out-going and in-coming, ſleeping and waking, but he that doth not keep his commandments, is accurſed in the houſe, and in the fields, in going out, and in coming in, ſleeping and waking, &c. The ſame alſo is evident by St. Auguſtine upon the pſalm where he writeth, that a good man in all his doings doth praiſe the Lord. And Gregory ſaith, That the ſleep of ſaints and holy men doth not lack their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeal, be not without reward, and conſequently be virtuous and good? And contrariwiſe it is underſtood of him which is in deadly ſin, of whom it is ſpoken in the law, that whatſoever the unclean man doth touch, is made unclean.

To this end doth that alſo appertain which is before repeated out of the firſt of Malachi. And Gregory in the firſt book and firſt queſtion ſaith, We do defile the bread, which is the body of Chriſt, when as we come unworthily to the table, and when we, being defiled, do drink his blood. And St. Auguſtine, upon the 146th pſalm, ſaith, If thou doſt exceed the due meaſure of nature, and doſt not abſtain from gluttony, but gorge thyſelf up with drunkenneſs, whatſoever laud and praiſe thy tongue doth ſpeak of the grace and favour of God, thy life doth blaſpheme the ſame. When he had made an end of this article, the cardinal of Cambray ſaid, The ſcripture ſaith that we be all ſinners. And again, if we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive ourſelves, and ſo we ſhould always live in deadly ſin. John Hus anſwered, The ſcripture ſpeaketh in that place of venial ſins, the which do not utterly expel or put away the habit of virtue from a man, but do aſſociate themſelves together. And a certain Engliſhman, whoſe name was W. ſaid, But thoſe ſins do not aſſociate themſelves with any act morally good. John Hus alledged again St. Auguſtine's place upon the 146th pſalm, the which when he rehearſed, they all with one mouth ſaid, What makes this to the purpoſe?

The twenty-third article. The miniſter of Chriſt living according to his law, and having the knowledge and underſtanding of the ſcriptures, and an earneſt deſire to edify the people, ought to preach; notwithſtanding the pretended excommunication of the pope. And moreover, if the pope, or any other ruler, do forbid any prieſt or miniſter ſo diſpoſed to preach, that he ought not to obey him. I anſwer, that theſe are my words; That albeit the excommunication were either threatened or came out againſt him, in ſuch ſort that a chriſtian ought not to do the commandments of Chriſt, it appeareth by the words of St. Peter, and the other apoſtles, "That we ought rather to obey God than man." Whereupon it followeth, that the miniſter of Chriſt living according unto his law, &c. ought to preach, notwithſtanding any pretended excommunication. For it is evident, that it is commanded unto the miniſters of the church to preach the word of God, Acts 5. God hath commanded us to preach and teſtify unto the people, as by divers other places of the ſcripture, and the holy fathers rehearſed in my treatiſe, it doth appear more at large. The ſecond part of this article followeth in my treatiſe in this manner.

By this it appeareth, that for a miniſter to preach, and a rich man to give alms, are not indifferent works, but duties and commandments. Whereby it is further evident, that if the pope, or any other ruler of the church, do command any miniſter diſpoſed to preach, not to preach, or a rich man diſpoſed to give alms, not to give, that they ought not to obey him. And he added moreover, To the intent that you may underſtand me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, the which is unjuſtly diſordered and given forth, contrary to the order of the law, and God's commandments. For the which, the meet miniſter appointed thereunto ought not to ceaſe from preaching, neither yet to fear damnation.

Then they objected unto him, that he had ſaid, that ſuch kind of excommunications were rather bleſſings. Verily, ſaid John Hus, even ſo I do now ſay again, that every excommunication, by the which a man is unjuſtly excommunicate, is unto him a bleſſing before God; according to that ſaying of the prophet, "I will curſe, whereas you bleſs:" and contrariwiſe, They ſhall curſe, but thou, O Lord, ſhalt bleſs. Then the cardinal of Florence, which had always a notary ready at his hand to write ſuch things as he commanded him, ſaid, The law is, that every excommunication, be it never ſo unjuſt, ought to be feared. It is true, ſaid John Hus; for I do remember eight cauſes, for the which excommunication ought to be feared. Then ſaid the cardinal: Are there no more but eight? It may be, ſaid John Hus, that there be more.

The twenty-fourth article. Every man which is admitted unto the miniſtry of the church, receiveth alſo by ſpecial commandment the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfil that commandment, notwithſtanding any excommunication pretended to the contrary. The anſwer: My words are theſe. Forſomuch as it doth appear by that which is aforeſaid, that whoſoever cometh, or is admitted unto the miniſtry, receiveth alſo by eſpecial commandment the office of preaching, he ought

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to fulfil that commandment, any excommnnication to the contrary pretended notwithſtanding. Alſo no chriſtian ought to doubt, but that a man ſufficiently inſtructed in learning, is more bound to counſel and inſtruct the ignorant, to teach thoſe which are in doubt, to chaſtiſe thoſe which are unruly, and to remit and forgive thoſe that do him iujury, than to do any other works of mercy. Forſomuch then as he that is rich and hath ſufficient, is bound, under the pain of damnation, to miniſter and give corporal and bodily alms, as appeareth in the five and twentieth chapter of Matthew, how much more is he bound to do ſpiritual alms?

The twenty-fifth article. The eccleſiaſtical cenſures are antichriſtian, ſuch as the clergy have invented for their own preferment, and for the bondage and ſervitude of the common people. Whereby if the laity be not obedient unto the clergy at their will and pleaſure, it doth multiply their covetouſneſs, defendeth their malice, and prepareth a way for antichriſt. Whereby it is an evident ſign and token, that ſuch cenſures proceed from antichriſt; the which cenſures in their proceſſes they do call fulminations or lightnings, whereby the clergy doth chiefly proceed againſt ſuch as do manifeſt and open the wickedneſs of antichriſt, which thruſt themſelves into the office of the clergy. Theſe things are contained in the laſt chapter of the treatiſe of the church. I anſwer, and I deny that it was in that form. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23d chapter. And in the examination of the audience, they have gathered certain clauſes moſt contrary thereunto. The which when they had read, the cardinal of Cambray renewed his old ſong, ſaying; Truly theſe are much more grievous and offenſive, than the articles which are gathered.

The twenty-ſixth article. There ought no interdictment to be appointed unto the people, forſomuch as Chriſt the high biſhop, neither for John Baptiſt, neither for any injury that was done unto him, did make any interdictment. My words are theſe: When as I complained, that for one miniſter's ſake, an interdictment was given out, and thereby all good men ceaſed from the laud and praiſe of God. And Chriſt the high biſhop, notwithſtanding the prophet was taken and kept in priſon, than whom there was no greater amongſt the children of men, did not give out any curſe or interdictment, no not when as Herod beheaded him; neither when as he himſelf was ſpoiled, beaten, and blaſphemed of the ſoldiers, ſcribes and phariſees, did he then curſe them, but prayed for them, and taught his diſciples to do the ſame, as it appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew. And Chriſt's firſt vicar following the ſame doctrine and learning, ſaith in his firſt epiſtle of St. Peter, and the ſecond chapter, "Hereunto are ye called: for Chriſt hath ſuffered for us, leaving us for an example, that we ſhould follow his footſteps, who when he was curſed and evil ſpoken of, did not curſe again." And St. Paul following the ſame order and way in the twelfth chapter of the Romans, ſaith, "Bleſs them that perſecute you." There were beſides theſe, many other places of ſcripture recited in that book; but they being omitted, theſe were only rehearſed, which did help or prevail to ſtir up or move the judges minds.

And theſe are the articles which are alledged out of John Hus his book, intituled, Of the Church.

Other articles moreover out of his other books were collected, and forced againſt him: Firſt, out of his treatiſe written againſt Stephen Paletz, to the number of ſeven articles. Alſo ſix other articles ſtrained out of his treatiſe againſt Staniſlaus Znoyma. Whereunto his anſwers likewiſe be adjoined, not unfruitful to be read.

Here followeth ſeven Articles, which are ſaid to be drawn out of his treatiſe which he wrote againſt Stephen Paletz.

THE firſt article. If the pope, biſhop, or prelate, be in deadly ſin, he is then no pope, biſhop, nor prelate. The anſwer: I grant thereunto, and I ſend you unto St. Auguſtine, Jerom, Chryſoſtom, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernard; the which do ſay moreover, That whoſoever is in deadly ſin, is no true chriſtian, how much leſs then is he the pope, or biſhop? Of whom it is ſpoken by the prophet Amos, in his eighth chapter, "They have reigned and ruled, and not through me: they became princes, and I knew them not," &c. But afterward I do grant, that a wicked pope, biſhop, or prieſt, is an unworthy miniſter of the ſacrament, by whom God doth baptize, conſecrate, or otherwiſe work to the profit of his church; and this is largely handled in the text of the book by the authority of the holy doctors, for even he which is in deadly ſin, is not worthily a king before God, as appeareth in the firſt book of Kings, the fifteenth chapter; whereas God ſaith unto Saul by the prophet Samuel, ſaying, "Forſomuch as thou haſt refuſed and caſt off my word, I will alſo refuſe and caſt thee off, that thou ſhalt be no more king." Whilſt theſe things were thus intreating, the emperor looking out of a certain window of the cloyſter, accompanied with the count Palatine, and the burgrave of Nuremburg, conferring and talking much of John Hus, at length he ſaid, That there was never a worſe or more pernicious heretic than he. In the mean while, when John Hus had ſpoken theſe words again; which after that he had done, his duty therein being conſidered, the emperor anſwered: No man, ſaith he, doth live without fault. Then the cardinal of Cambray being in a great fury, ſaid, Is it not enough for thee that thou doſt condemn and deſpiſe the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and goeſt about by thy writings and doctrine to perturb and trouble the ſame, but that now alſo thou wilt attempt to throw kings out of their ſtate and dignity? Then Paletz began to alledge the laws, whereby he would prove that Saul was king, even when thoſe words were ſpoken by Samuel, and therefore that David did forbid that Saul ſhould be ſlain, not for the holineſs of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holineſs of his anointing. And when as John Hus repeated out of St. Cyprian, that he did take upon him the name of chriſtianity in vain, which did not follow Chriſt in his living: Paletz anſwered, Behold and ſee what a folly is in this man, which alledgeth thoſe things which make nothing for the purpoſe; for albeit any man be not a true chriſtian, is he not therefore true pope, biſhop, or king? When as theſe are names of office, and to be a chriſtian, is a name of merit and deſert; and ſo may any man be a true pope, biſhop, or king, although he be no true chriſtian. Then ſaid John Hus, If pope John the three and twentieth were a true pope, wherefore have ye deprived him of his office? The emperor anſwered, The lords of the council have now lately agreed thereupon, that he was true pope; but for his notorious and manifeſt evil doings, wherewithal he did offend and trouble the church of God, and did ſpoil and bring to ruin the power thereof, he is rejected and caſt out of his office.

The ſecond article. The grace of predeſtination is the bond whereby the body of the church, and every part and member thereof is firmly knit and joined unto the head. The anſwer: I acknowledge this article to be mine, and it is proved in the text out of the eighth chapter of the Romans, "Who ſhall ſeparate us from the charity and love of Chriſt," &c. and in the tenth chapter of John, "My ſheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, and I give them eternal life, neither ſhall they periſh eternally, neither is there any man

man which ſhall take them out of my hands." This is the knot of the body of the church, and of our ſpiritual head Chriſt, underſtanding the church to be the congregation of the predeſtinate.

The third article. If the pope be a wicked man, and ſpecially a probate, then even as Judas the apoſtle, he is a devil, a thief, and the ſon of perdition, and not the head of the holy militant church, forſomuch as he is no part or member thereof. The anſwer: My words are thus, If the pope be an evil or wicked man, and ſpecially if he be a reprobate; then even as Judas, ſo is he a devil, a thief, and the ſon of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy militant church? Whereas he is not truly any member, or part thereof; for if he were a member of the holy church, then ſhould he be alſo a member of Chriſt; and if he were a member of Chriſt, then ſhould he cleave and ſtick unto Chriſt by the grace of predeſtination and preſent juſtice, and ſhould be one ſpirit with God, as the apoſtle faith in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, the ſixth chapter, "Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Chriſt?"

The fourth article. An evil pope or prelate, or reprobate, is no true paſtor, but a thief and a robber. The anſwer: The text of my book is thus: If he be evil or wicked, then is he a hireling, of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh; he is no ſhepherd, neither are the ſheep his own. Therefore when he ſeeth the wolf coming, he runneth away and forſaketh the ſheep: and ſo finally doth every wicked and reprobate man. Therefore every ſuch reprobate, or wicked pope or prelate, is no true paſtor; but a very thief and a robber, as is more at large proved in my book. Then ſaid John Hus, I do ſo limit all things, that ſuch as touching their deſert are not truly and worthily popes and ſhepherds before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are popes, paſtors, and prieſts.

Then a certain man riſing up behind John Hus, clothed all in ſilk, ſaid, My lords, take heed leſt that John Hus deceive both you and himſelf with theſe his gloſſes, and look whether theſe things be in his book or not; for of late I had diſputations with him upon theſe articles, in the which I ſaid, that a wicked pope, &c. was no pope, as touching merit and deſert, but as touching his office was truly pope. Whereupon he uſed theſe gloſſes which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his book. Then John Hus turning himſelf unto him, ſaid, Did you not hear that it was ſo read out of my book? And this did eaſily appear in John the twenty-third, whether he were true pope, or a very thief and robber. Then the biſhops and cardinals looking one upon another, ſaid, That he was a true pope, and laughed John Hus to ſcorn.

The fifth article. The pope is not, neither ought to be called according unto his office, Moſt holy; for then the king ought alſo to be called Moſt holy, according to his office. Alſo the tormentors, lictors, and devils ought alſo to be called holy. The anſwer: My words are otherwiſe placed, in this manner; So ought a feigner to ſay, that if any man be a moſt holy father, then he doth moſt holily obſerve and keep his fatherlineſs: and if he be a naughty and wicked father, then doth he moſt wickedly keep the ſame. Likewiſe, if the biſhop be moſt holy, then is he alſo moſt good; and when, as he ſaith, that he is pope, it is the name of his office.

Whereupon it followeth, That the man which is pope, being an evil and reprobate man, is a moſt holy man; and conſequently by that his office he is moſt good. And foraſmuch as no man can be good by his office, except he do exerciſe and uſe the ſame his office very well; it followeth, that if the pope be an evil and reprobate man, he cannot exerciſe or uſe his office well. Forſomuch as he cannot uſe the office well, except he be morally good, Matthew 12. "How can you ſpeak good things, when you yourſelves are evil?" And immediately after it followeth, If the pope by reaſon of his office be called Moſt holy, wherefore ſhould not the king of the Romans be called Moſt holy, by reaſon of his office and dignity? When as the king, according to St. Auguſtine's mind, repreſenteth the Deity and Godhead of Chriſt, and the prieſt repreſenteth only his humanity. Wherefore alſo ſhould not judges, yea, even tormentors be called holy, forſomuch as they have their office by miniſtering unto the church of Chriſt? Theſe things are more at large diſcourſed in my book; but I cannot find or know, ſaith John Hus, any foundation whereby I ſhould call the pope moſt holy, when as this is only ſpoken of Chriſt: Thou only art moſt holy: Thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the pope moſt holy?

The ſixth article. If the pope live contrary unto Chriſt, albeit he be lawfully and canonically elect and choſen, according to human election, yet doth he aſcend and come another way than by Chriſt. The anſwer: The text is thus: If the pope live contrary unto Chriſt in pride and avarice, how then doth he not aſcend and come another way into the ſheepfold, than by the lowly and meek door our Lord Jeſus Chriſt? But admit, as you ſay, that he did aſcend by lawful election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according to the common and vulgar conſtitution and ordinances of men; yet for all that, it is affirmed and proved, that he ſhould aſcend and come in another way; for Judas Iſcariot was truly and lawfully choſen of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto his biſhoprick, as Chriſt ſaith in the ſixth of John, "And yet he came in another way into the ſheepfold, and was a thief, and a devil, and the ſon of perdition." Did he not come in another way? when as our Saviour ſpake thus of him, "He that eateth bread with me, ſhall lift up his heel againſt me."

The ſame alſo is proved by St. Bernard unto pope Eugenius. Then ſaid Paletz, Behold the fury and madneſs of this man: for what more furious or mad thing can there be, than to ſay, Judas is choſen by Chriſt, and notwithſtanding he did aſcend another way, and not by Chriſt? John Hus anſwered, Verily both parts are true, that he was elect and choſen by Chriſt, and alſo that he did aſcend, and came in another way, for he was a thief, a devil, and the ſon of perdition. Then ſaid Paletz, Cannot a man be truly and lawfully choſen pope, or biſhop, and afterward live contrary unto Chriſt? And that notwithſtanding, he doth not aſcend any other ways. But I, ſaid John Hus, do ſay, that whoſoever doth enter into any biſhoprick or like office by ſimony, not to the intent to labour and travail in the church of God, but rather to live delicately, voluptuouſly, and unrighteouſly, and to the intent to advance himſelf with all kind of pride, every ſuch man aſcendeth and cometh up by another way, and according unto the goſpel, "he is a thief and a robber."

The ſeventh article. The condemnation of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff made by the doctors, is unreaſonable and wicked, and the cauſe by them alledged is feigned and untrue; that is to ſay, That none of thoſe articles are catholic, but that every of them be either heretical, erroneous, or offenſive. The anſwer: I have written it thus in my treatiſe; The forty and five articles are condemned for this cauſe, that none of thoſe forty and five is a catholic article, but each of them is either heretical, erroneous, or offenſive.

O Mr. Doctor, where is your proof? you feign a cauſe which you do not prove, &c. as it appeareth more at large in my treatiſe. Then ſaid the cardinal of Cambray, John Hus, thou didſt ſay that thou wouldſt not defend any error of John Wickliff's, and now it appeareth in your books, that you have openly defended his articles. John Hus anſwered, Reverend father, even as I ſaid before, ſo do I now ſay again, that I will not defend any errors of John Wickliff's, neither of any other man's, but forſomuch as it ſeemeth unto me to be againſt conſcience, ſimply to conſent unto the condemnation of them, no ſcripture being alledged or brought contrary and

againſt them, thereupon I would not conſent or agree unto the condemnation of them: and foraſmuch as the reaſon which is copulative cannot be verified in every point, according to every part thereof.

Now there remain ſix articles of thirty-nine. Theſe are ſaid to be drawn out of another treatiſe which he wrote againſt Staniſlaus de Znoyma.

The firſt article. No man is lawfully elect or choſen, in that the electors, or the greater part of them, have conſented with a lively voice, according to the cuſtom of men, to elect and chuſe any perſon, or that he is thereby the manifeſt and true ſucceſſor of Chriſt, or vicar of Peter in the eccleſiaſtical office, but in that that any man doth moſt abundantly work meritoriouſly to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. The anſwer: Theſe things which follow are alſo written in my book. It ſtandeth in the power and hands of wicked electors, to chuſe a woman into the eccleſiaſtical office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, which was called John, who held and occupied the pope's place and dignity, by the ſpace of two years and more.

It may alſo be, that they do chuſe a thief, a murderer or a devil, and conſequently they may alſo elect and chuſe antichriſt.

It may alſo be that for love, covetouſneſs, or hatred, they do chuſe ſome perſon whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that perſon is not lawfully elect and choſen; inſomuch as the electors, or the greater part of them, have conſented and agreed together according to the cuſtom of men, upon any perſon, or that he is thereby the manifeſt ſucceſſor or vicar of Peter the apoſtle, or any other in the eccleſiaſtical office.

Therefore, they which moſt accordingly unto the ſcripture do elect and chuſe, revelation being ſet apart, do only pronounce and determine by ſome probable reaſon upon him they do elect and chuſe; whereupon, whether the electors do ſo chuſe good or evil, we ought to give credit unto the works of him that is choſen; for in that point that any man doth moſt abundantly work meritoriouſly to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. And hereupon ſaith Chriſt, in John 10. "Give credit unto works."

The ſecond article. The pope being a reprobate, is not the head of the holy church of God. The anſwer: I wrote it thus in my treatiſe, that I would willingly receive a probable and effectual reaſon of the doctor, how this queſtion is contrary to the faith, to ſay, that if the pope be a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy church? Behold, the truth cannot decay or fail in diſputation, for did Chriſt diſpute againſt the faith, when he demanded of the ſcribes and phariſees, Matthew 12. "Ye flock and offſpring of vipers, how can ye ſpeak good things, when you yourſelves are wicked and evil?" And behold, I demand of the ſcribes, if the pope be a reprobate, and the ſtock of vipers, how is he head of the holy church of God, that the ſcribes and phariſees, which were in the council-houſe of Prague, may make anſwer hereunto? For it is more poſſible that a reprobate man ſhould ſpeak good things, forſomuch as he may be in ſtate of grace according unto preſent juſtice, than to be the head of the holy church of God.

Alſo in the fifth of John, our Saviour complaineth of the Jews, ſaying, How can you believe which do ſeek for glory amongſt yourſelves, and do not ſeek for the glory that cometh only of God? And I likewiſe do complain, how that if the pope be a reprobate; can he be the head of the church of God, which receiveth his glory of the world, and ſeeketh not for the glory of God? For it is more poſſible, that the pope being a reprobate ſhould believe, than that he ſhould be the head of the church of God; forſomuch as he taketh his glory of the world.

The third article. There is no ſpark of appearance, that there ought to be one head in the ſpirituality, to rule the church, the which ſhould be always converſant with the militant church. The anſwer: I do grant it. For what a conſequence is this: The king of Bohemia is head of the kingdom of Bohemia: Ergo, the pope is head of the whole militant church? Chriſt is the head of the ſpirituality, ruling and governing the militant church by much more and greater neceſſity than Cæſar ought to rule the temporality. Forſomuch as Chriſt, which ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, doth neceſſarily rule the militant church as head. And there is no ſpark of appearance that there ſhould be one head in the ſpirituality ruling the church, that ſhould always be converſant with the militant church, except ſome infidel would heretically affirm, that the militant church ſhould have here a permanent and continual city or dwelling place, and not inquire and ſeek after that which is to come. It is alſo farther evident in my book, how unconſequent the proportion of the ſimilitude is, for a reprobate pope to be head of the militant church, and a reprobate king to be head of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The fourth article. Chriſt would better rule his church by his true apoſtles, diſperſed throughout the whole world, without ſuch monſtrous heads. I anſwer: That it is in my book as here followeth, that albeit that the doctor doth ſay, that the body of the militant church is oftentimes without a head; yet notwithſtanding, we do verily believe that Chriſt Jeſus is the head over every church, ruling the ſame without lack or default, pouring upon the ſame a continual motion and ſenſe, even unto the latter day: neither can the doctor give a reaſon why the church, in the time of Agnes, by the ſpace of two years and five months, lived according to many members of Chriſt in grace and favour, but that by the ſame reaſon the church might be without a head, by the ſpace of many years. Forſomuch as Chriſt ſhould better rule his church by his true diſciples diſperſed throughout the whole world, without ſuch monſtrous heads. Then ſaid they all together, Behold, now he propheſieth. And John Hus again farther proſecuting his former talk ſaid, But I ſay that the church, in the time of the apoſtles, was far better ruled and governed than now it is. And what doth lett and hinder, that Chriſt ſhould not now alſo rule the ſame better by his true diſciples, without ſuch monſtrous heads as have been now of late? For behold, even at this preſent we have no ſuch head, and yet Chriſt ceaſeth not to rule his church. When he had ſpoken theſe words, he was derided and mocked.

The fifth article. Peter was no univerſal paſtor or ſhepherd of the ſheep of Chriſt, much leſs is the biſhop of Rome. The anſwer: Thoſe words are not in my book, but theſe which do follow. Secondly, It appeareth by the words of Chriſt, that he did not limit unto Peter for his juriſdiction the whole world, no not one only province. So likewiſe, neither unto any other of the apoſtles. Notwithſtanding, certain of them walked through many regions, and otherſome fewer, preaching and teaching the kingdom of God, as Paul, which laboured and travailed more than all the reſt, did corporally viſit and convert moſt provinces, whereby it is lawful for any apoſtle or his vicar to convert and confirm as much people, or as many provinces in the faith of Chriſt, as they are able, neither is there any reſtraint of their liberty or juriſdiction, but only by diſability or inſufficiency.

The ſixth article. The apoſtles, and other faithful prieſts of the Lord, have ſtoutly ruled the church in all things neceſſary unto ſalvation, before the office of the pope was brought into the church, and ſo would they very poſſibly do ſtill, if there were no pope even unto the

the latter day. Then they all cried out again and ſaid, "Behold the prophet." But John Hus ſaid, Verily it is true that the apoſtles did rule the church ſtoutly, before the office of the pope was brought into the church; and certainly a great deal better than it is now ruled. And likewiſe may other faithful men which do follow their ſteps do the ſame; for as now we have no pope, and ſo peradventure it may continue and endure a year or more. Beſides this, were brought againſt him other nineteen articles, objected unto him being in priſon, which with his anſwers to the ſame here likewiſe follow. Of the which articles the firſt is this.

The firſt article. Paul, according unto preſent juſtice, was a blaſphemer and none of the church, and therewithal was in grace, according unto predeſtination of life everlaſting. The anſwer: This propoſition is not in the book, but this which followeth; whereby it doth ſeem probable, that as Paul was both a blaſphemer, according to preſent juſtice, and therewithal alſo was a faithful child of our holy mother the church, and in grace according to predeſtination of life everlaſting: ſo Iſcariot was both in grace, according unto preſent juſtice, and was never of our holy mother the church, according to the predeſtination of life everlaſting, forſomuch as he lacked that predeſtination. And ſo Iſcariot, albeit he was an apoſtle, and a biſhop of Chriſt, which is the name of his office, yet was he never any part of the univerſal church.

The ſecond article. Chriſt doth more love a predeſtinate man being ſinful, than any reprobate in what grace poſſible ſoever he be. The anſwer: My words are in the fourth chapter of my book intituled Of the church; and it is evident, that God doth more love any predeſtinate being ſinful, than any reprobate, in what grace ſoever he be for the time: foraſmuch as he will, that the predeſtinate ſhall have perpetual bleſſedneſs, and the reprobate to have eternal fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely loving them both as his creatures, yet he doth more love the predeſtinate, becauſe he giveth him greater grace, or a greater gift, that is to ſay, life everlaſting, which is greater and more excellent than only grace, according unto preſent juſtice. And the third article of thoſe articles before, ſoundeth much near unto this, that the predeſtinate cannot fall from grace, for they have a certain radical grace rooted in them, although they be deprived of the abundant grace for a time. Theſe things are true in the compound ſenſe.

The third article. All the ſinful, according unto preſent juſtice, are not faithful, but do ſwerve from the true catholic faith, forſomuch as it is impoſſible that any man can commit any deadly ſin, but in that point that he doth ſwerve from the faith. The anſwer, I acknowledge that ſentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did think upon the puniſhment which is to be laid upon ſinners, and did fully believe, and had the faith of the divine knowledge and underſtanding, &c. then undoubtedly they would not ſo offend and ſin. This propoſition is verified by the ſaying of the prophet Iſaiah, "Thy rulers are unfaithful, miſbelievers, fellows and companions of thieves, they all love bribes and follow after rewards." Behold, the prophet calleth the rulers of the church infidels for their offences; for all ſuch as do not keep their faith inviolate unto their principal lord, are unfaithful ſervants, and they alſo are unfaithful children which keep not their obedience, fear, and love unto God their Father.

Item, This propoſition is verified by the ſaying of the apoſtle, the firſt chapter to Titus; "They do confeſs that they know God, but by their works they do deny him." And foraſmuch as they which are ſinful, do ſwerve away from the meritorious work of bleſſedneſs, therefore they do ſwerve from the true faith grounded upon charity, forſomuch as faith without works is dead. To this end doth alſo appertain that which the Lord ſpeaketh, Matt. 23. of the faithful and unfaithful ſervant.

The fourth article. Theſe words of John in his two and twentieth chapter, "Receive the Holy Ghoſt, and Whatſoever you ſhall bind upon earth," &c. and Matthew the ſixteenth and eighteenth chapters, for lack of underſtanding ſhall terrify many chriſtians, and they ſhall be wonderfully afraid, and others ſhall be deceived by them, preſuming upon the fulneſs of their power and authority. The anſwer: This ſentence I do approve and allow, and therefore I ſay in the ſame place, that it is firſt of all to be ſuppoſed, that the ſaying of our Saviour is neceſſary, as touching the virtue of the word, foraſmuch as it is not poſſible for a prieſt to bind and looſe, except that binding and looſing be in heaven. But for the lack of the true underſtanding of thoſe words, many ſimple chriſtians ſhall be made afraid, thinking with themſelves, that whether they be juſt or unjuſt, the prieſts may at their pleaſures, whenſoever they will, bind them. And the ignorant prieſts do alſo preſume and take upon them to have power to bind and looſe whenſoever they will. For many fooliſh and ignorant prieſts do ſay, that they have power and authority to abſolve every man confeſſing himſelf, of what ſin or offence ſoever it be, not knowing that in many ſins it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an hypocrite do confeſs himſelf, or ſuch a one as is not contrite for his ſin, whereof proof hath oftentimes been found, and it is evident, forſomuch as the letter doth kill, but the Spirit doth quicken.

The fifth article. The binding and looſing of God, is ſimply and plainly the chief and principal. The anſwer: This is evident, forſomuch as it were blaſphemous preſumption to affirm, that a man may remit and forgive an evil fact or offence done againſt ſuch a lord, the Lord himſelf not approving or allowing the ſame. For by the univerſal power of the Lord, it is neceſſary that he do firſt abſolve and forgive, before that his vicar do the ſame; neither is there one article of our faith, which ought to be more common or known unto us, than that it ſhould be impoſſible for any man of the militant church to abſolve or bind, except in ſuch caſe as it be conformable to the head of the church, Jeſus Chriſt. Wherefore every faithful chriſtian ought to take heed of that ſaying, If the pope, or any other, pretend by any manner of ſign to bind or looſe, that he is thereby bound or looſed; for he that doth grant or confeſs that, muſt alſo conſequently grant and confeſs that the pope is without ſin, and ſo that he is a God, for otherwiſe he muſt needs err and do contrary unto the keys of Chriſt. This ſaying proveth the fact of the pope, who always in his abſolution preſuppoſeth contrition and confeſſion. Yea moreover, if any letter of abſolution be given unto any offender, which doth not declare the circumſtances of the offence which ought to be declared, it is ſaid that thereby the letter of abſolution is of no force and effect. It is alſo hereby evident, that many prieſts do not abſolve thoſe which are confeſſed, becauſe that either through ſhamefacedneſs they do cloak or hide greater offences, or elſe that they have not due contrition or repentance; for unto true abſolution there is firſt required contrition. Secondly, A purpoſe and intent to ſin no more. Thirdly, True confeſſion. And fourthly, Stedfaſt hope of forgiveneſs. The firſt appeareth by Ezekiel, "If the wicked do repent him," &c. The ſecond, In the fifth and eighth of John, "Do thou not ſin any more." The third part by this place of Luke, "Shew yourſelves unto the prieſts." And the fourth is confirmed by the ſaying of Chriſt, "My ſon, believe, and thy ſins are forgiven thee." I alſo added many other probations in my treatiſe out of the holy fathers, Auguſtine, Jerom, and the maſter of the ſentences.

The ſixth article, The prieſts do gather and heap up out of the ſcriptures thoſe things which ſerve for the belly, but ſuch as appertain to the true imitation and following

lowing of Chriſt, that they reject, and refuſe as impertinent unto ſalvation. The anſwer: This St. Gregory doth ſufficiently prove in his ſeventeenth homily, alledging the ſaying of Chriſt, "The harveſt is great, the workmen are few;" ſpeaking alſo that which we cannot ſay without grief or ſorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willingly hear good things, yet there lack ſuch as ſhould declare the ſame unto them; for behold, the world is full of prieſts, but notwithſtanding there is a ſcarcity of workmen in the harveſt of the Lord. We take upon us willingly prieſthood, but we do not fulfil and do the works and office of prieſthood. And immediately after he ſaith, we are fallen unto outward affairs and buſineſs, for we take upon us one office for honour ſake, and we do exhibit and give another to eaſe ourſelves of labour. We leave preaching, and as far as I can perceive we are called biſhops to our pain, which do retain the name of honour, but not the verity.

And immediately after he ſaith, We take no care for our flock, we daily call upon for our ſtipend and wages, we covet and deſire earthly things with a greedy mind, we gape after worldly glory, we leave the cauſe of God undone, and make haſte about our worldly affairs and buſineſs; we take upon us the place of ſanctity and holineſs, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares and troubles, &c. This writeth St. Gregory, with many other things more in the ſame place. Alſo in his paſtoral, in his morals, and in his regiſter. Alſo Saint Bernard, as in many other places, ſo likewiſe in his 33d ſermon upon the Canticles, he ſaith, All friends, and all enemies, all kinſfolks and adverſaries, all of one houſhold, and no peace-makers; they are the miniſters of Chriſt, and ſerve antichriſt; they go honourably honoured with the goods of the Lord, and yet they do honour, &c.

The ſeventh article. The power of the pope, which doth follow Chriſt, is not to be feared. The anſwer: It is not in my treatiſe, but contrariwiſe, that the ſubjects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the virtuous and good rulers, and alſo thoſe which are wicked and evil. But notwithſtanding, if the pope do abuſe his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And ſo the lords, the cardinals, as I ſuppoſe, did not fear the power of Gregory the twelfth before his depoſition, when as they reſiſted him, ſaying, that he did abuſe his power contrary unto his own oath.

The eighth article. An evil and a wicked pope is not the ſucceſſor of Peter, but of Judas. The anſwer; I wrote this in my treatiſe, if the pope be humble and meek, neglecting and deſpiſing the honours and lucre of the world; if he be a ſhepherd, taking his name by the feeding of the flock of God (of the which feeding the Lord ſpeaketh, ſaying, "Feed my ſheep)" if he feed the ſheep with the word, and with virtuous example, and that he become even like his flock with his whole heart and mind; if he do diligently and carefully labour and travail for the church, then is he without doubt the true vicar of Chriſt. But if he walk contrary unto theſe virtues, forſomuch as there is no ſociety between Chriſt and Belial, and Chriſt himſelf ſaith, "He that is not with me, is againſt me:" how is he then the true vicar of Chriſt or Peter, and not rather the vicar of antichriſt? Chriſt called Peter himſelf, Satanus, when he did contrary him but only in one word, and that with a good affection, even him whom he had choſen his vicar, and ſpecially appointed over his church. Why ſhould not any other then, being more contrary unto Chriſt, be truly called Satanus, and conſequently antichriſt, or at leaſt the chief and principal miniſter or vicar of antichriſt? There be infinite teſtimonies of this matter in St. Auguſtine, St. Jerom, Cyprian, Chryſoſtom, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, and Ambroſe, &c.

The ninth article. The pope is the ſame beaſt of whom it is ſpoken in the Apocalypſe, "Power is given unto him to make war upon the ſaints." The anſwer; I deny this article to be in my book.

The tenth article. It is lawful to preach, notwithſtanding the pope's inhibition. The anſwer: The article is evident, forſomuch as the apoſtles did preach contrary to the commandment of the biſhops of Jeruſalem. And ſaint Hilary did the like, contrary to the commandment of the pope which was an Arian. It is alſo manifeſt by the example of cardinals, which, contrary unto the commandment of pope Gregory the twelfth, ſent throughout all realms ſuch as ſhould preach againſt him. It is alſo lawful to preach under appeal, contrary unto the pope's commandment. And finally, he may preach which hath the commandment of God, whereunto he ought chiefly to obey.

The eleventh article. If the pope's commandment be not concordant and agreeable with the doctrine of the goſpel or the apoſtles, it is not to be obeyed. The anſwer: I have thus written in my book, the faithful diſciple of Chriſt ought to weigh and conſider, whether the pope's commandment be expreſly and plainly the commandment of Chriſt or any of his apoſtles, or whether it have any foundation or ground in their doctrine or no, and that being once known or underſtood, he ought reverently and humbly to obey the ſame. But if he do certainly know that the pope's commandment is contrary and againſt the holy ſcripture, and hurtful unto the church; then he ought boldly to reſiſt againſt it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by conſenting thereunto. This I have handled at large in my treatiſe, and have confirmed it by the authorities of St. Auguſtine, Jerom, Gregory, Chryſoſtom, Bernard, and Bede, and with the holy ſcripture and canons, the which for brevity's cauſe I do here paſs over. I will only rehearſe the ſaying of St. Iſidore, who writeth thus, He which doth rule, and doth ſay or command any thing contrary and beſides the will of God, or that which is evidently commanded in the ſcriptures, he is branded as a falſe witneſs of God, and a church-robber. Whereupon we are bounden to obey no prelate, but in ſuch caſe as he do command or take counſel of the councils and commandments of Chriſt.

Likewiſe Saint Auguſtine upon this ſaying, upon the chair of Moſes, &c. ſaith ſecondly. "They teach in the chair of Moſes the law of God:" Ergo, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of their own inventions, do not give ear unto them, neither do as they command you. Alſo in the ſaying of Chriſt, "He that heareth you, heareth me," all lawful and honeſt things be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Chriſt's ſaying, "It is not you which do ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father which ſpeaketh in you." Let therefore my adverſaries and ſlanderers learn, that there be not only twelve counſels in the goſpel in the which ſubjects ought to obey Chriſt and his appointed miniſters, but that there are ſo many counſels and determinations of God, as there be lawful and honeſt things joined with precepts and commandments of God, binding us thereunto under the pain of deadly ſin; for every ſuch thing doth the Lord command us to fulfil in time and place, with other circumſtances, at the will and pleaſure of their miniſter.

The twelfth article. It is lawful for the clergy and laity, by their power and juriſdiction, to judge and determine of all things pertaining unto ſalvation, and alſo of the works of the prelates. The anſwer: I have thus written in my book, That it is lawful for the clergy and laity to judge and determine of the works of their heads and rulers. It appeareth by this, that the judgment of the ſecret counſels of God in the court of conſcience is one thing, and the judgment of the authority and power in the church is another. Wherefore ſubjects firſt ought principally to judge and examine themſelves, 1 Corinthians the eleventh chapter. Secondly, they ought to examine all things which pertain

unto their ſalvation, for a ſpiritual man judgeth and examineth all things. And this is alledged as touching the firſt judgment, and not the ſecond, as the enemy doth impute it unto me. Whereupon in the ſame place I do ſay, that the layman ought to judge and examine the works of his prelates, like as Paul doth judge the doings of Peter blaming him. Secondly, to avoid them according to this ſaying, "Beware of falſe prophets," &c. Thirdly, to rule over the miniſtry: for the ſubject ought by reaſon to judge and examine the works of the prelates. And if they be good, to praiſe God therefore, and rejoice: but if they be evil, they ought with patience to ſuffer them, and to be ſorry for them, but not to do the like, leſt they be damned with them, according to this ſaying, "If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch."

The thirteenth article. God doth ſuſpend of himſelf every wicked prelate from his miniſtry, while he is actually in ſin, for by that means that he is in deadly ſin, he doth offend and ſin in whatſoever he do, and conſequently is forbidden ſo to do; therefore alſo is he ſuſpended from his miniſtry. The anſwer, This is proved as touching ſuſpenſion from dignity, by Hoſea the fourth chapter, and Iſaiah, and Malachi the firſt. And Paul in the firſt to the Corinthians, the eleventh chapter, ſuſpendeth all ſuch as be ſinful, or in any grievous crime or offence, from eating of the body of the Lord, and the drinking of his blood, and conſequently ſuſpendeth all ſinful prelates from the miniſtration of the reverend ſacrament. And God doth ſuſpend the wicked and ſinful from the declaration of his righteouſneſs, Pſalm 49. Foraſmuch then as to ſuſpend, in effect, is to prohibit the miniſtry, or any other good thing for the offence ſake: or as the new laws do determine or call it, to interdict, forbid: it is manifeſt by the ſcriptures afore rehearſed, that God doth prohibit the ſinful, being in ſin, to exerciſe or uſe their miniſtry or office, which by God's commandment ought to be exerciſed without offence. Whereupon he ſaith by the prophet, "Ye that carry the veſſels of the Lord, be ye cleanſed and made clean." And to the Corinthians it is ſaid, "Let all things be done with love and charity," &c. The ſame thing alſo is commanded by divers and ſundry canons, the which I have alledged in my treatiſe.

The fourteenth article. The anſwer which he made to the five and twentieth article in priſon, ſufficeth for this, that is to ſay, That the clergy for their own preferment and exaltation, do ſupplant and undermine the lay-people, to increaſe and multiply their covetouſneſs, cloke and defend their malice and wickedneſs, and prepare a way for antichriſt.

The firſt part he proveth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, which named himſelf Benedict, by the example of Angelus Coriarius, which named himſelf Gregory the twelfth; and alſo by the example of John the three and twentieth; likewiſe by the thirteenth and twenty-fourth of Ezekiel, and out of Gregory, which ſaith, "What ſhall become of the flock, when the ſhepherds themſelves are become wolves?" &c. Alſo out of Hoſea, Micah, and other of the prophets, and many places of S. Bernard.

The ſecond part is proved by the eighth chapter of Jeremiah, Gregory in his ſeventeenth homily, and S. Bernard on the Canticles.

The third part of this article is alſo proved by experience: for who defendeth the wickedneſs of any ſchiſm but only the clergy, alledging ſcripture, and bringing reaſons therefore? who excuſeth ſimony, but only the clergy? likewiſe covetouſneſs, in heaping together many benefices, luxurioufneſs, and fornication? for how many of the clergy are there now-a-days which do ſay, it is no deadly ſin, alledging (albeit diſorderly) the ſaying of Geneſis, Increaſe and multiply?

Hereby alſo is the fourth part of the article eaſily verified. For the way of antichriſt is wickedneſs and ſin; of the which the apoſtle ſpeaketh to the Theſſalonians: Gregory in his regiſter, paſtoral and moral; alſo S. Bernard upon the Canticles plainly ſaith, Wicked and evil prieſts prepare the way for antichriſt.

The fifteenth article. John Hus doth openly teach and affirm, that theſe concluſions aforeſaid are true. The anſwer is manifeſt by that which I have afore written. For ſome of theſe propoſitions I did write and publiſh, other ſome mine enemy did feign, now adding, then diminiſhing and taking away, now falſly aſcribing and imputing the whole propoſition unto me, the which thing the commiſſioners themſelves did confeſs before me. Whom I deſired, for the falſe invention and feigning of thoſe articles, that they would puniſh thoſe whom they themſelves knew and confeſſed to be mine enemies.

The ſixteenth article. Hereby alſo it appeareth, that it is not true which they have affirmed in the article following; that is to ſay, that all the aforeſaid concluſions be falſe, erroneous, ſeditious, and ſuch as do weaken and make feeble the power and ſtrength of the church, invented contrary to the holy ſcriptures and the church. But if there be any ſuch, I am ready moſt humbly to revoke and recant the ſame.

The ſeventeenth article. There was alſo an objection made againſt me as touching the treatiſes which I wrote againſt Paletz and Staniſlaus de Znoyma, the which I deſired for God's ſake they might be openly read in the audience of the whole council, and ſaid, that I, notwithſtanding my former proteſtation, would willingly ſubmit myſelf to the judgment of the whole council.

The eighteenth article. There was alſo another article objected againſt me in this form. Item, John Hus ſaid and preached, that he ſhould go to Conſtance; and if ſo be that for any manner of cauſe he ſhould be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithſtanding he never purpoſed to do it with his mind: foraſmuch as whatſoever he had before taught, was pure and true, and the ſound doctrine of Chriſt. The anſwer; This article is full of lyes, to the inventor whereof I ſuppoſe the Lord ſaith thus, All the day long thou haſt imagined miſchief and wickedneſs, and with thy tongue, as with a ſharp razor, thou haſt wrought deceit: thou haſt delighted and loved rather to talk of wickedneſs and miſchief, than of equity and juſtice. Verily I do grant, that I left behind me a certain epiſtle to be read unto the people, the which did contain, that all ſuch as did weigh and conſider my careful labours and travails, ſhould pray for me, and ſtedfaſtly perſevere and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, knowing for a certainty, that I never taught them any ſuch errors as mine enemies do impute or aſcribe unto me; and if it ſhould happen that I were overcome by falſe witneſs, they ſhould not be vexed or troubled in their minds, but ſtedfaſtly continue in the truth.

The nineteenth article. Laſt it was objected againſt me, that after I was come into Conſtance, I did write unto the kingdom of Bohemia, that the pope and the emperor received me honourably, and ſent unto me two biſhops to make agreement between me and them; and that this ſeemeth to be written by me to this end and purpoſe, that they ſhould confirm and eſtabliſh me and my hearers in the errors which I had preached and taught in Bohemia. This article is falſely alledged, even from the beginning. For how manifeſtly falſe ſhould I have written, that the pope and the emperor did honour me, when as otherwiſe I had written before, that as yet we know not where the emperor was? and before the emperor himſelf came unto Conſtance, I was by the ſpace of three weeks in priſon. And to write that I was honoured by my impriſonment, the people of the kingdom of Bohemia would repute the honour as no great renown and glory unto me. Howbeit, mine enemies may in deri-

ſion ſay unto me, that according to their wills and pleaſures I am exalted and honoured. Wherefore this article is wholly and throughout falſe and untrue.

Unto theſe articles above prefixed were other articles alſo to be annexed, which the Pariſians had drawn out againſt Mr. John Hus, to the number of nineteen. The chief author whereof was John Gerſon, chancellor of the univerſity of Paris, a great ſetter on of the pope againſt good men. Of theſe articles John Hus doth often complain in his epiſtles, that he had no time nor ſpace to make anſwer unto them. Which articles being falſely collected, and wrongfully depraved, although John Hus had no time to anſwer unto them, yet I thought it not unfit here to ſet them down for the reader to ſee and judge.

Articles formerly contained or picked out of the Treatiſe of John Hus, of Prague, which he intitled, Of the Church, following, in this Part or Behalf, the Errors, as they term them, of John Wickliff.

THE firſt article. No reprobate is true pope, lord, or prelate. The error is in the faith, and behaviour, and manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well againſt the poor men of Lyons, as alſo againſt the Waldenſes and Pikards. The affirmation of which error is temerarious, ſeditious, offenſive, and pernicious, and tending to the ſubverſion of all human policy and governance, foraſmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, for that all men do offend in many points, and thereby ſhould all rule and dominion be made uncertain and unſtable, if it ſhould be founded upon predeſtination and charity: neither ſhould the commandment of Peter have been good, which willeth all ſervants to be obedient unto their maſters and lords, although they be wicked.

The ſecond article. That no man being in deadly ſin, whereby he is no member of Chriſt, but of the devil, is true pope, prelate, lord. The error of this is like unto the firſt.

The third article. No reprobate or otherwiſe being in deadly ſin, ſitteth in the apoſtolic ſeat of Peter, neither hath any apoſtolical power over the chriſtian people. This error is alſo like unto the firſt.

The fourth article. No reprobates are of the church, neither likewiſe any which do not follow the life of Chriſt. This error is againſt the common underſtanding of the doctors, concerning the church.

The fifth article. They only are of the church, and ſit in Peter's ſeat, and have apoſtolic power, which follow Chriſt and his apoſtles in their life and living. The error hereof is in faith and manners, as in the firſt article, but containing more arrogancy and raſhneſs.

The ſixth article. That every man which liveth uprightly, according to the rule of Chriſt, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not ſent, yea, although he be forbidden or excommunicated by any prelate or biſhop, even as he might and ought to give alms; for his good life and living together with his learning, doth ſufficiently ſend him.

This is a raſh and temerarious error, offenſive, and tending to the confuſion of the whole eccleſiaſtical hierarchy.

The ſeventh article. That the pope of Rome being contrary unto Chriſt, is not the univerſal biſhop, neither hath the church of Rome any ſupremacy over other churches, except peradventure it be given unto him of Cæſar, and not of Chriſt. An error lately and plainly reproved.

The eighth article. That the pope ought not to be called moſt holy, neither that his feet are holy and bleſſed, or that they ought to be kiſſed. This error is temerarious, unreverently and offenſively publiſhed.

The ninth article. That according unto the doctrine of Chriſt, heretics, be they never ſo obſtinate and ſtubborn, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accurſed or excommunicated. This is the error of the Donatiſts, temerariouſly, and not without great offence, affirmed againſt the laws of the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, as St. Auguſtine doth prove.

The tenth article. That ſubjects and the common people may and ought publicl yand openly to detect and reprove the vices of their ſuperiors and rulers, as having power given them of Chriſt, and example of St. Paul ſo to do. This error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, diſobedience, and ſedition, and the curſe and malediction of Cham.

The eleventh article. That Chriſt only is head of the church, and not the pope. It is an error according unto the common underſtanding of the doctors, if all the reaſon of the ſupremacy, and of being head, be ſecluded and taken away from the pope.

The twelfth article. That the only church, which comprehendeth the predeſtinate and good livers, is the univerſal church, whereunto ſubjects do owe obedience. And this is conſequent unto the former article. The error is contained as in the former articles.

The thirteenth article. The tithes and oblations given to the church are public and common alms. This error is offenſive, and contrary to the determination of the apoſtle, 1 Cor. 9.

The fourteenth article. That the clergy living wickedly, ought to be reproved and corrected by the laypeople, by the taking away of their tithes and other temporal profits. A moſt pernicious error and offenſive, inducing the ſecular people to perpetrate ſacrilege, ſubverting the eccleſiaſtical liberty.

The fifteenth article. That the bleſſings of ſuch as are reprobate or evil livers of the clergy, are maledictions and curſings before God, according to the ſaying, "I will curſe your bleſſings." This error was lately reproved of St. Auguſtine, St. Cyprian, and his followers, neither is the maſter of the ſentences allowed of the maſters in that point that he ſeemeth to favour this article.

The ſixteenth article. That in theſe days, and in long time before, there hath been no true pope, no true church or faith, which is called the Romiſh church, whereunto a man ought to obey, but that it both was and is the ſynagogue of antichriſt and ſatan. The error in this article is in this point, That it is derived, and taketh its foundation upon the former articles.

The ſeventeenth article. That all gift of money given unto the miniſters of the church, for the miniſtration of any ſpiritual matter, doth make ſuch miniſters in that caſe uſurers of ſimony. This error is ſeditious and temerarious, foraſmuch as ſomething may be given unto the clergy, under the title of ſuſtentation or maintaining the miniſter, without the ſelling or buying of any ſpiritual thing.

The eighteenth article. That whoſoever is excommunicate of the pope, if he appeal to Chriſt, he is preſerved that he need not fear the excommunication, but may utterly condemn and deſpiſe the ſame. This error is temerarious and full of arrogancy.

The nineteenth article. That every deed done without charity, is ſin. This error was reproved and revoked before this time at Paris, ſpecially if it be underſtood of deadly ſin; for it is not neceſſary that he which lacketh grace, ſhould continually ſin and offend anew, albeit he be continually in ſin.

This

This following, the Maſters of Paris, by their whole Voice and Conſent, did add and adjoin unto theſe Nineteen Articles, for their Reaſon and Determination.

WE affirm, that theſe articles aforeſaid are notoriouſly heretical, and that they are judicially condemned for ſuch, and diligently to be rooted out with their moſt ſeditious doctrines, leſt they do infect other. For albeit they ſeem to have a zeal againſt the vices of the prelates and the clergy, the which (the more is the pity and grief) do but too much abound, yet it is according unto learning; for a ſober and diſcreet zeal ſuffereth and lamenteth thoſe ſins and offences which he ſeeth in the houſe of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other vices and errors, foraſmuch as devils are not caſt out through Belzebub, but by the power of God, which is the Holy Ghoſt, who willeth, that in correction the meaſure and mean of prudence be always kept, according to the ſaying, Mark who, what, where and why, by what means and when, prelates and biſhops are bound, under grievous and expreſs penalties of the law, diligently and vigilantly to bear themſelves againſt the foreſaid errors, and ſuch other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it always be underſtood and noted, that the error which is not reſiſted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of privy affinity or ſociety of him, which ſlacketh to withſtand a manifeſt miſchief.

Theſe things are intermeddled by the way under correction, as by way of doctrine.

John Gerſon, chancellor of Paris, unworthily.

Theſe things thus declared, a man may eaſily underſtand, that John Hus was not accuſed for holding any opinion contrary to the articles of our faith, but becauſe he did ſtoutly preach and teach againſt the kingdom of antichriſt for the glory of Chriſt, and the reſtoring of the church.

Now to return unto the ſtory: when as the firſt thirty-nine articles, which I have before rehearſed, were all read over together with their teſtimonies, the cardinal of Cambray calling unto him John Hus, ſaid, Thou haſt heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid againſt thee, and what number of them they are; and now it is thy part to deviſe with thyſelf what thou wilt do. Two ways are proponed and ſet before thee of the council, whereof the one of them thou muſt of force and neceſſity enter into.

Firſt, That thou do humbly and meekly ſubmit thyſelf unto the judgment and ſentence of the council, that whatſoever ſhall be there determined, by their common voice and judgment, thou wilt patiently bear and ſuffer the ſame. The which thing if thou wilt do, we of our part, both for the hononr of the moſt gentle emperor here preſent, and alſo for the honour of his brother the king of Bohemia, and for thy own ſafeguard and preſervation, will intreat and handle thee with as great humanity, love and gentleneſs, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of thoſe articles which we have propounded unto thee, and doſt deſire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and licenſe thereunto: but this thou ſhalt well underſtand, that here are ſuch manner of men, ſo clear in underſtanding and knowledge, and having ſo firm and ſtrong reaſons and arguments againſt thy articles, that I fear it will be to thy great hurt, detriment and peril, if thou ſhouldeſt any longer will or deſire to defend the ſame.

This I do ſpeak and ſay unto thee, to counſel and admoniſh thee, and not as in manner of a judge.

This oration of the cardinals many others proſecuting, every man for himſelf did exhort and purſuade John Hus to the like; unto whom, with a lowly countenance he anſwered, Moſt reverend fathers, I have often ſaid, that I came hither of mine own free will, not to the intent obſtinately to defend any thing, but if that in any thing I ſhould ſeem to have conceived a perverſe or evil opinion, that I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I deſire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind. Whereof, except I ſhall alledge moſt firm and ſtrong reaſons, I will willingly ſubmit myſelf (as you require) unto your information.

Then there ſtarted up one which with a loud voice ſaid, Behold, how craftily this man ſpeaketh: he termeth it information, and not correction or determination. Verily, ſaid John Hus, even as you term it, information, correction or determination: for I take God to my witneſs, that I ſpeak nothing but with my heart and mind.

Then ſaid the cardinal of Cambray; Foraſmuch then as thou doſt ſubmit thyſelf unto the grace and information of this council, this is decreed by almoſt threeſcore doctors, whereof ſome of them are now departed hence, in whoſe room and place the Pariſians are ſucceeded; and alſo it is approved by the whole council, not one man ſpeaking the contrary thereunto.

Firſt of all, That thou ſhalt humbly and meekly confeſs thyſelf to have erred in theſe articles which are alledged and brought againſt thee.

Moreover, That thou ſhalt promiſe by an oath, that from henceforth thou ſhalt not teach, hold or maintain any of theſe articles. And laſt of all, that thou ſhalt openly recant all theſe articles.

Upon the which ſentence, when as many others had ſpoken their minds, at the length John Hus ſaid, I once again do ſay, that I am ready to ſubmit myſelf to the information of the council; but this I moſt humbly require and deſire you all, even for his ſake, which is the God of us all, that I be not compelled or forced to do the thing which my conſcience doth repugn or ſtrive againſt, or the which I cannot do without danger of eternal damnation, that is, that I ſhould make revocation by oath to all the articles which are alledged againſt me. For I remember that I have read in the book of univerſalities, that to abjure is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And forſomuch as many of theſe articles are ſaid to me mine, which were never in my mind to hold or teach, how ſhould I then renounce them by an oath? But as touching thoſe articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man which can teach me contrariwiſe unto them, I will willingly perform that which you deſire.

Then ſaid the emperor, Why mayeſt not thou without danger alſo renounce all thoſe articles which thou ſayeſt are falſely alledged againſt thee by the witneſſes? For I verily would nothing at all doubt to abjure all errors, neither doth it follow that therefore by and by I have profeſſed any error. To whom John Hus anſwered: Moſt noble emperor, this word to abjure, doth ſignify much otherwiſe than your majeſty doth here uſe it. Then ſaid the cardinal of Florence, John Hus, you ſhall have a form of abjuration, which ſhall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will eaſily and ſoon determine with yourſelf, whether you will do it or no. Then the emperor repeating again the words of the cardinal of Cambray, ſaid, Thou haſt heard that there are two ways laid before thee: Firſt, that thou ſhouldeſt openly renounce thoſe thine errors, which are now condemned, and ſubſcribe unto the judgment of the council, whereby thou ſhouldeſt try and find their grace and favour. But if thou proceed to defend thy opinions, the council ſhall have ſufficient, whereby, according to their laws and ordinances, they may decree and determine upon thee. To whom John Hus anſwered, I refuſe nothing (moſt noble emperor) whatſoever the council ſhall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conſcience, or ſay that I have profeſſed thoſe errors which were never in my mind or thought

thought to profeſs. But I deſire you all, if it may be poſſible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may anſwer as much as ſhall ſuffice, as touching thoſe things that are objected againſt me, and ſpecially concerning eccleſiaſtical offices, and the ſtate of the miniſtry.

But when as other men began to ſpeak, the emperor himſelf began to ſing the ſame ſong which he had ſung before. Thou art of lawful age, ſaid the emperor, thou mighteſt eaſily have underſtood what I ſaid unto thee yeſterday, and this day; for we are forced to give credit unto theſe witneſſes which are worthy of credit, foraſmuch as the ſcripture ſaith, "That in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all truth is tried:" how much more then, by ſo many witneſſes of ſuch worthy men?

Wherefore if thou be wiſe, receive penance at the hands of the council with a contrite heart, and renounce thy manifeſt errors, and promiſe by an oath, that from henceforth thou wilt never more teach or preach them. The which if thou refuſeſt to do, there are laws and ordinances whereby thou ſhalt be judged of the council.

Here a certain very old biſhop of Pole put to his verdict. He ſaid, The laws are evident as touching heretics, with what puniſhment they ought to be puniſhed. But John Hus conſtantly anſwered as before, inſomuch that they ſaid he was obſtinate and ſtubborn. Then a certain well-fed prieſt, and gaily apparelled, cried out unto the preſidents of the council, ſaying, He ought by no means to be admitted to recantation, for he hath written unto his friends, that although he do ſwear with his tongue, yet he will keep his mind unſworn without oath; wherefore he is not to be truſted. Unto this ſlander John Hus anſwered, as is ſaid in the laſt article, affirming that he was not guilty of any error.

Then ſaid Paletz, To what end is this proteſtation, forſomuch as thou ſayeſt that thou wilt defend no error, neither yet Wickliff, and yet doſt defend him? When he had ſpoken theſe words, he brought forth for witneſs nine articles of John Wickliff's, and read them openly, and afterward he ſaid, When as I and Mr. Staniſlaus, in the preſence of Erneſtus of Auſtrich, duke of Prague, preached againſt them, he obſtinately defended the ſame, not only in his ſermons, but alſo by his books which he ſet forth. The which, except you do here exhibit, we will cauſe them to be exhibited. So ſaid the emperor alſo. Unto whom John Hus anſwered, I am very well contented that not only thoſe, but alſo all other my books, be brought forth and ſhewed.

In the mean time there was exhibited unto the council a certain article, wherein John Hus was accuſed that he had ſlanderouſly interpreted a certain ſentence of the pope's: the which he denied that he did, ſaying, That he never ſaw it but in priſon, when as the article was ſhewed him by the commiſſioners. And when he was demanded who was the author thereof; he anſwered, That he knew not, but that he heard ſay that Mr. Jeſſenitz was the author thereof.

What (ſaid they) then do you think or judge of the interpretation thereof? Then anſwered John Hus, What ſhould I ſay thereunto, when as I ſaid I never ſaw it, but as I have heard of it of you? Thus they were all ſo grievous and troubleſome unto him, that he waxed faint and weary, for he had paſſed all the night before without ſleep through the pain of his teeth.

Then was there another article read, in the which was contained that three men were beheaded at Prague, becauſe that through Wickliff's doctrine and teaching they were contumelious and ſlanderous againſt the pope's letters: and that they were by the ſame Hus, with the whole pomp of the ſcholars, and with a public convocation or congregation, carried out to be buried, and by a public ſermon placed among the number of ſaints. And the ſame Dr. Naſo, of whom you have heard certain teſtimonies already recited, affirmed the ſame to be true, and that he himſelf was preſent, when as the king of Bohemia commanded thoſe blaſphemers ſo to be puniſhed.

Then ſaid John Hus, Both thoſe parts are falſe, that the king did command any ſuch puniſhment to be done, and that the corpſes were by me conveyed with any ſuch pomp unto their ſepulture or burial: wherefore you do injury both unto me and the king. Then Paletz confirmed the affirmation of Dr. Naſo his fellow, with this argument (for they both laboured to one end and purpoſe), That it was provided by the king's commandment, that no man ſhould once ſpeak againſt the pope's bulls: and theſe three ſpake againſt the pope's bulls: Ergo, by virtue of the king's commandment they were beheaded. And what John Hus his opinion and mind was as touching theſe men, it is evident enough by his book intituled, Of the church, wherein he writeth thus: I believe they have read Daniel the prophet, where, as is ſaid, "And they ſhall periſh with ſword and fire, and with captivity," and many ſhall fraudulently and craftily aſſociate themſelves unto them. And afterward he ſaith, how this is fulfilled in theſe two laymen, who not conſenting, but ſpeaking againſt the feigned lyes of antichriſt, have offered their lives therefore, and many other were ready to do the ſame, and many were fraudulently aſſociate unto them, which being feared by the threatnings of antichriſt, are fled, and have turned their backs, &c.

When theſe things were read, one looking upon another, as though they had been all in a marvellous ſtrange ſtudy, they held their peace for a certain ſpace. For this Paletz, and the foreſaid doctor Naſo, had alſo added, that John Hus in an open ſermon had inflamed and ſtirred up the people againſt the magiſtrates, inſomuch that a great number of the citizens did openly ſet themſelves againſt the magiſtrates; and by that means was it, that he ſaid, thoſe three were ready to ſuffer death for the truth. And this ſedition was hardly appeaſed by any benefit or help that the king could do. Then the Engliſhmen exhibited the copy of a certain epiſtle, which they ſaid was falſely conveyed unto Prague, under the title of the univerſity of Oxford, and that John Hus did read the ſame out of the pulpit unto the people, that he might commend and praiſe John Wickliff unto the citizens of Prague. When they had read the ſame before the council, the Engliſhmen demanded of John Hus, whether they had read the ſame openly or no. Which when he had confeſſed, becauſe it was brought thither by two ſcholars under the ſeal of the univerſity; they alſo inquired of him, what ſcholars they were. He anſwered, this my friend (meaning Stephen Paletz) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

Then they firſt inquired of him, as touching the laſt man, where he was. John Hus anſwered, I heard ſay (ſaid he) that in his return into England, he died by the way. As touching the firſt, Paletz ſaid, That he was a Bohemian and no Engliſhman, and that he brought out of England a certain ſmall piece of the ſtone of Wickliff's ſepulchre, which they that are the followers of this doctrine at this preſent do reverence and worſhip as a thing moſt holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all theſe things were done, and that John Hus was the author of them all.

Then the Engliſhman exhibited another epiſtle, contrary to the firſt, under the ſeal of the univerſity, the effect and argument whereof was this: The ſenate of the univerſity, not without great ſorrow and grief, hath experimented and found, that the errors of Wickliff are ſcattered and ſpread out of that univerſity throughout all England. And to the intent that through their help and labour means may be found to remedy this miſchief, they have appointed for that purpoſe twelve doctors, men of ſingular learning, and other maſters, which ſhould ſit in judgment upon the books of Wickliff.

Theſe

These men have noted out above the number of two hundred articles, that which the whole university have judged worthy to be burnt; but for the reverence of the said sacred council, the said university hath sent them unto Constance, referring and remitting the whole authority of the judgment unto this council.

Here was great silence kept for a while. Then Paletz rising up, as though he had finished now his accusation, said, I take God to my witness before the emperor's majesty here present, and the most reverend fathers, cardinals and bishops, that in this accusation of John Hus, I have not used any hatred or evil will; but that I might satisfy the oath which I took when I was made doctor, that I would be a most cruel and sharp enemy of all manner of errors, for the profit and commodity of the holy catholic church. Michael de Causis did also the like. And I, said John Hus, do commit all these things unto the heavenly Judge, which shall justly judge the cause or quarrels of both parties. Then said the cardinal of Cambray, I cannot a little commend and praise the humanity and gentleness of Mr. Paletz, which he hath used in drawing out the articles against Mr. John Hus. For as we have heard, there are many things contained in his book much worse and more detestable.

When he had spoken these words, the bishop of Rygen, unto whom John Hus was committed, commanded that the said John Hus should be carried again safely unto prison. Then John de Clum following him, did not a little encourage and comfort him. No tongue can express what courage and stomach he received by the short talk which he had with him; when as in so great a broil and grievous hatred, he saw himself in a manner forsaken of all men. After that John Hus was carried away, the emperor began to exhort the presidents of the council, in this manner, saying,

YOU have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against John Hus, which are not only proved by manifold and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him; of the which, every one of them, by my judgment and advice, have deserved and are worthy of death. Therefore except he do recant them all, I judge and think meet that he be punished with fire. And albeit he do that which he is willed and commanded to do; notwithstanding I do counsel you, that he be forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and also that he return no more into the kingdom of Bohemia: for if he be admitted again to teach and preach, and specially in the kingdom of Bohemia, he will not observe and keep that which he is commanded, but, hoping upon the favour and good will of such as be his adherents and fautors there, he will return again unto his former purpose and intent, and then, besides these errors, he will also sow new errors amongst the people, so the last error shall be worse than the first.

Moreover, I judge and think it good, that his articles which are condemned, should be sent unto my brother the king of Bohemia, and afterward into Pole and other provinces; whereas men's minds are repleniſhed with his doctrine, with this commandment, That whosoever do proceed to hold or keep the same, they should, by the common aid both of the ecclesiastical and civil power, be punished. So at the length shall remedy be found for this mischief, if the boughs, together with the root, be utterly rooted and pulled up: and if the bishops and other prelates, which here in this place have laboured and travailed for the extirpating of this heresy, be commended by the whole voices of the council unto the king and princes, under whose dominion they are. Last of all, if there be any found here at Constance, which are familiars unto John Hus, they also ought to be punished with such severity and punishment as is due unto them, and specially his scholar Jerom of Prague. Then said the rest, when the master is once punished, we hope we shall find the scholar much more tractable and gentle.

After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the cloister, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the sixth of July, the emperor Sigismund sent unto him four bishops, accompanied with Mr. Wencelate de Duba, and John de Clum, that they should learn and understand of him what he did intend to do. When as he was brought out of prison unto them, John de Clum began first to speak unto him, saying,

MASTER John Hus, I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counsel or advertise you, being a man of learning and understanding: notwithstanding I do require you, if you know yourself guilty of any of those errors, which are objected and laid against you before the council, that you will not be ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the council; if contrariwise, I will be no author unto you, that you should do any thing contrary or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and endure any kind of punishment, than to deny that which you have known to be the truth. Unto whom John Hus turning himself, with lamentable tears, said; Verily, as before I have oftentimes done, I do take the most high God for my witness, that I am ready with my heart and mind, if the council can instruct or teach me any better by the holy scripture, and I will be ready with all my whole heart to alter and change my purpose. Then one of the bishops which sat by, said unto him, that he would never be so arrogant or proud, that he would prefer his own mind or opinion before the judgment of the whole council. To whom John Hus answered, Neither do I otherwise mind or intend. For if he which is the meanest or least in all this council can convict me of error, I will with an humble heart and mind perform and do whatsoever the council shall require of me. Mark, said the bishops, how obstinately he doth persevere in his errors. And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keepers to carry him again to prison, and so they returned again unto the emperor with their commission.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth day of July, there was a general session holden of the princes and lords, both of the ecclesiastical and temporal estates, in the head church of the city of Constance, the emperor Sigismund being president in his imperial robes and habit; in the midst thereof there was made a certain high place, being square about like a table, and hard by it there was a desk of wood, upon which the garments and vestments pertaining unto priesthood were laid for this cause, that before John Hus should be delivered over unto the civil power, he should be openly deprived and spoiled of his priestly ornaments. When John Hus was brought thither, he fell down upon his knees before the same high place, and prayed a long time. In the mean while the bishop of Londy went up into the pulpit, and made this sermon following.

The Sermon of the Bishop of Londy, before Sentence was given upon John Hus.

"IN the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Trusting by humble invocation upon the divine help and aid, most noble prince, and most christian emperor, and you most excellent fathers, and reverend lords, bishops and prelates, also most excellent doctors and masters, famous and noble dukes, and high counts, honourable nobles and barons, and all other men worthy of remembrance; that the intent and purpose may the more plainly and evidently appear unto this

this moſt ſacred congregation: I am firſt of all determined to intreat or ſpeak of that which is read in the epiſtle on the next Sunday, in the ſixth chapter to the Romans; that is to ſay, "Let the body of ſin be deſtroyed," &c.

"It appeareth by the authority of Ariſtotle, in his book intituled, De cœlo & mundo, how wicked, dangerous and fooliſh a matter it ſeemeth to be, not to withſtand perverſe and wicked beginnings. For he ſaith, That a ſmall error in the beginning is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to have erred, but more hard to be corrected and amended. Whereupon that worthy doctor St. Jerom, in his book upon the expoſition of the catholic faith, teacheth how neceſſary a thing it is that heretics and hereſies ſhould be ſuppreſſed, even at the firſt beginning of them, ſaying thus; The rotten and dead fleſh is to be cut off from the body, leſt that the whole body do periſh and putrify. For a ſcabbed ſheep is to be put out of the fold, leſt the whole flock be infected. And a little fire is to be quenched, leſt the whole houſe be conſumed and burned. Arius was firſt a ſpark in Alexandria, who becauſe he was not at the firſt quenched, he preſumed, and went about with his wicked and perverſe imaginations, and fantaſtical inventions, to ſpot and defile the catholic faith, which is founded and eſtabliſhed by Chriſt, defended with the victorious triumphs of ſo many martyrs, and illuminate and ſet forth with the excellent doctrines and writings of ſo many men. Such therefore muſt be reſiſted; ſuch heretics of neceſſity muſt be ſuppreſſed and condemned.

"Wherefore I have truly propounded, as touching the puniſhment of every ſuch obſtinate heretic, that the body of ſin is to be deſtroyed. Whereupon it is to be conſidered according to the holy traditions of the fathers, that ſome ſins are adverſe and contrary unto another. Otherſome are annexed and conjoined together; otherſome are, as it were, branches and members of others; and ſome are, as it were, the roots aud heads of others. Amongſt all which thoſe are to be counted the moſt deteſtable, out of the which the moſt and worſt have their original and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all ſins and offences are to be abhorred of us; yet thoſe are ſpecially to be eſchewed, which are the head and root of the reſt. For by how much the perverſeneſs of them is of more force and power to hurt, with ſo much the more ſpeed and circumſpection ought they to be rooted out and extinguiſhed, with apt preſervatives and remedies. Forſomuch then as amongſt all ſins, none doth more appear to be inveterate than the miſchief of this moſt execrable ſchiſm, therefore have I right well propounded, "That the body of ſin ſhould be deſtroyed." For by the long continuance of this ſchiſm, great and moſt cruel deſtruction is ſprung up among the faithful, and hath long continued; abominable diviſions of hereſies are grown; threatenings are increaſed and multiplied; the confuſion of the whole clergy is grown thereupon, and the opprobries and ſlanders of the chriſtian people are abundantly ſprung up and increaſed: and truly it is no marvel, forſomuch as that moſt deteſtable and execrable ſchiſm is, as it were, a body and heap of diſſolution of the true faith of God: for what can be good or holy in that place, whereas ſuch a peſtiferous ſchiſm hath reigned ſo long a time? For as St. Bernard ſaith, Like as in the unity and concord of the faithful there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord; ſo likewiſe in the ſchiſm and diſſipation of the chriſtians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the devil. Is not ſchiſm and diviſion the original of all ſubverſion, the den of hereſies, and the nouriſher of all offences? For the knot of unity and peace being once troubled and broken, there is free paſſage made for all ſtrife and debate. Covetouſneſs is uttered in others for lucre's ſake; luſt and will is ſet at liberty, and all means opened unto ſlaughter. All right and equity is baniſhed, the eccleſiaſtical power is injured, and the calamity of this ſchiſm bringeth in all kind of bondage, ſword and violence doth rule, the laity have the dominion, concord and unity are baniſhed, and all preſcript rules of religion utterly contemned and ſet at nought.

"Conſider, moſt gentle lords, during this moſt peſtiferous ſchiſm, how many hereſies have appeared and ſhewed themſelves, how many heretics have eſcaped unpuniſhed, how many churches have been ſpoiled and pulled down, how many cities have been oppreſſed, and regions brought to ruin, what confuſion hath there happened to the clergy? What and how great deſtruction hath been amongſt the chriſtian people? I pray you mark how the church of God, the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and the mother of all faithful, is contemned and deſpiſed. For who doth reverence the keys of the church, who feareth the cenſures or laws, or who is it that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it that doth not offend the ſame, or who doth not invade it, or elſe what is he that dare not violently lay hands upon the patrimony or heritage of Jeſus Chriſt? The goods of the clergy, and of the poor, and the relief of pilgrims and ſtrangers, gotten together by the blood of our Saviour, and of many martyrs, are ſpoiled and taken away: behold, the abomination of deſolation brought upon the church of God, the deſtruction of the faith, and the confuſion of the chriſtian people, to the ruin of the Lord's flock or fold, and all the whole company of our moſt holy Saviour and Redeemer. This loſs is more great or grievous than any which could happen unto the martyrs of Chriſt, and this perſecution much more cruel than the perſecution of any tyrant; for they did but only puniſh the bodies, but in this ſchiſm and diviſion the the ſouls are tormented. There the blood of men was only ſhed, but in this caſe the true faith is ſubverted and overthrown. That perſecution was ſalvation unto many; but this ſchiſm is deſtruction unto all men. When the tyrants raged, then the faith did increaſe; but by this diviſion it is utterly decayed. During their cruelty and madneſs, the primitive church increaſed; but through this ſchiſm it is confounded and overthrown. Tyrants did ignorantly offend, but in this ſchiſm many do wittingly and willingly even of obſtinacy offend. There came in heretics, uſers of ſimony, and hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the church; under thoſe tyrants, the merits of the juſt were increaſed.

"But during this ſchiſm, miſchief and wickedneſs are augmented: for in this moſt curſed and execrable diviſion, truth is made an enemy to all chriſtiaus, faith is not regarded, love and charity hated, hope is loſt, juſtice overthrown, no kind of courage or valiantneſs, but only unto miſchief: modeſty and temperance cloked, wiſdom turned into deceit, humility feigned, equity and truth falſified, patience utterly fled, conſcience ſmall, all wickedneſs intended, devotion counted folly, gentleneſs abject and caſt away, religion deſpiſed, obedience not regarded, and all manner of life reproachful and abominable. With how great and grievous ſorrows is the church of God repleniſhed and filled, whilſt that tyrants do oppreſs it, heretics invade it, uſers of ſimony do ſpoil and rob it, and ſchiſmatics go about utterly to ſubvert it? O moſt miſerable and wretched chriſtian people, whom now by the ſpace of forty years, with ſuch indurate and continual ſchiſm, they have tormented, and almoſt brought to ruin! O the little bark and ſhip of Chriſt, which hath ſo long time wandered and ſtrayed now in the midſt of the whirlpools, and by and by ſticketh faſt in the rocks, toſſed to and fro with the moſt grievous and tempeſtuous ſtorms! O miſerable and wretched boat of Peter, if the moſt Holy Father would ſuffer thee to ſink or drown, into what dangers and perils have the wicked pirates brought thee? Amongſt what rocks have they placed thee? O moſt godly and loving chriſtians, what faithful devout man is there, which beholding and ſeeing the great

great ruin and decay of the church, would not be provoked unto tears? What good conſcience is there that can refrain weeping? becauſe that contention and ſtrife is poured upon the eccleſiaſtical rulers, which have made us to err in the way, becauſe they have not found, or rather would not find the way of unity and concord: whereupon ſo many hereſies, and ſo great confuſion is ſprung up and grown in the flock of Peter, and the fold of the Lord.

"Many princes, kings and prelates, have greatly laboured and travailed for the rooting out hereof; but yet could they never bring to paſs or finiſh that moſt wholſome and neceſſary work. Wherefore moſt chriſtian king, this moſt glorious and triumphant victory hath tarried only for thee, the crown and glory thereof ſhall be thine for ever, and this moſt happy victory ſhall be continually celebrate to thy great honour and praiſe, that thou haſt reſtored again the church which was ſo ſpoiled, thou haſt removed and put away all inveterate and overgrown ſchiſms and diviſions, thou haſt trodden down uſers of ſimony, and rooted out all heretics. Doſt thou not behold and ſee how great, perpetual and famous renown and glory it will be unto thee? For what can be more juſt, what more holy, what better, what more to be deſired; or finally, what can be more acceptable, than to root out this wicked and abominable ſchiſm, to reſtore the church again unto her ancient liberty, to extinguiſh and put away all ſimony, and to condemn and deſtroy all errors and hereſies from amongſt the flock of the faithful? Nothing truly can be better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole world; and finally nothing more acceptable unto God. For the performance of which moſt holy and godly work, thou waſt elect and choſen of God, thou waſt firſt deputed and choſen in heaven, before thou waſt elect and choſen upon earth. Thou waſt firſt appointed by the celeſtial and heavenly prince, before the electors of the empire did elect or chooſe thee, and ſpecially that by the imperial force and power thou ſhouldſt condemn and deſtroy thoſe errors and hereſies which we have preſently in hand to be condemned and ſubverted. To the performance of this moſt holy work, God hath given unto thee the knowledge and underſtanding of his divine truth and verity, power of princely majeſty, and the juſt judgment of equity and righteouſneſs, as the Higheſt himſelf doth ſay: I have given thee underſtanding and wiſdom to ſpeak and utter my words, and have ſet thee to rule over nations and kingdoms, that thou ſhouldſt help the people, pluck down and deſtroy iniquity, and by exerciſing of juſtice thou ſhouldſt, I ſay, deſtroy all errors and hereſies, and ſpecially this obſtinate heretic here preſent, through whoſe wickedneſs and miſchief many places of the world are infected with moſt peſtilent and heretical poiſon, and by this means and occaſion almoſt utterly ſubverted and deſtroyed. This moſt holy and godly labour, O moſt noble prince, was reſerved only for thee, upon thee it doth only lie, unto whom the whole rule and miniſtration of juſtice is given. Wherefore thou haſt eſtabliſhed thy praiſe and renown, even by the mouths of infants and ſucking babes, for thy praiſes ſhall be celebrate for evermore, that thou haſt deſtroyed and overthrown ſuch and ſo great enemies of the faith. The which that thou mayſt proſperouſly and happily perform and bring to paſs, our Lord Jeſus vouchſafe to grant thee his grace and help, who is bleſſed for ever and ever. Amen."

When this ſermon was thus ended, the proctor of the council riſing up, named Henricus de Piro, required, that the proceſs of the cauſe againſt John Hus might be continued, and that they might proceed unto the definitive ſentence. Then a certain biſhop, which was appointed one of the judges, declared the proceſs of the cauſe, which was pleaded long ſince in the court of Rome, and elſewhere, between John Hus and the prelates of Prague.

At the laſt he repeated thoſe articles which we have before remembered; amongſt the which he rehearſed alſo one article, that John Hus ſhould teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhood to be one Chriſt. John Hus went about briefly with a word or two to anſwer every of them; but as often as he was about to ſpeak, the cardinal of Cambray commanded him to hold his peace, ſaying, Hereafter you ſhall anſwer all together, if you will. Then ſaid John Hus, How can I at once anſwer all theſe things which are alledged againſt me, when as I cannot remember them all? Then ſaid the cardinal of Florence, We have heard thee ſufficiently. But when as John Hus for all that would not hold his peace, they ſent the officers which ſhould force him thereunto. Then began he to intreat, pray, and beſeech them, that they would hear him, that ſuch as were preſent might not credit or believe thoſe things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing prevail, he kneeling down upon his knees, committed the whole matter unto God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for at their hands he believed eaſily to obtain that which he deſired.

When the articles aboveſaid were ended, laſt of all there was added a notable blaſphemy, which they all imputed to John Hus, that is, that he ſaid there ſhould be a fourth perſon in divinity, and that a certain doctor did hear him ſpeak of the ſame, When John Hus deſired that the doctor might be named, the biſhop that alledged the article ſaid, That it was not needful to name him. Then ſaid John Hus, O miſerable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to bear ſuch a blaſphemy and ſlander!

Afterward the article was repeated, how he appealed unto Chriſt, and that by name was called heretical. Whereunto John Hus anſwered, O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe word is openly condemned here in this council, unto thee again I do appeal; which when thou waſt evil intreated of thine enemies, didſt appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cauſe unto a moſt juſt judge, that by thy example, we alſo, being oppreſſed with manifeſt wrongs and injuries, ſhould flee unto thee. Laſt of all the article was rehearſed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by John Hus. Whereunto he anſwered as before, that he was excuſed by his advocates in the court of Rome, wherefore he did not appear when he was cited; and alſo that it may be proved by the acts, that the excommunication was not ratified; and finally, to the intent he might clear himſelf of obſtinacy, he was for that cauſe come unto Conſtance, under the emperor's ſafe conduct. When he had ſpoken theſe words, one of them which was appointed judge, read the definitive ſentence againſt him, which followeth thus word for word.

The Sentence of Judgment of the Council of Conſtance againſt John Hus.

THE moſt holy and ſacred general council of Conſtance, being congregate and gathered together, repreſenting the catholic church, for a perpetual memory of the thing, as the verity and truth did witneſs, An evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit; hereupon it cometh, that the man of moſt damnable memory, John Wickliff, through his peſtiferous doctrine, not through Jeſus Chriſt by the goſpel, as the holy fathers in times paſt have begotten faithful children, but contrary unto the wholeſome faith of Jeſus Chriſt, as a moſt venomous root, hath begotten many peſtilent and wicked children, whom he hath left behind him, ſucceſſors and followers of his perverſe and wicked doctrine, againſt whom this ſacred ſynod of Conſtance is forced to riſe up,

as

as againſt baſtards and unlawful children, and with diligent care, with the ſharp knife of the eccleſiaſtical authority, to cut up their errors out of the Lord's field, as moſt hurtful brambles and briars, leſt they ſhould grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

Forſomuch then as in the holy general council, lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed, That the doctrine of John Wickliff, of moſt damnable memory, ſhould be condemned, and that his books, which contained the ſame doctrine, ſhould be burned as heretical, and this decree was approved and confirmed by the ſacred authority of the whole council; nevertheleſs, one John Hus here perſonally preſent in this ſacred council, not the diſciple of Chriſt, but of John Wickliff, an arch-heretic, after, and contrary or againſt the condemnation and decree, hath taught, preached, and affirmed the articles of Wickliff, which were condemned by the church of God, and in times paſt by certain moſt reverend fathers in Chriſt, lords, archbiſhops, and biſhops, of divers kingdoms and realms, maſters of divinity of divers univerſities; eſpecially reſiſting in his open ſermons, and alſo with his adherents and complices in the ſchools, the condemnation of the ſaid articles of Wickliff's, oftentimes publiſhed in the ſaid univerſity of Prague, and hath declared him the ſaid Wickliff, for the favour and commendation of his doctrine, before the whole multitude of the clergy and people, to be a catholic man, and a true evangelical doctor. He hath alſo publiſhed and affirmed certain and many of his articles worthily condemned to be catholic, the which are notoriouſly contained in the books of the ſaid John Hus.

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information firſt had upon the premiſes by the reverend fathers and lords in Chriſt of the holy church of Rome, cardinals, patriarchs, archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelates, doctors of divinity, and of both laws, in great number aſſembled and gathered together, this moſt ſacred and holy council of Conſtance declareth and determineth the articles aboveſaid (the which, after due conference had, are found in his books written with his own hand, the which alſo the ſaid John Hus in open audience, before this holy council, hath confeſſed to be his books) not to be catholic, neither worthy to be taught, but that many of them are erroneous, ſome of them wicked, otherſome offenſive to godly ears, many of them temerarious and ſeditious, and the greater part of them notoriouſly heretical, and even now of late by the holy fathers and general councils reproved and condemned. And forſomuch as the ſaid articles are expreſsly contained in the books of the ſaid John Hus, therefore this ſaid ſacred council doth condemn and reprove all thoſe books which he wrote, in what form or phraſe ſoever they be, or whether they be tranſlated by others; and doth determine and decree, That they all ſhall be ſolemnly and openly burned in the preſence of the clergy and people of the city of Conſtance, and elſewhere; adding moreover for the premiſes, that all his doctrine is worthy to be deſpiſed and eſchewed of all faithful chriſtians. And to the intent this moſt pernicious and wicked doctrine may be utterly excluded and ſhut out of the church, this ſacred ſynod doth ſtraitly command, that diligent inquiſition be made by the ordinaries of the places by the eccleſiaſtical cenſure, for ſuch treatiſes and works, and that ſuch as are found be conſumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found which ſhall contemn or deſpiſe this ſentence or decree, this ſacred ſynod ordaineth and decreeth, that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquiſitors of hereſies, ſhall proceed againſt every ſuch perſon as ſuſpect of herely.

Wherefore, after due inquiſition made againſt the ſaid John Hus, and full information had by the commiſſaries and doctors of both laws, and alſo by the ſayings of the witneſſes which were worthy of credit, and many other things openly read before the ſaid John Hus, and before the fathers and prelates of this ſacred council (by the which allegations of the witneſſes it appeareth, that the ſaid John Hus hath taught many evil and offenſive, ſeditious and perilous hereſies, and hath preached the ſame by a long time), this moſt ſacred and holy ſynod, lawfully congregate and gathered together of the Holy Ghoſt, the name of Chriſt being invocate and called upon, by this their ſentence which here is ſet forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth and decreeth, that John Hus was and is a true and manifeſt heretic, and that he hath preached openly errors and hereſies lately condemned by the church of God, and many ſeditious, temerarious, and offenſive things, to no ſmall offence of the divine Majeſty, and of the univerſal church, and detriment of the catholic faith and church, neglecting and deſpiſing the keys of the church, and eccleſiaſtical cenſures. In the which his error he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardened by the ſpace of many years, much offending the faithful chriſtians by his obſtinacy and ſtubbornneſs, when as he made his appeal unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as the moſt high Judge, omitting and leaving all eccleſiaſtical means. In the which his appeal he alledgeth many falſe, injurious, and offenſive matters, in contempt of the apoſtolic ſee, and the eccleſiaſtical cenſures and keys.

Whereupon, both for the premiſes and many other things, the ſaid ſynod pronounceth John Hus to be an heretic, and judgeth him by theſe preſents to be condemned and judged as an heretic; and reproveth the ſaid appeal as injurious, offenſive, and done in deriſion unto the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and judgeth the ſaid Hus not only to have ſeduced the chriſtian people by his writings and preachings, and ſpecially in the kingdom of Bohemia, neither to have been a true preacher of the goſpel of Chriſt unto the ſaid people, according to the expoſition of the holy doctors; but alſo to have been a ſeducer of them, and alſo an obſtinate and ſtiffnecked perſon, yea and ſuch an one as doth not deſire to return again to the lap of our holy mother the church, neither to abjure the errors and hereſies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this moſt ſacred council decreeth and declareth, that the ſaid John Hus ſhall be famouſly depoſed and degraded from his prieſtly orders and dignity, &c.

Whilſt theſe things were thus read, John Hus, albeit he were forbidden to ſpeak, notwithſtanding did often interrupt them, and ſpecially when he was reproved of obſtinacy, he ſaid with a loud voice: I was never obſtinate, but as always heretofore, even ſo now again I deſire to be taught by the holy ſcriptures, and I do profeſs myſelf to be ſo deſirous of the truth, that if I might by one only word ſubvert the errors of all heretics, I would not refuſe to enter into what peril or danger ſoever it were. When his books were condemned, he ſaid, "Wherefore have you condemned thoſe books, when as you have not proved by any one article that they are contrary to the ſcriptures, or articles of faith? And moreover what injury is this that you do to me, that you have condemned theſe books written in the Bohemian tongue, which you never ſaw, neither yet read?" And oftentimes looking up unto heaven, he prayed.

When the ſentence and judgment was ended, kneeling down upon his knees, he ſaid, "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knoweſt that I am falſely accuſed, and that they have uſed falſe witneſs and ſlanders againſt me; forgive them, I ſay, for thy great mercies ſake." This his prayer and oration the greater part, and ſpecially the chief of the prieſts, did deride and mock.

At the laſt, the ſeven biſhops which were choſen out to degrade him of his prieſthood commanded him to put on the garments pertaining unto prieſthood; which thing when he had done, until he came to the putting on of the Albe, he called to his remembrance the white veſture

ture which Herod put on Jeſus Chriſt to mock him withal. So likewiſe in all other things he did comfort himſelf by the example of Chriſt. When he had now put on all his prieſtly veſtures, the biſhops exhorted him that he ſhould yet alter and change his mind and purpoſe, and provide for his honour and ſafeguard; then he (according as the manner of the ceremony is) going up to the top of the ſcaffold, being full of tears, ſpake unto the people in this ſort.

"Theſe lords and biſhops do exhort and counſel me, that I ſhould here confeſs before you all that I have erred; the which thing to do, if it were ſuch as might be done with the infamy and reproach of man only, they might peradventure eaſily perſuade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the ſight of the Lord my God, without whoſe great ignominy and grudge of mine own conſcience, I can by no means do that which they require of me. For I do well know, that I never taught any of thoſe things which they have falſely alledged againſt me, but I have always preached, taught, written, and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then ſhould I behold the heavens? With what face ſhould I look upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if through me it ſhould come to paſs that thoſe things, which they have hitherto known to be moſt certain and ſure, ſhould now be made uncertain? Should I by this my example aſtoniſh or trouble ſo many ſouls, ſo many conſciences, indued with the moſt firm and certain knowledge of the ſcriptures and goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt and his moſt pure doctrine, armed againſt all the aſſaults of ſatan? I will never do it, neither commit any ſuch kind of offence, that I ſhould ſeem more to eſteem this vile carcaſe, appointed unto death than their health and ſalvation." At this moſt godly word he was forced again to hear, by the conſent of the biſhops, that he did obſtinately and maliciouſly perſevere in his pernicious and wicked errors.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment; and in his coming down, one of the ſeven biſhops afore rehearſed, firſt took away the chalice from him which he held in his hand, ſaying, "O curſed Judas, why haſt thou forſaken the counſel and ways of peace, and haſt counſelled with the Jews? We take away from thee this chalice of thy ſalvation." But John Hus received this curſe in this manner: But I truſt unto God, the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for whoſe ſake I do ſuffer theſe things, that he will not take away the chalice of his redemption, but have a ſtedfaſt and firm hope, that this day I ſhall drink thereof in his kingdom. Then followed the other biſhops in order, which every one of them took away the veſtments from him which they had put on him, each one of them giving him their curſe. Whereunto John Hus anſwered, "That he did willingly embrace and bear thoſe blaſphemies for the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt." At the laſt they came to the raſing of his ſhaven crown. But before the biſhops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention between them, with what inſtrument it ſhould be done, with a razor, or with a pair of ſhears.

In the mean ſeaſon, John Hus turning himſelf toward the emperor, ſaid, "I marvel that forſomuch as they be all of like cruel mind and ſtomach, yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty." Notwithſtanding, at the laſt they agreed to cut off the ſkin of the crown of his head with a pair of ſhears. And when they had done that, they added theſe words, "Now hath the church taken away all her ornaments and privileges from him." Now there reſteth nothing elſe, but that he be delivered over unto the ſecular power. But before they did that, there yet remained another knack of reproach. For they cauſed to be made a certain crown of paper, almoſt a cubit high, in the which were painted three devils of wonderful ugly ſhape, and this title ſet over their heads, Hereſiarcha. The which when he ſaw, he ſaid, "My Lord Jeſus Chriſt for my ſake did wear a crown of thorns; why ſhould not I then for his ſake again wear this light crown, be it never ſo ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly." When it was ſet upon his head, the biſhop ſaid, "Now we commit thy ſoul unto the devil. But I, ſaid John Hus (lifting his eyes up towards the heavens), do commit my ſpirit into thy hands, O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, unto thee I commend my ſpirit which thou haſt redeemed." Theſe contumelious opprobries thus ended, the biſhops turning themſelves towards the emperor, ſaid, "This moſt ſacred ſynod of Conſtance leaveth now John Hus, which hath no more any office, or to do in the church of God, unto the civil judgment and power." Then the emperor commanded Ludovicus, duke of Bavaria, which ſtood before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the croſs in his hand, that he ſhould receive John Hus of the biſhops, and deliver him unto them which ſhould do the execution. By whom as he was led to the place of execution, before the church doors he ſaw his books burning; whereat he ſmiled and laughed. And all men that paſſed by he exhorted, not to think that he ſhould die for any error or hereſy, but only for the hatred and ill will of his adverſaries, which had charged him with moſt falſe and unjuſt crimes. All the whole city in manner being in armour followed him.

The place appointed for the execution was before the gate Gotlebian, between the gardens and gates of the ſuburbs. When as John Hus was come thither, kneeling down upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he prayed, and ſaid certain pſalms, and ſpecially the 31ſt and 50th pſalms. And they which ſtood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a merry and chearful countenance, repeat this verſe, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit," &c. Which thing when the lay-people beheld which ſtood next unto him, they ſaid, "What hath he done afore, we know not, but now we ſee and hear that he doth ſpeak and pray very devoutly and godly." Otherſome wiſhed that he had a confeſſor. There was a certain prieſt by, ſitting on horſeback, in a green gown, drawn about with red ſilk, which ſaid, "He ought not to be heard, becauſe he is an heretic." Yet notwithſtanding, whilſt he was in priſon, he was both confeſſed, and alſo abſolved by a certain doctor, a monk, as Hus himſelf doth witneſs in a certain epiſtle which he wrote unto his friends out of priſon. Thus Chriſt reigneth unknown unto the world, even in the midſt of his enemies. In the mean time whilſt he prayed, as he bowed his neck backward to look upward unto heaven, the crown of paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the ſoldiers taking it up again, ſaid, Let us put it again upon his head, that he may be burned with his maſters the devils, whom he hath ſerved.

When as by the commandment of the tormentors he was riſen up from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he ſaid, "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, aſſiſt and help me, that with a conſtant and patient mind, by thy moſt gracious help, I may bear and ſuffer this cruel and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the preaching of thy moſt holy goſpel and word." Then, as before, he declared the cauſe of his death unto the people. In the mean ſeaſon the hangman ſtripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him faſt unto the ſtake with ropes that were made wet. And whereas by chance he was turned towards the eaſt, certain cried out that he ſhould not look towards the eaſt, for he was an heretic: ſo he was turned towards the weſt. Then was his neck tied with a chain unto the ſtake, the which chain when he beheld, ſmiling he ſaid, "That he would willingly receive the ſame chain for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, who, he knew, was bound with a far worſe chain." Under his feet they ſet two faggots,

gots, admixing ſtraw withal, and ſo likewiſe from the feet up to the chin he was incloſed in round about with wood. But before the wood was ſet on fire, Lodovicus duke of Bavaria, with another gentleman with him, which was the ſon of Clement, came and exhorted John Hus, that he would yet be mindful of his ſafeguard, and renounce his errors. To whom he ſaid, "What error ſhould I renounce, when as I know myſelf guilty of none? For as for thoſe things which are falſely alledged againſt me, I know that I never did ſo much as once think them, much leſs preach them. For this was the principal end and purpoſe of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penance and remiſſion of ſins, according to the verity of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the expoſition of the holy doctors: wherefore with a chearful mind and courage I am here ready to ſuffer death." When he had ſpoken theſe words, they left him, and ſhaking hands together, they departed.

Then was the fire kindled, and John Hus began to ſing with a loud voice, Jeſus Chriſt the ſon of the living God have mercy upon me. And when he began to ſay the ſame the third time, the wind drove the flame ſo upon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithſtanding he moved a while after, by the ſpace that a man might almoſt ſay three times the Lord's prayer. When all the wood was burned and conſumed, the upper part of the body was left hanging in the chain, the which they threw down ſtake and all, and making a new fire, burned it, the head being firſt cut in ſmall gobbets, that it might the ſooner be conſumed unto aſhes. The heart, which was found amongſt the bowels, being well beaten with ſtaves and clubs, was at laſt pricked upon a ſharp ſtick, and roaſted at a fire apart until it was conſumed. Then with great diligence gathering the aſhes together, they caſt them into the river of Rhine, that the leaſt remnant of the aſhes of that man ſhould not be left upon the earth, whoſe memory notwithſtanding cannot be aboliſhed out of the minds of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

I know very well that theſe things are very ſlenderly written of me as touching the labours of this moſt holy martyr John Hus, with whom the labours of Hercules are not to be compared. For that ancient Hercules ſlew a few monſters; but this our Hercules with a moſt ſtout and valiant courage, hath ſubdued even the world itſelf, the mother of all monſters and cruel beaſts. This ſtory were worthy ſome other kind of more curious handling; but forſomuch as I cannot otherwiſe perform it myſelf, I have endeavoured according to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the ſame unto all godly minds: neither have I heard it reported by others, but I myſelf was preſent at the doing of all theſe things, and as I was able, I have put them in writing, that by this my labour and endeavour, howſoever it were, I might preſerve the memory of this holy man and excellent doctor of the evangelical truth.

What was the name of this author which wrote this ſtory, it is not here expreſſed. Cochleus in his ſecond book Contra Huſſitas, ſuppoſeth his name to be Johannes Pizibram, a Bohemian; who afterward ſucceeding in the place of John Hus at Prague, at laſt is thought to relent to the papiſts.

This godly ſervant and martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the cruel council, and burned at Conſtance, Anno 1415, about the month of July.

How grievouſly this death of John Hus was taken among the nobles of Bohemia and Moravia, hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appear by their letters which they ſent unto the council, and by the letters of Sigiſmund the king of the Romans, written unto them. Wherein he laboureth, all that he can, to purge and excuſe himſelf of Hus's death. Albeit he was not altogether free from that cruel fact, and innocent from that blood: yet notwithſtanding he pretendeth in words ſo to wipe away that blot from him, that the greateſt part of that crime ſeemeth to reſt upon the bloody prelates of that council; as the words of the king do purport in form as followeth.

IN the mean time as we are about the coaſts of Rhine, John Hus went to Conſtance, and there was arreſted, as it is not to you unknown. Who, if he had firſt reſorted unto us, and had gone with us up to the council, perhaps it had been otherwiſe with him. And God knoweth what grief and ſorrow it was to our heart, to ſee it ſo to fall out, as with no words can be well expreſſed. Whereof all the Bohemians, which were there preſent, can bear us witneſs, ſeeing and beholding how careful and ſolicitous we were labouring for him: inſomuch that we many times with anger and fury departed out of the council; and not only out of the council, but alſo went out of the city of Conſtance taking his part, unto ſuch time as the rulers of the council ſending unto us, ſaid; "That if we would not permit them to proſecute that which right required in the council, what ſhould they then do in the place?" Whereupon thus we thought with ourſelves, that here was nothing elſe for us to do, nor yet to ſpeak in this caſe, foraſmuch as the whole council otherwiſe had been diſſolved. Where is to be noted moreover, that in Conſtance the ſame time there was not one clerk, or two, but there were ambaſſadors from all kings and princes in Chriſtendom, eſpecially ſince the time that (Petrus de Luna giving over) all thoſe kings and princes which took his part, came to us; ſo that whatſoever good was to be done, it was now to be paſſed in this preſent council, &c. Ex Regiſt. Imp. Sigiſmund. ad Nobiles.

By this it may appear that the emperor, as partly aſhamed and ſorry of that which was, would gladly have cleared himſelf thereof, and have waſhed his hands with Pilate; yet he could not ſo clear himſelf, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehenſion, as may appear by his laſt words ſpoken in the council to John Hus, whereof John Hus in his epiſtle complaineth, writing to certain of his friends in Bohemia in his thirty-third epiſtle, as by his words here following may appear.

"I Deſire you yet again for the love of God, that the lords of Bohemia joining together will deſire the king for a final audience to be given to me. Forſomuch as he alone ſaid to me in the council, that they ſhould give me audience ſhortly, and that I ſhould anſwer for myſelf briefly in writing: it will be to his great confuſion, if he ſhall not perform that which he hath ſpoken. But I fear that word of his will be as firm and ſure as the other was concerning my ſafe conduct granted by him. Certain there were in Bohemia, which willed me to beware of his ſafe conduct. And other ſaid, he will ſurely give you to your enemies. And the Mikeſt Dwaky told me before M. Jeſſenitz, ſaying, Maſter, know it for certain you ſhall be condemned. And this I ſuppoſe he ſpake, knowing before the intention of the king. I hoped well that he had been well affected toward the law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence: now I conceive that he is not greatly ſkilful, nor ſo prudently circumſpect in himſelf. He condemned me before mine enemies did; who, if it had pleaſed him, might have kept the moderation of Pilate the Gentile, which ſaid: I find no cauſe in this man: or at leaſt if he had ſaid but thus, Behold, I have given him his ſafe conduct ſafely to return: And if he will not abide the deciſion of the council, I will ſend him home to the king of Bohemia with your ſentence and atteſtations, that he with his clergy may judge him. But now I hear by the relation of Henry Leffy, and of other, that he will ordain for me ſufficient audience; and if I will not ſubmit myſelf

ENGRAVED
for the
PRIMITIVE MARTYRS.

The Martyrdom *of* JOHN HUS.

T. Smith delin et sculp.

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ſelf tothe judgment of the council, he will ſend me ſafe, the contrary way, &c."

This John Hus being in priſon, wrote divers treatiſes, as of the commandments, of the Lord's prayer, of mortal ſin, of matrimony, of the knowledge and love of God, of three enemies of mankind, the world, and fleſh, and the devil, of penance, of the ſacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, of the ſufficiency of the law of God to rule the church, &c. He wrote alſo divers epiſtles and letters to the lords, and to his friends of Bohemia; and in his writings did foreſhew many things before to come, touching the reformation of the church; and ſeemeth in the priſon to have had divers prophetical revelations ſhewed to him of God. Certain of which his letters and predictions, I thought here underneath to inſert, in ſuch ſort, as neither in reciting all I will overcharge the volume too much; nor yet in reciting of any will I be ſo brief, but that the reader may have ſome taſte, and take ſome profit of the chriſtian writings and doings of this bleſſed man; firſt beginning with the letter of the lord Clum, concerning the ſafe conduct of John Hus.

A Letter of the Lord John de Clum, concerning the ſafe Conduct of John Hus.

TO all and ſingular that ſhall ſee and hear theſe preſents, I John de Clum do it to underſtand, how maſter John Hus bachelor of divinity, under the ſafe conduct and protection of the renowned prince and lord Sigiſmund of Romans, ſemper Auguſtus, and king of Hungary, &c. my gracious lord, and under the protection, defence, and ſafeguard of the holy empire of Rome, having the letters patent of the ſaid my lord king of Romans, &c. came unto Conſtance to render a full account of his faith in public audience to all that would require the ſame. This the ſaid maſter John Hus, in this imperial city of Conſtance, under the ſafe conduct of the ſaid my lord king of Romans, hath been and yet is detained. And although the pope with the cardinals have been ſeriouſly required by ſolemn ambaſſadors of the ſaid my lord king of Romans, &c. in the king's name and behalf, that the ſaid maſter John Hus ſhould be ſet at liberty, and be reſtored unto me, yet notwithſtanding, they have and yet do refuſe hitherto to ſet him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the ſafe conduct of the king, and of the ſafeguard and protection of the empire, or imperial majeſty. Wherefore I John aforeſaid, in the name of the king, do here publiſh and make it known, that the apprehending and detaining of the ſaid maſter John Hus was done wholly againſt the will of the forenamed king of Romans my lord, ſeeing it is done in the contempt of the ſafe conduct of his ſubjects, and of the protection of the empire, becauſe that the ſaid my lord was then abſent far from Conſtance, and if he had been there preſent, would never have permitted the ſame. And when he ſhall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he, for this great injury and contempt of his ſafe conduct done to him and to the empire, will grievouſly be moleſted for the ſame.

Given at Conſtance, in the day of the nativity of the Lord 1414.

In this inſtrument above prefixed, note (gentle reader) three things.

Firſt, The goodneſs of this gentle lord John de Clum, being ſo fervent and zealous in the cauſe of John Hus, or rather in the cauſe of Chriſt.

Secondly, The ſafe conduct granted unto the ſaid John Hus, under the faith and protection of the emperor, and of the empire.

Thirdly, Here is to be ſeen the contempt and rebellion of theſe proud prelates, in diſobeying the authority of their high magiſtrate, who contrary to his ſafe conduct given, and the mind of the emperor, did arreſt and impriſon this good man, before the coming of the ſaid emperor, and before that John Hus was heard. Let us now, as we have promiſed, adjoin ſome of the epiſtles of this godly man.

An Epiſtle of John Hus, unto the People of Prague, in his own vulgar Speech.

GRACE and peace from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you being delivered from ſin may walk in his grace, and may grow in all modeſty and virtue, and after this may enjoy eternal life.

Dearly beloved, I beſeech you which walk after the law of God, that you caſt not away the care of the ſalvation of your ſouls, when as you hearing the word of God are premoniſhed wiſely to underſtand that you be not deceived by falſe apoſtles; which do not reprehend the ſins of men, but rather do extenuate and diminiſh them; which flatter the prieſts, and do not ſhew to the people their offences; which magnify themſelves, boaſt their own works, and marvellouſly extol their own worthineſs, but follow not Chriſt in his humility, in poverty, in the croſs and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our merciful Saviour did premoniſh us before, ſaying; "Falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets ſhall riſe, and ſhall deceive many." And when he had forwarned his well-beloved diſciples, he ſaid unto them, "Beware and take heed of falſe prophets, which come to you in ſheeps clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: ye ſhall know them by their fruits." And truth it is, that the faithful of Chriſt have much need diligently to beware and take heed unto themſelves. For as our Saviour himſelf doth ſay, The elect alſo, if it were poſſible, ſhall be brought into error. Wherefore my well-beloved, be circumſpect and watchful, that ye be not circumvented with the crafty trains of the devil. And the more circumſpect ye ought to be, for that antichriſt laboureth the more to trouble you. The laſt judgment is near at hand: death ſhall ſwallow up many, but to the elect children of God the kingdom of God draweth near, becauſe for them he gave his own body. Fear not death, love together one another, perſevere in underſtanding the good will of God without ceaſing. Let the terrible and horrible day of judgment be always before your eyes, that you ſin not; and alſo the joy of eternal life, whereunto you muſt endeavour. Furthermore, let the paſſion of our Saviour be never out of your minds; that you may bear with him, and for him gladly, whatſoever ſhall be laid upon you. For if you ſhall conſider well in your minds his croſs and afflictions, nothing ſhall be grievous unto you, and patiently you ſhall give place to tribulations, curſings, rebukes, ſtripes, and priſonment, and ſhall not doubt to give your lives moreover for his holy truth, if need require. Know ye, well-beloved, that antichriſt being ſtirred up againſt you, deviſeth divers perſecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the leaſt hair of their heads, as by mine own example I can teſtify, although he hath been vehemently incenſed againſt me. Wherefore I deſire you all, with your prayers to make interceſſion for me to the Lord, to give me intelligence, ſufferance, patience and conſtancy, that I never ſwerve from his divine verity. He hath brought me now to Conſtance. In all my journey, openly and manifeſtly, I have not feared to utter my name as becometh the ſervant of God. In no place I kept myſelf ſecret, nor uſed any diſſimulation. But never did I find in any place more peſtilent and manifeſt enemies than at Conſtance. Which enemies neither ſhould I have had there, had it not been for certain of our own Bohemians, hypocrites and deceivers, who for benefits received, and ſtirred up with covetouſneſs, with boaſting and bragging have perſuaded the people that I went about to ſeduce them

out

out of the right way: but I am in good hope, that through the mercy of our Gad, and by your prayers, I ſhall perſiſt ſtrongly in the immutable verity of God unto the laſt breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that whereas every one here is put in his office, I only as an outcaſt am neglected, &c. I commend you to the merciful Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our true God, and the Son of the immaculate virgin Mary, which hath redeemed us by his moſt bitter death, without all merits, from eternal pains, from the thraldom of the devil, and from ſin.

From Conſtance the year of our Lord 1415.

Another Letter of John Hus to his Benefactors.

MY gracious benefactors, and defenders of the truth, I exhort you by the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that now ye ſetting aſide the vanities of this preſent world, will give your ſervice to the eternal king, Chriſt the Lord. Truſt not in pfinces, nor in the ſons of men, in whom there is no health. For the ſons of men are diſſemblers and deceitful. To-day they are, to-morrow they periſh, but God remaineth for ever. Who hath his ſervants, not for any need he hath of them, but for their own profit: unto whom he performeth that which he promiſeth, and fulfilleth that which he purpoſeth to give. He caſteth off no faithful ſervant from him, for he ſaith, Where I am, there alſo ſhall my ſervant be. And the Lord maketh every ſervant of his to be the lord of all his poſſeſſion, giving himſelf unto him, and with himſelf, all things; that without all tediouſneſs, fear, and without all defect he, may poſſeſs all things, rejoicing with all ſaints in joy infinite. O happy is that ſervant, whom, when the Lord ſhall come, he ſhall find watching. Happy is the ſervant which ſhall receive that King of glory with joy. Wherefore, well beloved lords and benefactors, ſerve you that king in fear; which ſhall bring you, as I truſt, now to Bohemia at this preſent by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternal life of glory. Fare you well, for I think that this is the laſt letter that I ſhall write to you; who to-morrow, as I ſuppoſe, ſhall be purged in hope of Jeſus Chriſt, through bitter death for my ſins. The things that happened to me this night I am not able to write. Sigiſmund hath done all things with me deceitfully, God forgive him, and only for your ſakes. You alſo heard the ſentence which he awarded againſt me. I pray you have no ſuſpicion of faithful Vitus.

Another Letter to the Lord John de Clum.

MOST gracious benefactor in Chriſt Jeſus, dearly beloved, yet I rejoice not a little, that by the grace of God I may write unto your honour. By your letter, which I received yeſterday, I underſtand, Firſt, how the iniquity of the great ſtrumpet, that is, of the malignant congregation (whereof mention is made in the Apocalyps) is detected, and ſhall be more detected. With the which ſtrumpet the kings of the earth do commit fornication, fornicating ſpiritually from Chriſt, and as is there ſaid, ſliding back from the truth, and conſenting to the lyes of antichriſt, through his ſeduction, and through fear, or through hope of confederacy, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly, I perceive by your letter how the enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceive the ſettled conſtancy of your charity, wherewith your profeſs the truth bodily. Fourthly, with joy I perceived that you mind now to give over the vanity and painful ſervice of this preſent world, and to ſerve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt quietly at home. Whom to ſerve is to reign, as Gregory ſaith, Whom he that ſerveth faithfully, hath Jeſus Chriſt himſelf in the kingdom of heaven to miniſter unto him, as he himſelf ſaith, Bleſſed is that ſervant, whom when the Lord ſhall come, he ſhall find waking, and ſo doing. Verily I ſay unto you, that he riſing ſhall gird himſelf, and ſhall miniſter to him. This do not the kings of the world to their ſervants, whom only they do love ſo long as they are profitable and neceſſary for their commodities, &c.

Another Epiſtle of John Hus, wherein he declareth why God ſuffereth not his to periſh, bringing divers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirm both himſelf and others.

THE Lord God be with you. Many cauſes there were, well-beloved in God my dear friends, which moved me to think that thoſe letters were the laſt, which before I ſent unto you, looking that ſame time for inſtant death.

But now, underſtanding the ſame to be deferred, I take it for great comfort unto me, that I have ſome leiſure more to talk with you by letters. And therefore I write again to you to declare and teſtify at leaſt my gratitude and mindful duty toward you.

And as touching death, God doth know why he doth defer it both to me, and to my well-beloved brother, maſter Jerom, who I truſt will die holily and without blame; and do know alſo that he doth, and ſuffereth now more valiantly, than I myſelf, a wretched ſinner.

God hath given us a long time, that we might call to memory our ſins the better, and repent for the ſame more fervently. He hath granted us time, that our long and great temptation ſhould put away our grievous ſins, and bring the more conſolation. He hath given us time, wherein we ſhould remember the horrible rebuke of our merciful king and Lord Jeſus, and ſhould ponder his cruel death, and ſo more patiently might learn to bear our afflictions.

And moreover that we might keep in remembrance, how that the joys of the life to come are not given after the joys of this world immediately, but through many tribulations the ſaints have entered into the kingdom of heaven. For ſome of them have been cut and chopt all to pieces, ſome their eyes bored through, ſome ſod, ſome roaſted, ſome ſlain alive, ſome buried quick, ſtoned, crucified, grinded betwixt milſtones, drawn and hauled hither and thither unto execution, drowned in waters, ſtrangled and hanged, torn in pieces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pined in priſons, and afflicted in bands.

And who is able to recite all the torments and ſufferings of the holy ſaints, which they ſuffered under the Old and New Teſtament for the verity of God; namely, thoſe which have at any time rebuked the malice of the prieſts, or have preached againſt their wickedneſs?

And it will be a marvel if any man now alſo ſhall eſcape unpuniſhed, whoſoever dare boldly reſiſt the wickedneſs and perverſity, eſpecially of thoſe prieſts which can abide no correction. And I am glad they are compelled now to read my books, in which their malice is ſomewhat deſcribed; and I know they have read the ſame more exactly and willingly than the holy goſpel, ſeeking therein to find out errors.

Given at Conſtance, upon Thurſday the 28th day of June, 1415.

Another Letter of John Hus, wherein he comforteth his Friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of his Books: and alſo declareth the Wickedneſs of the Clergy.

MAſter John Hus, in hope the ſervant of God, to all the faithful which love him and his ſtatutes, wiſheth the truth and grace of God.

Beloved,

Beloved, I thought it needful to warn that you ſhould not fear or be diſcouraged, becauſe the adverſaries have decreed that my books ſhall be burnt. Remember how the Iſraelites burned the preachings of the prophet Jeremy, and yet they could not avoid the things that were propheſied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the ſame prophecy again, and that larger, which was alſo done. For Jeremy ſitting in priſon ſpake, and Baruch, which was ready at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the thirty-fifth or forty-fifth chapter of the viſion of Jeremy. It is alſo written in the books of the Maccabees, "That the wicked did burn the law of God, and killed them that had the ſame." Again, under the New Teſtament, they burned the ſaints, with the books of the law of God. The cardinals condemned and committed to fire certain of Saint Gregory's books, and had burnt them all, if they had not been preſerved of God by the means of Peter, Gregory's miniſter. Having theſe things before your eyes, take heed leſt through fear you omit to read my books, and deliver them to the adverſaries to be burnt. Remember the ſayings of our merciful Saviour, by which he forewarneth us, Matth. 24. "There ſhall be (ſaith he) before the day of judgment, great tribulation, ſuch as was not from the beginning until this day, neither ſhall be afterwards: So that even the elect of God ſhall be deceived, if it were poſſible. But for their ſakes thoſe days ſhall be ſhortened." When you remember theſe things, beloved, be not afraid, for I truſt in God that the ſchool of antichriſt ſhall be afraid of you, and ſuffer you to be in quiet; neither ſhall the council of Conſtance extend to Bohemia. For I think that many of them which are of the council ſhall die before they ſhall get from you my books. And they ſhall depart from the council, and be ſcattered abroad, throughout the parts of the world, like ſtorks, and then they ſhall know, when winter cometh, what they did in ſummer. Conſider they have judged their head the pope worthy of death for many horrible facts that he hath done. Go to now; anſwer to this, you preachers, which preach that the pope is the god of the earth, that he may, as the lawyers ſay, make ſale of the holy things; that he is the head of the whole holy church, in verity well governing the ſame; that he is the heart of the church in quickening the ſame ſpiritually; that he is the well-ſpring, from which floweth all virtue and goodneſs; that he is the ſun of the holy church; that he is the ſafe refuge to which every chriſtian man ought to fly for ſuccour. Behold now that head is cut off with the ſword, now the god of the earth is bound, now his ſins are declared openly, now that well-ſpring is dried up, that ſun darkened, that heart is plucked out, and thrown away, leſt that any man ſhould ſeek ſuccour thereat. The council hath condemned that head, and that for this offence, becauſe he took money for indulgences, biſhopricks, and other ſuch like. But they condemned him by order of judgment, which were themſelves the buyers and ſellers of the ſame merchandiſe. There was preſent John, biſhop of Lytomiſſia, who went twice about to buy the biſhoprick of Prague, but others prevented him. O wicked men, why did they not firſt caſt out the beam out of their own eyes? Theſe men have accurſed and condemned the ſeller, but they themſelves which were the buyers and conſenters to the bargain, are without danger. What ſhall I ſay, that they do uſe this manner of buying and ſelling at home in their own countries? For at Conſtance there is one biſhop that bought, and another which ſold, and the pope for allowing of both their facts took bribes on both ſides. It came ſo to paſs in Bohemia alſo as you know. I would that in that council God had ſaid, "He that amongſt you is without ſin, let him give the ſentence againſt pope John." Then ſurely they had gone all out of the council-houſe, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him always, before this his fall, kiſs his feet, and call him The moſt holy father, ſeeing they ſaw apparently before, that he was an heretic, that he was a killer, that he was a wicked ſinner, all which things now they have found in him? Why did the cardinals chooſe him to be pope, knowing that he had killed the holy father? why ſuffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the office of the popedom? for to this end they are his counſellors, that they ſhould admoniſh him of that which is right. Are not they themſelves as guilty of theſe faults as he? ſeeing that they accounted theſe things vices in him, and were partakers of ſome of them themſelves? Why durſt no man lay aught to his charge, before he had fled from Conſtance; but as ſoon as the ſecular power, by the ſufferance of God, laid hold upon him, then, and never afore, they conſpired all together that he ſhould not live any longer? Surely even at this day is the malice, the abomination and filthineſs of antichriſt revealed in the pope and others of this council.

Now the faithful ſervant of God may underſtand what our Saviour Chriſt meant by this ſaying, "When you ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation, which is ſpoken of by Daniel, &c. whoſo can underſtand it," &c. Surely, theſe be great abominations, pride, covetouſneſs, ſimony, ſitting in a ſolitary place: that is to ſay, in a dignity void of goodneſs, of humility, and other virtues; as we do now clearly ſee in thoſe that are conſtituted in any office and dignity. O how acceptable a thing ſhould it be (if time would ſuffer me) to diſcloſe their wicked acts, which are now apparent, that the faithful ſervants of God might know them! I truſt in God that he will ſend after me thoſe that ſhall be more valiant; and there are alive at this day that ſhall make more manifeſt the malice of antichriſt, and ſhall give their lives to the death for the truth of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall give both to you and me the joys of life everlaſting. This epiſtle was written upon St. John Baptiſt's day, in priſon, and in cold irons, I having this meditation with myſelf, that John was beheaded in his priſon and bonds, for the word of God.

Another right godly Letter of John Hus to a certain Prieſt, admoniſhing him of his Office, and exhorting him to be faithful; worthy to be read of all Miniſters.

THE peace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c. My dear brother, be diligent in preaching the goſpel, and do the work of a good evangeliſt; neglect not your vocation; labour like a bleſſed ſoldier of Chriſt.

Firſt, Live godly and holily.

Secondly, Teach faithfully and truly.

Thirdly, Be an example to others in well-doing, that you be not reprehended in your ſaying; correct vice, and ſet forth virtue.

To evil livers, threaten eternal puniſhment; but to thoſe that be faithful and godly, ſet forth the comforts of eternal joy.

Preach continually; but be ſhort and fruitful; prudently underſtanding, and diſcreetly diſpenſing the holy ſcriptures.

Never affirm or maintain thoſe things that be uncertain and doubtful, leſt that your adverſaries take hold upon you, which rejoice in depraving their brethren, whereby they may bring the miniſters of God into contempt.

Exhort men to the confeſſion of their faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the body and blood of Chriſt, whereby ſuch as do repent earneſtly of their ſins, may the more often come to the holy communion.

And I warn you that you enter into no taverns with gueſts, and be not a common company-keeper.

For the more a preacher keepeth him from the company of men, the more he is regarded.

Albeit, deny not yet your help and diligence, whereſoever you may profit others.

Againſt fleſhly luſt preach continually all that ever you can; for that is the raging beaſt, which devoureth men, for whom the fleſh of Chriſt did ſuffer.

Wherefore, my heartily beloved, I beſeech you to fly fornication; for whereas a man would moſt profit and do good, there this vice uſeth moſt to lurk.

In any caſe fly the company of young women, and believe not their devotion: for St. Auguſtine ſaith, The more devout ſhe is, the more proclive to wantonneſs; and under the pretence of religion, the ſnare and venom of fornication lurketh.

And this know, my well-beloved, that the converſation with them ſubverteth many, whom the converſation of this world could never blemiſh nor beguile.

Admit no women into your houſe, for what cauſe ſoever it be; and have not much talk with them otherwiſe, for avoiding offence.

Finally, howſoever you do, fear God, and keep his precepts; ſo ſhall you walk wiſely, and ſhall not periſh; ſo ſhall you ſubdue the fleſh, contemn the world, and overcome the devil; ſo ſhall you put on God, find life, and confirm others, and ſhall crown yourſelf with the crown of glory, the which the juſt Judge ſhall give you. Amen.

The tragical and lamentable Hiſtory of the famous learned Man and godly Martyr of Chriſt, Maſter Jerome, of Prague, burned at Conſtance. for like Cauſe and Quarrel as Maſter John Hus was, 1416.

THESE things hitherto being diſcourſed, touching the life, acts, and conſtant martyrdom of maſter John Hus, with part alſo of his letters adjoined to the ſame, whoſe death was on the ſixth of July, anno 1416, now remaineth conſequently to deſcribe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his chriſtian companion, and fellow in bands, maſter Jerome of Prague. Who grievouſly ſorrowing the ſlanderous reproach and defamation of his country of Bohemia, and alſo hearing tell of the manifeſt injuries done unto that man of worthy memory, maſter John Hus; freely and of his own accord came unto Conſtance the fourth day of April, 1415. Who there perceiving that John Hus was denied to be heard, and that watch and wait was laid for him on every ſide, he departed to Iberling, a city of the empire, until the next day; the which city was a mile off from Conſtance, and from thence he wrote his letters by me unto Sigiſmund, king of Hungary, and his barons, and alſo unto the council, moſt earneſtly requiring, that the king and the council would give him a ſafe conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to anſwer unto every man, if there were any of the council that would lay any crime unto him, as by the tenor of his intimation ſhall at large appear.

When as the ſaid king of Hungary was required thereunto, as is aforeſaid, being in the houſe of the lord cardinal of Cambray, he denied to give maſter Jerome any ſafe conduct, excuſing himſelf for the evil ſpeed he had with the ſafe conduct of John Hus before, and alledging alſo certain other cauſes. The deputies alſo of the four nations of the council being moved thereunto by the lords of the kingdom of Bohemia, anſwered, "We (ſay they) will give him a ſafe conduct to come, but not to depart." Whoſe anſwers, when they were reported unto maſter Jerome, he the next day after wrote certain intimations according to the tenor under-written, which he ſent unto Conſtance, to be ſet upon the gates of the city, and upon the gates of the churches and monaſteries, and of the houſes of the cardinals, and other nobles and prelates. The tenor whereof here followeth word for word in this manner.

Unto the moſt noble prince and lord, the lord Sigiſmund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, always Auguſtus, and of Hungary, &c. I Jerome of Prague, maſter of art of the general univerſities of Paris, Cullen, Heidelberg, and Prague, by theſe my preſent letters do notify unto the king, together with the whole reverend council, and as much as in me lieth, do all men to underſtand and know, that becauſe of the crafty ſlanderers, backbiters, and accuſers, I am ready freely and of mine own will to come unto Conſtance, there to declare openly before the council, the purity and ſincerity of my true faith, and mine innocency, and not ſecretly in corners, before any private or particular perſon. Wherefore if there be any of my ſlanderers, of what nation or eſtate ſoever they be, which will object againſt me any crime of error or hereſy; let them come forth openly before me in the preſence of the whole council, and in their own names object againſt me, and I will be ready, as I have written, to anſwer openly and publicly before the whole council, of mine innocency, and to declare the purity and ſincerity of my true faith. And if ſo be that I ſhall be found culpable in error or hereſy, then I will not refuſe openly to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as ſhall be meet and worthy for an erroneous perſon, or an heretic.

Wherefore I muſt humbly beſeech my lord the king, and the whole ſacred council, That I may have to this end and purpoſe aforeſaid ſafe and ſure acceſs. And if it happen that I offering ſuch equity and right as I do, before any fault be proved againſt me, be arreſted, impriſoned, or have any violence done unto me; that then it may be manifeſt unto the whole world, that this general council doth not proceed according to equity and juſtice, if they would by any means put me back from this profound and ſtrait juſtice, being come hither freely of mine own mind and accord. The which thing I ſuppoſe to be far from ſo ſacred and holy council of wiſe men.

When as yet he through ſuch intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latin, and German tongue, being ſet up as is aforeſaid, could not get any ſafe conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights, ſpecially of the Bohemian nation, preſent in Conſtance, gave unto maſter Jerome their letters patent, confirmed with their ſeals, for a teſtimony and witneſs of the premiſes. With the which letters the ſaid maſter Jerome returned again unto Bohemia; but by the treaſon and conſpiracy of his enemies he was taken in Hirſaw by the officers of duke John, and in Zultzbach was brought back again to the preſence of the duke. In the mean time ſuch as were the ſetters forward of the council againſt maſter John Hus, and maſter Jerome; that is to ſay, Michael de Cauſis, and maſter Paletz, and other their accomplices, required that the ſaid maſter Jerome ſhould be cited by reaſon of his intimations, and certain days after the citation here under-written was ſet upon the gates and porches of the city and churches, which followeth here in this manner:

This moſt ſacred and holy ſynod and general council of Conſtance, faithfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghoſt, repreſenting the univerſal militant church, unto Jerome of Prague, which writeth himſelf to be a maſter of art of ſo many univerſities, and pretendeth thoſe things which are only pertaining unto ſobriety and modeſty, and that he knoweth no more than he ought, &c. Know thou, that there is a certain writing come unto our underſtanding and knowledge, the which was ſet up as it were by thine own perſon upon the gates of the churches and city of Conſtance, upon the Sunday, when there was ſung in the church of God, Quaſi modo geniti. Wherein thou doſt affirm, that thou wilt openly anſwer unto thy accuſers and ſlanderers which ſhall object any crime, error, or hereſy againſt

againſt thee, whereof thou art marvellouſly infamed and accuſed before us, and ſpecially touching the doctrine of Wickliff, and other doctrines contrary unto the catholic faith, ſo that thou mighteſt have granted unto thee a ſafe conduct to come. But forſomuch as it is our part principally and chiefly to foreſee and look unto theſe crafty foxes, which go about to deſtroy the vineyard of the Lord of hoſts, therefore we do cite and call forth by the tenor of theſe preſents thy perſon manifoldly defamed and ſuſpected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errors; ſo that within the term of fifteen days, to be accounted from the date of theſe preſents, whereof five days are appointed for the firſt term, five for the ſecond, and other five for the third; we do ordain and appoint by canonical admonition and warnning, that thou do appear in the public ſeſſions of the ſacred council, if there be any holden in the ſame day, or elſe the firſt day immediately following, when as any ſeſſion ſhall be according to the tenor of thy ſaid writing, to anſwer to thoſe things which any perſon or perſons ſhall object or lay againſt thee in any cauſe of thy faith, and to receive and have as juſtice ſhall require. Whereupon, ſo much as in us lieth, and as catholic faith ſhall require; we offer and aſſign to thee, by the tenor hereof, our ſafe conduct from all violence (juſtice always being ſaved); certifying thee, that whether thou doſt appear or not, the ſaid term or time appointed notwithſtanding, proceſs ſhall go forward againſt thee by the ſaid ſacred council, or by their commiſſary or commiſſaries, for the time aforeſaid not obſerved and kept, thy contumacy or ſtubbornneſs in any thing notwithſtanding. Given in the ſixth ſeſſion of the general council, the ſeventeenth day of April, under the ſeal of the preſidents of the four nations.

Grumpert, Faber-notary of the Germans.

AFTER that Sigiſmund, king of Hungary, with the reſt of the council, underſtood by the foreſaid duke John, that maſter Jerome was taken, they were earneſtly in hand, requiring that maſter Jerome ſhould be brought before them unto the council. The which duke John, after he had received letters of the king and the council, brought maſter Jerome bound unto Conſtance, whom his brother Ludovicus led through the city to the cloyſter of the Friars Minors in Conſtance, whereas the chief prieſts and elders of the people, ſcribes and phariſees, were gathered together, attending and waiting his coming. He the ſaid maſter Jerome carried a great handbolt of iron with a long chain in his hand, and as he paſſed, the chain made a great rattling and noiſe; and for the more confuſion and deſpite towards him, they led him by the ſame chain after duke Ludovicus aforeſaid, holding and ſtretching out the ſame a great way from him, with the which chain they alſo kept him bound in the cloyſter. When he was brought into the cloyſter, they read before him the letter of duke John, when he was ſent with the ſaid maſter Jerome unto the council, containing in effect, how that the ſaid duke John had ſent maſter Jerome unto the council, who by chance was fallen into his hands, becauſe he had heard an evil report of him, that he was ſuſpected of the hereſies of Wickliff; that the council might take order for him, whoſe part it was to correct and puniſh ſuch as did err and ſtray from the truth, beſides many other flattering tales which were written in the ſaid letter for the praiſe of the council. After this they read the citation which was given out by the council againſt maſter Jerome, whereof we have ſpoken before. Then certain of the biſhops ſaid unto him, Jerome, why didſt thou fly and run away, and didſt not appear when thou waſt cited? He anſwered, Becauſe I could not have any ſafe conduct, neither from you, neither from the king, as it appeareth by theſe letters patent of the barons, which you have, neither by mine open intimations could obtain any ſafe conduct.

Wherefore I, perceiving many of my grievous and heavy friends to be here preſent in the council, would not myſelf be the occaſion of my perils and dangers; but if I had known or had any underſtanding of this citation, without all doubt, albeit I had been in Bohemia, I would have returned again. Then all the whole rabble riſing up, alledged divers and ſundry accuſations and teſtimonies againſt him with a great noiſe and tumult. When the reſt held their peace, then ſpake maſter Gerſon, the chancellor of Paris, Jerome, when thou waſt at Paris, thou thoughteſt thyſelf by means of thy eloquence to be an angel, and didſt trouble the whole univerſity, alledging openly in the ſchools many erroneous concluſions with their corollaria, and eſpecially in the queſtion de univerſalibus & de idæis, with many other very offenſive queſtions. Unto whom maſter Jerome ſaid, I anſwer to you, maſter Gerſon: thoſe matters which I did put forth there in the ſchools at Paris, in the which alſo I anſwered to the arguments of the maſters, I did put them forth philoſophically, and as a philoſopher, and maſter of the univerſity; and if I have put forth any queſtions which I ought not to have put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will moſt humbly be informed, and amend the ſame.

While he was yet ſpeaking, another (as I ſuppoſe, the maſter of the univerſity of Cullen, upon the river of Rhine) riſing up, ſaid, When thou waſt alſo at Cullen in thy poſition which thou didſt there determine, thou didſt propound many erroneous matters. Then ſaid maſter Jerome unto him, Shew me firſt one error which I propounded. Wherewithal he being in a manner aſtoniſhed, ſaid, I do not remember them now at the firſt, but hereafter they ſhall be objected againſt you.

And by and by the third man riſing up, ſaid, When that you were alſo at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinity, and there painted out a certain ſhield or ſcutcheon, comparing the Trinity of perſons in divinity unto water, ſnow, and ice, and ſuch like. Unto whom maſter Jerome anſwered, Thoſe things that I wrote or painted there, the ſame will I alſo ſpeak, write, and paint here; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will moſt humbly revoke and recant the ſame.

Then certain cried out, Let him be burned, let him be burned. Unto whom he anſwered, If my death do delight or pleaſe you, in the name of God let it be ſo.

Then ſaid the archbiſhop of Saltſburg; Not ſo, maſter Jerome, forſomuch as it is written, I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he convert and live. When theſe and many other tumults and cries were paſſed, whereby they did then moſt diſorderly and outrageouſly witneſs againſt him, they delivered the ſaid maſter Jerome, being bound, unto the officers of the ſaid city of Conſtance, to be carried to priſonfor that night; and ſo every one of them returned to their lodgings.

In the mean time, one of the friends of maſter John Hus, looking out at a window of the cloiſter, ſaid unto him, Maſter Jerome. Then ſaid he, you are welcome, my dear brother. Then ſaid Peter unto him, Be conſtant, and fear not to ſuffer death for the truth's ſake, of the which, when you were in times paſt at liberty, you did preach ſo much goodneſs. Unto whom Jerome anſwered, Truly, brother, I do not fear death, and forſomuch as we know that we have ſpoken much thereof in time paſt, let us now ſee what may be known or done in effect. By and by, his keepers coming to the window, threatening him with ſtrokes, did put away the ſaid Peter from the window of the cloiſter.

Then came there one Vitus unto maſter Jerome, and ſaid, Maſter, how do you do? Unto whom he anſwered, Truly, brother, I do verywell. Then his keepers coming about

about him, laid hold of the ſaid Vitus, ſaying, This is alſo one of the number, and kept him. When it drew towards evening, the archbiſhop of Rigen ſent certain of his ſervants, which led away maſter Jerome, being ſtrongly bound with chains, both by the hands and by the neck, and kept him ſo for certain hours. When night drew on, they carried him unto a certain tower of the city in St. Paul's church-yard, where they tying him faſt unto a great block, and his feet in the ſtocks, his hands alſo being made faſt upon them, they left him; whereas the block was ſo high, that he could by no means ſit thereupon, but that his head muſt hang downward. They carried alſo the ſaid Vitus unto the archbiſhop of Rigen, who demanded of him, Why he durſt be bold to talk with ſuch a man being a reprobate of all men, and an heretic: and when as he could find no cauſe of impriſonment in him, and that he ſaid he was maſter John de Clum's friend (taking an oath and promiſe of him, that he ſhould not go about to endamage the council by reaſon of that impriſonment and captivity) ſo diſmiſſed him and ſent him away.

Maſter Jerome, unknown to us whither he was carried, lay in the ſaid tower two days and two nights, relieved only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers, coming unto maſter Peter, declared unto him how that maſter Jerome lay hard by in bonds and chains, and how he was fed. Then maſter Peter deſired that he might have leave given him to give him meat, becauſe he would procure the ſame unto him. The keeper of the priſon, granting his requeſt, carried meat unto him. Within eleven days after, ſo hanging by the heels, he uſed ſo ſmall repaſt, that he fell ſore ſick even unto the death. When as he living then in that captivity and priſon, deſired to have a confeſſor, they of the council denied that he ſhould have any, until ſuch time as by great importunity he obtained to have one; his friends being then there preſent in the ſame priſon and tower, wherein he then lay by the ſpace of one year lacking but ſeven days.

After they had put John Hus to death, then about the feaſt of the nativity of Mary the virgin, they brought forth maſter Jerome, whom they had kept ſo long in chains, unto the church of Saint Paul: and threatening him with death, being inſtant upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and conſent unto the death of maſter John Hus, that he was juſtly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what for fear of death, and hoping thereby to eſcape out of their hands, according to their will and pleaſure, and according to the tenor which was exhibited unto him, did make abjuration, and that in the cathedral church and open ſeſſion; the draught whereof was penned to him by the papiſts.

After all this, they cauſed him to be carried again unto the ſame priſon, but not ſo ſtratly chained and bound as he was before: notwithſtanding kept every day with ſoldiers and armed men. And when as afterward his enemies which were appointed againſt him, as Michael de Cauſis, and wicked Paletz, with other their companions in theſe affairs, underſtood and knew by the words and talk of maſter Jerome, and by other certain tokens, that he made the ſame abjuration and recantation, not of a ſincere and pure mind, but only to the intent thereby to eſcape their hands, they, together with certain friars of Prague, of the order of Carmelites, then coming in, put up new accuſations againſt the ſaid maſter Jerome, and drew the ſame into articles, being very inſtant and earneſt that he ſhould anſwer thereunto. And forſomuch as his judges, and certain cardinals; as the cardinal of Cambray, the cardinal de Urſinis, the cardinal of Aquilegia, and of Florence, conſidering the malice of the enemies of maſter Jerome, did ſee the great injury that was done unto him, they laboured before the whole council for his delivery.

It happened upon a certain day, as they were labouring in the council for the delivery of the ſaid maſter Jerome, that the Germans and Bohemians his enemies with all force and power reſiſted againſt it, crying out, that he ſhould in no caſe be diſmiſſed. Then ſtarted up one called doctor Naſo, which ſaid unto the cardinals, We marvel much of you, moſt reverend fathers, that your reverences will make interceſſion for ſuch a wicked heretic, for whoſe ſake we in Bohemia with the whole clergy have ſuffered much trouble and miſchief, and peradventure your fatherhoods ſhall ſuffer; and I greatly fear leſt that you have received ſome rewards either of the king of Bohemia, or of theſe heretics. When as the cardinals were thus rebuked, they diſcharged themſelves of maſter Jerome's cauſe and matter.

Then his enemies aforeſaid obtained to have other judges appointed, as the patriarch of Conſtantinople, and a German doctor, forſomuch as they did know that the patriarch was a grievous enemy unto maſter Jerome, becauſe he being before appointed judge by the council, had condemned John Hus unto death.

But Mr. Jerome would not anſwer them in priſon, requiring to have open audience, becauſe he would there finally declare unto them his mind, neither would he by any means conſent unto thoſe private judges. Whereupon the preſidents of the council thinking that the ſaid maſter Jerome would renew his recantation before the ſaid audience, and confirm the ſame, did grant him open audience.

In the year of our Lord 1416, the 25th day of May, which was the Saturday before the aſcenſion of our Lord, the ſaid maſter Jerome was brought unto open audience before the whole council, to the great cathedral church of Conſtance, where by the commiſſioners of the council, in the behalf of his foreſaid enemies, there were laid againſt him of new a hundred and ſeven articles, to the intent that he ſhould not eſcape the ſnare of death, which they provided and laid for him; inſomuch as the judges had before declared, that by the ſaying of the witneſſes it was already concluded in the ſame audience. The day aforeſaid, from morning until noon, he anſwered unto more than forty articles, moſt ſubtilly objected againſt him; denying that he held or maintained any ſuch articles as were either hurtful or falſe, and affirming, that thoſe witneſſes had depoſed them againſt him falſely and ſlanderouſly, as his moſt cruel and mortal enemies. In the ſame ſeſſion they had not yet proceeded unto death, becauſe that the noon-time drew ſo faſt on, that he could not anſwer unto the articles. Wherefore, for lack of time ſufficient to anſwer unto the reſidue of the articles, there was another time appointed; which was the third day after the aforeſaid Saturday before the aſcenſion of our Lord, at the which time again early in the morning he was brought unto the ſaid cathedral church to anſwer unto all the reſidue of the articles.

In all which articles, as well thoſe which he had anſwered unto the Saturday before, as in the reſidue, he cleared himſelf very learnedly, refelling his adverſaries (who had no cauſe, but only of malice and diſpleaſure were ſet againſt him, and did him great wrong) in ſuch ſort, that they were themſelves aſtoniſhed at his oration, and refutation of their teſtimonies brought againſt him, and with ſhame enough were put to ſilence: as when one of them had demanded of him what he thought by the ſacrament of the altar? he anſwered, Before conſecration, ſaid he, it is bread and wine; after the conſecration it is the true body and blood of Chriſt; adding withal more words according to their catholic faith. Then another riſing up, Jerome, ſaid he, there goeth a great rumour of thee, that thou ſhouldeſt hold bread to remain upon the altar. To whom he pleaſantly anſwered, ſaying, That he believed bread to be at the baker's. At which words being ſpoken one of the Dominic Friars fumiſhly took on, and ſaid, What, doſt thou deny, that

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The Death *of* JEROM of PRAGUE.

T. Smith delin et sculp.

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which no man doubteth of? whoſe peeviſh faucineſs Jerome with theſe words did well repreſs, Hold thy peace (ſaid he) thou monk, thou hypocrite: and thus the monk being nipped in the head, ſat down dumb. After whom ſtarted up another, who with a loud voice cried out, I ſwear, ſaid he, by my conſcience, that to be true that thou doſt deny. To whom ſaid Jerome again, ſpeaking in Latin thus, To ſwear by your conſcience is the next way to deceive. Another there was, a ſpiteful and a bitter enemy of his, whom he called by no other name than a dog, or aſs. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime againſt him, neither in this matter, nor in any other, they were all driven to keep ſilence.

This done, then were the witneſſes called for, who coming in preſence, gave teſtimony unto the articles before produced. By reaſon whereof the innocent cauſe of Jerome was oppreſſed, and began in the council to be concluded. Then Jerome, riſing up, began to ſpeak: Forſomuch (ſaith he) as you have heard mine adverſaries ſo diligently hitherto, convenient it is that you ſhould alſo now alſo hear me to ſpeak for myſelf. Whereupon with much difficulty at laſt audience was given in the council for him to ſay his mind. Which being granted, he from morning to noon continuing, intreated of divers and ſundry matters, with great learning and eloquence. Who firſt beginning with his prayer to God, beſought him to give him ſpirit, ability, and utterance, which might moſt tend to the profit and ſalvation of his own ſoul.

No pen can ſufficiently write or note thoſe things which he moſt eloquently, profoundly, and philoſophically had ſpoken in the ſaid audience, neither can any tongue ſufficiently declare the ſame. Finally, when as by no means he might be perſuaded to recant the premiſes, immediately even in his preſence the ſentence and judgment of his condemnation was given againſt him, and read before him.

The which ſentence ſo given before his face, and ended, a great and long mitre of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red devils, the which when he beheld and ſaw, throwing away his hood upon the ground amongſt the prelates, he took the mitre, and put it upon his head, ſaying, Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when as he ſhould ſuffer death for me moſt wretched ſinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I for his ſake, inſtead of that crown, will willingly wear this mitre and cap. Afterward he was laid hold of by the ſecular power.

After that he was led out of the ſaid church to the place of execution; when he was going out of the church, with a chearful countenance and a loud voice lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he began to ſing, Credo in unum Deum, as it is accuſtomed to be ſung in the church. Afterward, as he paſſed along, he did ſing ſome canticles of the church; the which being ended, in the entering out of the gate of the city, as men go into Gothlehem, he did ſing this hymn, Fælix namque.

And that reſpond being ended, after he came to the place of execution where maſter John Hus before had ſuffered death innocently, kneeling down before an image which was like unto the picture of maſter John Hus, which was there prepared to burn maſter Jerome, he made a certain devout prayer.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors took him up, and lifting him up from the ground, ſpoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked, and afterwards girded him about the loins with a linen cloth, and bound him faſt with cords and chains of iron to the ſame image, which was made faſt unto the earth; and ſo ſtanding upon the ground, when as they began to lay the wood about him, he ſung, Salve feſta dies. And when the hymn was ended, he ſung again with a loud voice, Credo in unum Deum, unto the end. That being ended, he ſaid unto the people in the German tongue in effect as followeth.

"Dearly beloved children, even as I have now ſung, ſo do I believe, and none otherwiſe. And this creed is my whole faith, notwithſtanding now I die for this cauſe, becauſe I would not conſent and agree to the council, and with them affirm and hold, that maſter John Hus was by them holily and juſtly condemned; for I did know well enough that he was a true preacher of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt."

After that he was compaſſed in with the wood up to the crown of the head, they caſt all his garments upon the wood alſo, and with a fire-brand they ſet it on fire. The which being once fired, he began to ſing with a loud voice, In manus tuas, Domine, commendo ſpiritum meum. When that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burn, he ſaid in the vulgar Bohemian tongue, O Lord God, Father Almighty, have mercy upon me, and be merciful unto mine offences, for thou knoweſt how ſincerely I have loved thy truth. Then his voice by the vehemency of the fire was choaked and ſtopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moved continually mouth and lips, as though he had ſtill prayed or ſpoken within himſelf.

When as in a manner his whole body with his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning upon his body certain great bladders as big as an egg, yet he continually very ſtrongly and ſtoutly moved, and ſhaked head and mouth, by the ſpace almoſt of one quarter of an hour. So burning in the fire, he lived with great pain and martyrdom, whilſt one might eaſily have gone from St. Clement's over the bridge unto our Lady-church; he was of ſuch a ſtout and ſtrong nature. After that he was thus dead in the fire, by-and-by they brought his bedding, his ſtraw-bed, his boots, his hood, and all other things that he had in the priſon, and burned them all to aſhes in the ſame fire. The which aſhes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a cart, and caſt them into the river of Rhine, which ran hard by the city.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which teſtified unto us the acts and doings about the condemnation of maſter Jerome, and ſent the ſame unto us to Prague in writing, doth thus conclude. "All theſe things (ſaid he) I did behold, ſee, and hear to be done in this form and manner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credit him; for all thoſe things which happened unto him when he came toward Conſtance, and alſo at his firſt coming unto Conſtance of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bound unto Conſtance, as is aforeſaid, I myſelf did ſee and perfectly behold, and for a perpetual memory thereof to be had for ever, I have directed the ſame unto you, not lying or falſifying any point hereof, as he which is the ſearcher of all mens hearts can bear me witneſs, willing rather to ſuſtain the note of ignorance or rudeneſs of ſtile, to bear witneſs unto the truth, than I would by any means be compelled, by tickling or flattering the ears of the hearers with feigned and cloaked ſpeech, to ſwerve or go aſide from the truth."

Thus ended the tragical hiſtories of maſter John Hus, and maſter Jerome of Prague, faithfully gathered and collected by a certain Bohemian, being a preſent witneſs and beholder of the ſame, written and compiled firſt in Latin, and ſo ſent by the ſaid Bohemian into his country of Bohemia, and again tranſlated out of the Latin with like fidelity into our Engliſh tongue.

In the mean time, while maſter Jerome was in this trouble, and before the council, the nobles and lords of Bohemia and of Moravia (but not a little aggrieved thereat)

thereat) directed their letters unto this barbarous council of popiſh murderers.

After theſe things thus declared and diſcourſed, concerning the hiſtory of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, the order of place and country next would require, conſequently, to infer and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations which happened after, and upon the death of theſe men in the country of Bohemia: But the order of time calleth me back, firſt to other matters here of our own country, which paſſed in the mean time with us in England. Which things being taken by the way, and finiſhed, we will (Chriſt willing) afterward return to the tranſaction hereof, to proſecute the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things beſide, pertaining to the latter end of the council of Conſtance, and chuſing of pope Martin, as the order of years and time ſhall require.

Ye heard before, how after the death of Tho. Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſucceeded Hen. Chicheſley, in the year of our Lord one thouſand four hundred and fourteen, and ſat twenty-five years. In whoſe time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England; of whom many were compelled to abjure, ſome were burned, divers were driven to exile. Whereof partly now to intreat, as we find them in regiſters and hiſtories recorded, we will firſt begin with John Claydon, currier, of London, and Richard Turming, whom Robert Fabian doth falſely affirm to be burned in the year wherein Sir Roger Acton and maſter Brown ſuffered; who indeed ſuffered not before the ſecond year of Henry Chicheſley being archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was in the year of our Lord one thouſand four hundred and thirteen. The hiſtory of which John Claydon in the regiſters is thus declared.

The Story of John Claydon, Currier, and of Richard Turming, Baker.

THE ſeventeenth of Auguſt one thouſand four hundred and fifteen, did perſonally appear John Claydon, currier, of London (arreſted by the mayor of the ſaid city, for the ſuſpicion of hereſy) before Henry, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in Saint Paul's church; which John (it being objected to him by the archbiſhop, that in the city of London, and other places of the province of Canterbury, he was ſuſpected by divers godly and learned men for hereſy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of the church) did openly confeſs, and denied not, but that he had been for the ſpace of twenty years ſuſpected both about the city of London, and alſo in the province of Canterbury, and eſpecially of the common ſort, for Lollardy and hereſy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church of Rome, and defamed of the ſame all the time aforeſaid.

Inſomuch that in the time of maſter Robert Braybrook, biſhop of London, deceaſed, he was for the ſpace of two years committed to the priſon of Conwey for the foreſaid defamation and ſuſpicion, and for the ſame cauſe alſo he was in priſon in the Fleet for three years. Out of which priſon he (in the reign of king Henry the Fourth) was brought before the lord John Scarle, then chancellor to the king, and there did abjure all hereſy and error. And the ſaid John Claydon being aſked of the ſaid archbiſhop, whether he did abjure the hereſy of which he was ſuſpect before any other? did confeſs, that in a convocation at London in Paul's church, before Thomas Arundel, late archbiſhop, deceaſed, he did abjure all ſuch doctrine which they called hereſy and error, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church, and that he had not only left ſuch articles and opinions, wherein he was defamed, but alſo did abſtain from all company that were ſuſpected of ſuch opinions, ſo that he ſhould neither give aid, help, counſel, nor favour, unto them.

And moreover, the ſaid John was aſked by the ſaid archbiſhop, whether ever he had in his houſe ſince his abjuration, in his keeping, any books written in Engliſh. Whereunto he confeſſed, that he would not deny, but that he had in his houſe and in his keeping many Engliſh books, for he was arreſted by the mayor of the city of London for ſuch books as he had, which books (as he thought) were in the mayor's keeping. Upon the which the mayor did openly confeſs, that he had ſuch books in his keeping, which in his judgment were the worſt and the moſt perverſe that ever he did read or ſee, and one book that was well bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good Engliſh hand; and among the other books found with the ſaid John Claydon, the mayor gave up the ſaid book before the archbiſhop.

Whereupon the ſaid John Claydon, being aſked of the archbiſhop, if he knew that book, did openly confeſs, that he knew it very well, becauſe he cauſed it to be written of his own coſts and charges, for he ſpent much money thereupon ſince his abjuration. Then was he aſked who wrote it? He did anſwer, one called John Grime.

And further, being enquired what the ſaid John Grime was, he anſwered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the ſame book, he did confeſs, that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read of one John Fullar. And being aſked, whether he thought the contents of that book to be catholic, profitable, good, and true? He anſwered, that many things which he had heard in the ſame book were both profitable, good, and healthful to his ſoul: and as he ſaid he had great affection to the ſaid book for a ſermon preached at Horſleydown, that was written in the ſaid book.

And being further aſked, whether ſince the time of his ſaid abjuration, he did commune with one Richard Turming of the city aforeſaid; he did anſwear, yea: for the ſaid Richard Turming did come often unto his houſe to have communication with him. And being aſked whether he knew the ſaid Richard to be ſuſpected, and defamed of hereſy; he did anſwer again, that he knew well that the ſaid Richard was ſuſpected and defamed of many men and women in the city of London, as one whom they thought to be an heretic.

Which confeſſion being made, he did cauſe the ſaid books to be delivered to maſter Robert Gilbert, doctor of divinity, to William Lindewood, doctor of both laws, and other clerks, to be examined; and in the mean time, David Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthaſar Mero, were taken for witneſſes againſt him, and were committed to be examined to maſter John Eſcourt, general examiner of Canterbury.

This done, the archbiſhop continued his ſeſſion till Monday next in the ſame place: which Monday being come, which was the 20th of the ſaid month, the ſaid maſter Eſcourt openly and publicly exhibited the witneſſes, being openly read before the archbiſhop, and other biſhops, which being read: then after that were read divers tractations, found in the houſe of the ſaid John Claydon; out of the which being examined, divers points were gathered and noted for hereſies and errors, aud eſpecially out of the book aforeſaid, which book the ſaid John Claydon confeſſed by his own coſts to be written and bound, which book was intitled, "The lanthorn of light." In the which, and in the other examined, were the articles under-written contained.

1. Upon the text of the goſpel, how the enemy did ſow the tares, there is ſaid thus: That wicked antichriſt the pope hath ſowed among the laws of Chriſt his popiſh and corrupt decrees, which are of no authority, ſtrength, and value.

2. That

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The Cruel Martyrdom *of* Sr. John Oldcastle
LORD COBHAM.

F. Smith delin et sculp.

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2. That the archbiſhops and biſhops, ſpeaking indifferently, are the ſeats of the beaſt antichriſt, when he ſitteth in them, and reigneth above other people in the dark caves of errors and hereſies.

3. That the biſhops licence for a man to preach the word of God, is the true character of the beaſt, i. e. antichriſt, and therefore ſimple and faithful prieſts may preach when they will againſt the prohibition of that antichriſt, and without licence.

4. That the court of Rome is the chief head of antichriſt, and the biſhops be the body; and the new ſects, that is, the monks, canons, and friars, brought in not by Chriſt, but damnably by the pope, be the venomous and peſtiferous tail of antichriſt.

5. That no reprobate is a member of the church, but only ſuch as be elected and predeſtinate to ſalvation; ſeeing the church is no other thing but the congregation of faithful ſouls, which do and will keep their faith conſtantly, as well in deed as in word.

6. That Chriſt did never plant private religions in the church, but whilſt he lived in this world, he did root them out. By which it appeareth, that private religions be unprofitable branches in the church, and to be rooted out.

7. That the material churches ſhould not be decked with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones ſumptuouſly, but the followers of the humility of Jeſus Chriſt ought to worſhip their Lord God humbly, in mean and ſimple houſes, and not in great buildings, as the churches be now-a-days.

8. That there be two chief cauſes of the perſecution of the chriſtians. One is, the prieſts unlawful keeping of temporal and ſuperfluous goods. The other is, the unſatiable begging of the friars, with their high buildings.

9. That alms is not given virtuouſly nor lawfully, except it be given with theſe four conditions. Firſt, unleſs it be given to the honour of God. Secondly, unleſs it be given of goods juſtly gotten. Thirdly, unleſs it be given to ſuch a perſon as the giver thereof knoweth to be in charity. And fourthly, unleſs it be given to ſuch as have need, and do not diſſemble.

10. That the often ſinging in the church is not founded in the ſcripture, and therefore is not lawful for prieſts to occupy themſelves with ſinging in the church, but with the ſtudy of the law of Chriſt, and preaching his word.

11. That Judas did receive the body of Chriſt in bread, and his blood in wine. In the which it doth plainly appear, that after conſecration of bread and wine made, the ſame bread and wine that was before, doth truly remain on the altar.

12. That all eccleſiaſtical ſuffrages do profit all virtuous and godly perſons indifferently.

13. That the popes and the biſhops indulgences be unprofitable, neither can they profit them to whom they be given by any means.

14. That the laity is not bound to obey the prelates, whatſoever they command, unleſs the prelates do watch to give God a juſt account of the ſouls of them.

15. That images are not to be ſought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawful for chriſtians to bow their knees to them, neither to kiſs them, nor to give them any manner of reverence.

For the which articles, the archbiſhop, with other biſhops, and divers learned, communing together, firſt condemned the books as heretical, and burned them in fire; and then becauſe they thought the ſaid John Claydon to be forſworn and fallen into hereſy, the archbiſhop did proceed to his definitive ſentence againſt the ſaid John, perſonally appearing before him in judgment (his confeſſions being read and depoſed againſt him).

After which John Claydon received his judgment and condemnation of the archbiſhop, and was committed to the ſecular power, and by them unjuſtly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporal magiſtrate had no ſuch law ſufficient for them to burn any ſuch man for religion condemned of the prelates, as is above ſufficiently proved and declared.

But to be ſhort, John Claydon notwithſtanding, by the temporal magiſtrates, not long after, was had to Smithfield, where meekly he was made a burnt-offering unto the Lord, anno 1415.

Robert Fabian, and other chronologers which follow him, add alſo, that Richard Turming, baker, of whom mention is made before in the examination of John Claydon, was likewiſe the ſame time burned with him in Smithfield.

Albeit in the regiſter I find no ſentence of condemnation given againſt the ſaid Turming, neither yet in the ſtory of St. Alban's is there any ſuch mention of his burning made, but only of the burning of John Claydon aforeſaid: wherefore the judgment hereof I leave free to the reader. Notwithſtanding, concerning the ſaid Turming this is certain, that he was accuſed to the biſhops, and no doubt was in their hands and bands. What afterward was done with him, I refer it unto the authors.

Concerning Sir John Oldcaſtle the lord Cobham, and of his firſt apprehenſion, with his whole ſtory and life, ſufficiently hath been expreſſed before, how he being committed to the tower, and condemned falſely of hereſy, eſcaped afterward out of the tower, and was in Wales about the ſpace of four years. In the which mean time, a great ſum of money was proclaimed by the king, to him that could take the ſaid Sir John Oldcaſtle, either quick or dead. About the end of which four years being expired, the lord Powis, whether for love or greedineſs of the money, or whether for hatred of the true and ſincere doctrine of Chriſt, ſeeking all manner of ways how to play the part of Judas; at length obtained his bloody purpoſe, and brought the lord Cobham bound up to London, which was about the year of our lord 1417, and about the month of December. At which time there was a parliament aſſembled in London, for the relief of money the ſame time to be ſent to the king, whom the biſhops had ſent out (as ye heard before) to fight in France. The records of which parliament do thus ſay: that on Tueſday, the fourteenth day of December, and the nine and twentieth day of the ſaid parliament, Sir John Oldcaſtle, of Cowling, in the county of Kent, knight, being outlawed (as is afore minded) in the King's-bench, and excommunicated before the archbiſhop of Canterbury for hereſy, was brought before the lords, and having heard his ſaid convictions, anſwered not thereto in his excuſe. Upon which record and proceſs it was adjudged, that he ſhould be taken as a traitor to the king and the realm; that he ſhould be carried to the tower of London, and from thence down through London, unto the new gallows in Saint Giles, without Temple-bar, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.

As touching the pretended treaſon of this lord Cobham, falſely aſcribed unto him in his indictment, riſing upon wrong ſuggeſtion and falſe ſurmiſe, and aggravated by rigour of words, rather than upon any ground of due probation, ſufficiently hath been diſcourſed before in my defence of the ſaid lord Cobham, againſt Alanus Copus.

Where again it is to be noted, as I ſaid before, and by this it appeareth, that the lord Cobham was never executed by force of the indictment or outlawry, becauſe if he had, he ſhould then have been brought to the bar in the King's-bench, and there the judges ſhould have demanded of him, what he could have ſaid, why he ſhould not have died, and then not ſhewing ſufficient cauſe

cauſe for the diſcharge or delay of execution, the judges ſhould have awarded and given the judgment of treaſon; which being not ſo, it is clear he was not executed upon the indictment.

Beſides, to prove, that he was not executed upon the indictment and the outlawry, the manner of the execution proveth it, becauſe it was neither an execution of a traitor, nor was the whole puniſhment thereof pronounced by the judge, as by due order of law was requiſite.

Finally, as I ſaid before, here I repeat again, that albeit the ſaid lord Cobham was attainted of treaſon by the act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons, aſſented to the act: yet all that bindeth not in ſuch ſort (as if indeed he were no traitor) that any man may not, by ſearch of the truth, utter and ſet forth ſincerely and juſtly the very true and certain cauſe whereupon his execution did follow. Which ſeemeth by all circumſtance and firm arguments to riſe principally of his religion, which firſt brought him in hatred of the biſhops; the biſhops brought him in hatred of the king; the hatred of the king brought him to his death and martyrdom. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthy ſervant of Chriſt, the lord Cobham.

Anno 1422.

HENRY VI. being under the age of one year, after the death of his father ſucceeded in his reign and kingdom of England, anno 1422, and in the 8th year was crowned at Weſtminſter: and in the ſecond year after was alſo crowned at Paris, Henry, biſhop of Wincheſter, cardinal, being preſent at them both; and reigned thirty-eight years, and then was depoſed by Edward IV.

In the firſt year of his reign was burned the conſtant witneſs-bearer and teſtis of Chriſt's doctrine, William Tailor, a prieſt, under Henry Chicheſley, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Of this William Tailor I read, That in the days of Thomas Arundel he was firſt apprehended, and abjured. Afterward, in the days of Henry Chicheſley, about 1421, which was a year before his burning, the ſaid William Tailor appeared again in the convocation, before the archbiſhop, being brought by the biſhop of Worceſter, being complained of to have taught at Briſtol theſe articles following:

Firſt, That whoſoever hangeth any ſcripture about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the devil.

Secondly, That no human perſon is to be worſhipped, but only God is to be adored.

Thirdly, That the ſaints are not to be worſhipped, nor invocated.

Upon theſe articles the ſaid William Tailor, being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talk upon the ſame, eſpecially upon the ſecond and third articles, only in way of reaſoning, and for argument's ſake. And to juſtify his opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his boſom a paper or libel written, wherein were contained certain articles, with the teſtimonies of the doctors alledged, and exhibited the ſame unto the archbiſhop.

Who then being bid to ſtand aſide, the archbiſhop conſulting together with the biſhops and other prelates, what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writings unto maſter John Caſtle, and John Rickinghale, the two vicechancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and to John Langdon, monk of Canterbury. Who, adviſing with themſelves, and with other divines, about the articles and allegations, on the Monday following preſented the ſaid articles of William Tailor to the archbiſhop and prelates, as erroneous and heretical.

Whereupon William Tailor, being called before them in concluſion was contented to revoke the ſame, and for his penance was by them condemned to perpetual priſon.

Notwithſtanding, through favour, they were contented that he ſhould be releaſed from his carceral indurance, in caſe he would put in ſufficient ſurety in the king's chancery, and ſwear that he ſhall never hold nor favour any ſuch opinions hereafter.

And thus the ſaid William Tailor, appointed to appear the next Wedneſday at Lambeth, before the archbiſhop, to take his abſolution from his long excommunication, during the time from Thomas Arundel, appeared again before him: where he, laying aſide his arunlouſa, that is, his cloak, his cap, and ſtripped unto his doublet, kneeled at the feet of the archbiſhop. Who then ſtanding up, and having a rod in his hand, began the Pſalm, Miſerere, &c. his chaplains anſwering the ſecond verſe. After that was ſaid, the collect, Deus, cui proprium, &c. with certain other prayers. And ſo taking an oath of him, the archbiſhop committed him to the cuſtody of the biſhop of Worceſter, to whom power and authority was permitted to releaſe him, upon the conditions aforeſaid.

And thus was William Tailor for that time abſolved, being enjoined notwithſtanding to appear at the next convocation, whenſoever it ſhould be, before the ſaid archbiſhop or his ſucceſſor.

In the mean time, while William Tailor was thus in the cuſtody of the biſhop of Worceſter, there paſſed certain writings between him and one Thomas Smith, prieſt, at Briſtol, in the which writings William Tailor replied againſt the ſaid Thomas, concerning the queſtion of worſhipping of ſaints. Upon the occaſion of which reply, being brought to the hands of the biſhop of Worceſter, William Tailor began anew to be troubled, and was brought again before the public convocation of the clergy by the ſaid biſhop of Worceſter, to anſwer unto his writings.

This was 1422, the 11th day of February. Unto the which convocation the ſaid William being preſented, his writings were read to him, which he would nor could not deny to be of his own hand-writing.

The tenor and effect of whoſe writing only tended to prove, that every petition and prayer for any ſupernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and to no creature.

Albeit in this his writing he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any reſpect to pray to ſaints (and bringeth for the ſame Thomas Aquin) but only in reſpect of that worſhip which is called Cultus latriæ: and further ſo proſecuteth his mind herein, that he ſeemeth little or nothing to differ from the ſuperſtition of the papiſts. And yet notwithſtanding the ſame writing, being delivered by the archbiſhop to the four orders of friars of London to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in theſe points:

1. That every prayer which is a petition of ſome ſupernatural gift, or free gift, is to be directed only to God.
2. That prayer is to be directed to God alone.
3. To pray to any creature is to commit idolatry.
4. Alſo, another opinion there was much like to the other, to make up the fourth; ſo that although all theſe opinions agreed in one, yet to make up a number, every order of the four ſorts of friars thought to find out ſome matter to offer up to the archbiſhop againſt him, leſt one order ſhould ſeem more cunning or pregnant in finding out more than could another; or elſe perchance leſt any of them ſhould ſeem to favour the party, in bringing nothing againſt him, as the reſt had done.

When

When Saturday was come, which was the 20th day of February, upon the which day the four orders were appointed to declare their cenſure upon the articles in the Chapter-houſe of Paul's, firſt appeareth friar Tille, for the black friars, then friar Winchelſey, then friar Low, after friar Aſhwell, each friar for his order ſeverally bringing his hereſy, as is above ſpecified.

Thus the verdict of theſe four orders being given up to the archbiſhop, and ſeverally each order coming in with his hereſy, which was the 20th day of February; hereupon cometh down a writ from the king, directed to the lord mayor and ſheriffs of London, De hæretico comburendo, dated the firſt day of March, the firſt year of his reign. The copy whereof remaineth in the records of the Tower, beginning thus: Rex majori & vice-comitibus. Whereupon the ſaid William Tailor, condemned as a relapſe, firſt was degraded, and after to be burned, and ſo was committed to the ſecular power: who then being had to Smithfield, the firſt day of March, with chriſtian conſtancy, after long impriſonment, there did conſummate his martyrdom, 1422.

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of John Hus before, for the papiſts uſe but one form for allmen. Firſt, degrading them from prieſthood, by taking from them the chalice and patin. From deaconſhip, by taking from them the goſpel-book and tunicle. From ſub-deaconſhip, by taking from them the epiſtle-book and tunicle. From acolyteſhip, by taking from them the cruet and candleſtick. From an exorciſt, by taking away the book of exorciſms or gradual. From the ſextonſhip, by taking away the church door key, and ſurplice. And likewiſe from benet, in taking away the ſurplice, and firſt tonſure, &c. All which they orderly accompliſhed upon this godly martyr, before his burning.

John Florence, a Turner.

JOHN Florence, a turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the dioceſe of Norwich, was attached, for that he held and taught theſe hereſies here under-written (as they called them) contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

Imprimis, That the pope and cardinals have no power to make or conſtitute any laws.

Item, That there is no day to be kept holy, but only the Sunday, which God hath hallowed.

Item, That men ought to faſt no other time, but of the Quatuor temporum.

Item, That images are not to be worſhipped, neither that the people ought to ſet up any lights before them in the churches, neither to go on a pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

Item, That curates ſhould not take the tithes of their pariſhioners, but that ſuch tithes ſhould be divided amongſt the poor pariſhioners.

Item, That all ſuch as ſwear by their life or power, ſhall be damned, except they repent.

Upon Wedneſday, being the 2d day of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 1424, the ſaid John Florence perſonally appeared before William Bernam, chancellor to William biſhop of Norwich, where he proceeding againſt him, objected the firſt article touching the power of the pope, and cardinals; to which article the ſaid John Florence anſwered in this manner:

If the pope lived uprightly, as Peter lived, he hath power to make laws; otherwiſe I believe he hath no power.

But being afterward threatened by the judge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and ſubmitted himſelf to the correction of the church, and was abjured, taking an oath, that from that time forward he ſhould not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any error or hereſy contrary to the determination of the church of Rome; neither maintain, help, or aid any that ſhall teach or hold any ſuch errors or hereſies, either privily or apertly: and for his offence in this behalf done, he was enjoined this penance following:

Three Sundays in a ſolemn proceſſion in the cathedral church of Norwich, he ſhould be diſciplined before all the people. The like alſo ſhould be done about his pariſh-church of Shelton, three other ſeveral Sundays, he being bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-necked, after the manner of a public penitentiary, his body being covered with a canvas ſhirt, and canvas breeches, carrying in his hand a taper of a pound weight; and that done, he was diſmiſſed.

Richard Belward, of Eriſam, in the Dioceſe of Norwich.

RIchard Belward, of Eriſam, in the dioceſe of Norwich, was accuſed for holding and teaching theſe errors and opinions here under-written, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

Imprimis, That eccleſiaſtical miniſters and ordinaries have no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate. And albeit that a biſhop do excommunicate any man, God doth abſolve him.

Item, That he held the erroneous opinions and concluſions that Sir John Oldcaſtle held when he was in priſon, and affirmed, that Sir John Oldcaſtle was a true catholic man, and falſely condemned and put to death, without any reaſonable cauſe.

Item, That ſuch as go on pilgrimage, offering to images made of wood and ſtone, are excommunicate, becauſe they ought to offer to the quick, and not to the dead; and that the eccleſiaſtical miniſters, that is to ſay, the curates, do ſell God upon Eaſter-day, when as they receive offerings of ſuch as ſhall communicate, before they do miniſter the ſacrament unto them.

Item, That he counſelled divers women, that they ſhould not offer in the church for the dead: neither with women that were purified.

Item, That he blamed divers of his neighbours that refuſed his doctrine, ſaying unto them, Truly ye are fools that deny to learn the doctrine of my ſect; for your neighbours which are of my ſect are able to confound and vanquiſh all other men that are of your ſect.

Item, That the ſaints which are in heaven, ought in no caſe to be prayed unto, but only God.

Item, That the ſaid Richard keepeth ſchools of Lollardy in the Engliſh tongue, in the town of Dichingham, and a certain parchment-maker bringeth him all the books containing that doctrine from London.

The fifth day of July 1424. the ſaid Richard Belward was brought before John, biſhop of Norwich, ſitting in place of judgment, where the aforeſaid articles were objected againſt the ſaid Richard, which he there denied: whereupon the biſhop appointed him another day to purge himſelf, the Monday next after the feaſt of Saint Margaret: upon which day, being the twenty-fourth of July, in the year aforeſaid, he appeared again before the biſhop, and brought with him nine of his neighbours to purge him upon thoſe articles, and there did ſolemnly purge himſelf.

And afterward, as the biſhop ſuſpected Richard Belward greatly of Lollardy, he commanded him there preſently to ſwear upon the evangeliſts, that from that day forward he ſhould not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any error or hereſy, contrary to the church of Rome, neither aid, aſſiſt, favour, or maintain, privily or apertly,

any manner of perſon or perſons, that ſhould hold or maintain the ſaid errors or hereſies.

In the preſence of maſter William Berman, John Wadden, Robert Serle, and J. Berne, Eſq; and other of his neighbours, who came unto his purgation.

In like manner John Goddeſel of Dichingham, parchment-maker, was detected and accuſed upon the ſame article, and thereupon brought before the biſhop, where he denying them, purged himſelf by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being ſworn alſo in like manner as he was, and ſo was diſmiſſed and ſet at liberty, until the year of our Lord 1428, when he was again apprehended, accuſed, and abjured.

Sir Hugh Pie, alſo, chaplain of Ludney, in the dioceſe of Norwich, was likewiſe accuſed, and brought before the biſhop of Norwich, the 5th day of July, anno 1424, for holding of theſe opinions following:

That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That the people ought not to give alms, but only unto ſuch as beg at their doors.

Item, That the image of the croſs and other images are not to be worſhipped. And that the ſaid Hugh hath caſt the croſs of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Welgate of Ludney.

Which articles being objected againſt him, he utterly denied: whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himſelf by the witneſs of three laymen and three prieſts. That ſo done, he was ſworn as the other before, and ſo diſmiſſed.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1428, king Henry VI. ſent down moſt cruel letters of commiſſion unto John Exeter, and Jacolet Germain, keepers of the caſtle of Colcheſter, for the apprehending of Sir William White, prieſt, and others ſuſpected of hereſies.

By virtue of which commiſſion we find in old monuments, that within ſhort ſpace after, John Exeter, which was appointed one of the commiſſioners, attached ſix perſons in the town of Bungay, in the dioceſe of Norwich, and committed them to William Day and William Roe, conſtables of the town of Bungay, to be ſent within ten days following, under ſafe cuſtody, unto the caſtle of Norwich. Whoſe names, through the antiquity of the monument, were ſo defaced, that we could not attain to the perfect knowledge of them all; only three names partly remained in the book to be read, viz.

John Waddon, of Tenterton, in the county of Kent.
Bartholomew, monk of Erſham, in the county of Norfolk, cornleader, a married man.
William Scuts.

Theſe three were in the cuſtody of the duke of Norfolk, at his caſtle of Fermingham.

Beſide theſe, we alſo find in the ſaid old monuments, within the dioceſe of Norfolk and Suffolk, eſpecially in the towns of Beckles, Erſham, and Ludney, a great number both of men and women to have been vexed and caſt into priſon, and after their abjuration brought to open ſhame in churches and markets, by the biſhop of the ſaid dioceſe, called William, and his chancellor William Bernham, John Exeter being the regiſter therein; ſo that within the ſpace of three or four years, about the number of one hundred and twenty men and women were examined, and ſuſtained great vexation for the profeſſion of the chriſtian faith; of which ſome were only taken upon ſuſpicion for eating of meats prohibited upon vigil-days, who upon their purgation made eſcaped more eaſily away, and with leſs puniſhment.

The other were more cruelly handled, and ſome of them were put to death and burned; among whom we do ſpecially find mention made of theſe three:

Father Abraham, of Colcheſter. William White, prieſt.
John Waddon, prieſt.

The reſidue, for a great number of good men and women, were forced to abjure, ſuſtaining ſuch cruel penance as pleaſed then the ſaid biſhop and his chancellor to lay upon them.

Now as touching their articles which they did maintain and defend: firſt, this is to be conſidered, as I find it in the regiſters, ſuch ſociety and agreement of doctrine to be amongſt them, that almoſt in their aſſertions and articles there was no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other; what their articles were, partly is ſhewed before; and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning theſe articles, that many of them were either falſely objected againſt them, or not truly reported of the notaries, according as the common manner is of theſe adverſaries, where the matter is good, there to make hereſy, and of a little occaſion to ſtir up a great matter of ſlander, as they did before by the articles of John Wickliff and John Hus, and others more: ſo in like manner it ſeemeth they did in the articles of theſe men, either miſtaking that which they ſaid, or miſunderſtanding that which they meant, eſpecially in theſe two articles, concerning baptiſm, and paying of tithes. For whereas they ſpeaking againſt the ceremonial and ſuperfluous traditions then uſed in baptiſm, as ſalt, oil, ſpittle, taper, light, chriſomes, exorciſing of the water, with ſuch other, accounted them as no material things in the holy inſtitution of baptiſm, the notaries ſlanderouſly depraving this their aſſertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people, ſo gave out the article, as though they ſhould hold, that the ſacrament of baptiſm uſed in the church by water is but a light matter and of ſmall effect.

Again, In ſpeaking againſt the chriſtening the midwives uſe in private houſes, againſt the opinions of ſuch as think ſuch children to be damned which depart before they come to their baptiſm, they are falſely reported, as though they ſhould ſay, that chriſtian people be ſufficiently baptized, in the blood of Chriſt, and need no water; and that infants be ſufficiently baptized, if their parents be baptized before them. Which thing is ſo contrary to the manifeſt word, that it is not to be thought any to be ſo ignorant of the goſpel, that ever would or did affirm the ſame.

Moreover, they thought or ſaid peradventure, that in certain caſes tithes might be with-holden from wicked prieſts ſometimes, and be conferred to better uſes, to the behoof of the poor: therefore they are falſely ſlandered, as ſaying and affirming, That no tithes were to be given to the miniſters and curates of the churches.

And likewiſe for matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirm, as though it conſiſted only in the mutual conſent betwixt the man and the woman, needing no other ſolemnizing in the public church, and all becauſe (as it is like) they denied it to be a ſacrament. Other articles were objected againſt them, as theſe which hereafter follow.

That auricular confeſſion is not to be made unto a prieſt, but unto God only; becauſe no prieſt hath any power to abſolve a ſinner from his ſin.

Item, That no prieſt hath power to make the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar; but that after the ſacramental words, there remaineth pure material bread as before.

Item, That every true chriſtian man is a prieſt to God.

Item, That no man is bound under pain of damnation unto Lent, or any other days prohibited by the church of Rome.

Item, That the pope is antichriſt, and his prelates the diſciples of antichriſt, and the pope hath no power to bind and looſe upon earth.

Item, That it is lawful for every chriſtian to do any bodily work (ſin only excepted) upon holy-days.

Item, That it is lawful for prieſts to have wives.

Item, That excommunications and eccleſiaſtical cenſures given out by the prelates, are not to be regarded.

Item, It is not lawful to ſwear in private caſes.

Item, That men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That there is no honour to be given to the images of the crucifix, of our lady, or any other ſaint.

Item, That the holy water, hallowed in the church by the prieſt, is not holier or of more virtue than other running or well-water, becauſe the Lord bleſſed all waters in their firſt creation.

Item, That the death of Thomas Becket was neither holy nor meritorious.

Item, That the relics, as dead mens bones, ought not to be worſhipped, or digged out of their graves, or ſet up in ſhrines.

Item, That prayers made in all places are acceptable unto God.

Item, That men ought not to pray to any ſaint, but only to God.

Item, That the bells, and ringing in the church, was ordained for no other purpoſe but to fill the prieſts purſes.

Item, That it is no ſin to withſtand the eccleſiaſtical precepts.

Item, That the catholic church is only the congregation of elect.

Theſe were the articles which were generally objected againſt them all, wherein they did ſo agree in one uniform faith, that whatſoever one did hold, all the other did maintain and hold the ſame. By the which their conſent and doctrine it appeareth, that they all received it of ſome one inſtructor, who was William White; which being a ſcholar and follower of John Wickliff, reſorted afterward into this county of Norfolk, and there inſtructed theſe men in the light of the goſpel.

And now, as we have declared the names and articles of theſe good men, ſo it remaineth ſomewhat to ſpeak of their troubles, how they were handled; beginning firſt with William White.

William White, Prieſt.

THIS William White, being a follower of John Wickliff, and a prieſt, not after the common ſort of prieſts, but rather to be reputed amongſt the number of them, of whom the wiſe man ſpeaketh, "He was as the morning ſtar in the midſt of a cloud," &c. This man was well learned, upright, and a well ſpoken prieſt.

He gave over his prieſthood and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Joan; notwithſtanding he did not therefore ceaſe to leave from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praiſe of the ſpouſe of Chriſt, by reading, writing, and preaching.

The principal points of his doctrine were theſe, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury:

That men ſhould ſeek for forgiveneſs of their ſins only at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the pope, and his holineſs, is nothing elſe but a deviliſh eſtate and heavy yoke of antichriſt, and therefore he is an enemy to God's truth.

That men ought not to worſhip images, or other idolatrous paintings.

That men ought not to worſhip the holy men which are dead.

That the Romiſh church is the fig-tree which the Lord Chriſt hath accurſed, becauſe it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

That ſuch as wear cowls, or be anointed or ſhorn, are the lance-knights and ſoldiers of Lucifer: and that they all, becauſe their lamps are not burning, ſhall be ſhut out, when as the Lord ſhall come.

Upon which articles he being attached at Canterbury under the archbiſhop Henry Chicheſley, in the year of our Lord 1424, there for a certain ſpace, ſtoutly and manly witneſſed the truth which he had preached: but like as there he loſt his courage and ſtrength, ſo afterward he became again much more ſtouter and ſtronger in Jeſus Chriſt, and confeſſed his own error and offence.

For after this he going into Norfolk with his ſaid wife Joan, and there occupying himſelf buſily in teaching and converting the people unto the true doctrine of Chriſt, at the laſt, by the means of the king's letters ſent down for that intent and purpoſe, he was apprehended and taken, and brought before William biſhop of Norwich, by whom he was convicted, and condemned of thirty articles, and there was burned in Norwich, in the month of September, anno 1424.

This William White and his wife had their moſt abode with one Thomas Moon of Ludney. This man was of ſo devout and holy life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and deſired him to pray for them; inſomuch that one Margaret Wright confeſſed, That if any ſaints were to be prayed to, ſhe would rather pray to him than any other.

When he was come unto the ſtake, thinking to open his mouth to ſpeak unto the people, to exhort and confirm them in the verity, one of the biſhop's ſervants ſtruck him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keep ſilence.

And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life, to the great dolour and grief of all the good men of Norfolk. Whoſe ſaid wife Joan, following her huſband's footſteps according to her power, teaching and ſowing abroad the ſame doctrine, confirmed many men in God's truth; wherefore ſhe ſuffered much trouble and puniſhment the ſame year at the hands of the ſaid biſhop.

About the ſame time alſo was burned father Abraham of Colcheſter, and John Waddon prieſt, for the like articles.

Concerning them which abjured, how and by whom they were examined, what depoſitions came in againſt them, and what was the order and manner of the penance enjoined them, here it might be ſet out at large: but for avoiding of prolixity, it ſhall be ſufficient briefly to touch certain of the principals, whereby the better underſtanding may be given to the reader, after what manner and order all the other were intreated.

Firſt, Amongſt them which were arreſted and cauſed to abjure in this year aforeſaid ſpecified, 1428, was Thomas Pie, and John Mendham of Aldborough, who, being convict upon divers of the articles before mentioned, were injoined penance to be done in their own pariſh-church, as by the biſhop's letter directed to the dean of Rhodenhall, and the pariſh-prieſt of Aldborough, doth more at large appear.

John Beverly, alias Battild.

JOHN Beverly, alias Battild, a labourer, was attached by the vicar of Southereke, the pariſh-prieſt of Waterden, and a lawyer, and ſo delivered unto maſter William Barnham, the biſhop's commiſſary, who ſent him to the caſtle of Norwich, there to be kept in irons: where afterward he being brought before the commiſſary, and having nothing proved againſt him, he took an oath, that

that every year afterward he ſhould confeſs his ſins once a year to his curate, and receive the ſacrament at Eaſter, as other Chriſtians did; and for his offence was enjoined that the Friday and Saturday next after he ſhould faſt on bread and water, and upon the Saturday to be whipped from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tomelands, and by St. Michael's church, by Cottlerew, and about the market, having in his hand a wax candle of two-pence, to offer to the image of the Trinity after he had done his penance.

And forſomuch as he confeſſed, that he had eaten fleſh on Eaſter day, and was not ſhriven in all Lent, nor received upon Eaſter-day, the judge enjoined him that he ſhould faſt Tueſday, Wedneſday, and Friday in Whitſun-week, having but one meal a day of fiſh, and other white meats; and after this penance ſo done, he ſhould depart out of the dioceſe, aud never come there any more.

John Skilly, of Flixon, Miller.

JOHN Skilly, of Flixon, miller, being apprehended and brought before the biſhop of Norwich the 14th day of March, 1426, for holding and maintaining the articles above written, was thereupon convict and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration ſolemnly made (which here to avoid tediouſneſs we omit) he had a moſt ſharp ſentence of penance pronounced againſt him, the effect whereof being briefly collected, was this:

That foraſmuch as the ſaid Skilly was convict by his own confeſſion, for holding and maintaining the articles before written, and for receiving certain good and godly men into his houſe, as Sir W. White, prieſt, and J. Waddon, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretics, and had now abjured the ſame, being firſt abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication which he had incurred by means of his opinions, he was injoined for penance ſeven years impriſonment in the monaſtery of Langley, in the dioceſe of Norwich. And forſomuch as in times paſt he uſed upon the Fridays to eat fleſh, he was enjoined to faſt on bread and water every Friday by the ſpace of that ſeven years to come; and that for the ſpace of two years next immediately after the ſeven years expired, every Wedneſday in the beginning of Lent, and every Maundy-Thurſday, he ſhould appear before the biſhop or his ſucceſſor, or commiſſary for the time being, in the cathedral church of Norwich, together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

Beſides theſe there were divers other of the ſame company, which the ſame year were forced to like abjuration and penance. And ſo to proceed to the next year following, which was 1429, there enſueth a great number in the ſame regiſter, which were examined and did penance in like ſort, to the number of 16 or 17. In the number of whom was John Baker, otherwiſe called Uſher Tonſtal, who for having a book with the Paternoſter, the Ave and Creed in Engliſh, and for certain other articles of faſting, confeſſion, and invocation, contrary to the determination of the Romiſh church, after much vexation for the ſame, was accuſed to abjure and ſuſtain ſuch penance as the other before him had done.

The Story of Margery Backſter.

ANother was Margery Backſter, wife of William Backſter, wright, in Martham, the ſame year accuſed; againſt whom one Joan, wife of Cliffland, was brought in by the biſhop, and compelled to depoſe, and was made to bring in, in form following:

Firſt, that the ſaid Margery Backſter did inform this deponent, That ſhe ſhould in no caſe ſwear, ſaying to her in Engliſh, Dame, beware of the bee, for every bee will ſting, and therefore take heed you ſwear not, neither by God, neither by our lady, neither by any other ſaint; and if ye do contrary, the bee will ſting your tongue, and venom your ſoul.

Item, This deponent being demanded by the ſaid Margery, what ſhe did every day at church; ſhe anſwered, That ſhe kneeled down, and ſaid five Pater-noſters, in worſhip of the crucifix, and as many Ave Maries, in worſhip of our lady.

Whom Margery rebuked, ſaying, You do evil to kneel or pray to ſuch images in the churches, for God dwelleth not in ſuch churches, neither ſhall come down out of heaven, and will give you no more reward for ſuch prayer than a candle lighted, and ſet under the cover of the font, will give light by night to thoſe which are in the church; ſaying moreover in Engliſh, Lewd wrights of ſtocks hew and form ſuch croſſes and images, and after that, lewd painters gleer them with colours.

And if you deſire ſo much to ſee the true croſs of Chriſt, I will ſhew it you at home at your own houſe. Which this deponent being deſirous to ſee, the ſaid Margery, ſtretching out her arms abroad, ſaid to this deponent, This is the true croſs of Chriſt, and this croſs thou oughteſt and mayeſt every day behold and worſhip in thine own houſe, and therefore it is but vain to run to the church to worſhip dead croſſes and images.

Item, this deponent being demanded by the ſaid Margery how ſhe believed touching the ſacrament of the altar, ſaid,

That ſhe believed the ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration, to be the very body of Chriſt in form of bread.

To which Margery ſaid, Your belief is naught. For if every ſuch ſacrament were God, and the very body of Chriſt, there ſhould be an infinite number of gods, becauſe that a thouſand prieſts and more do every day make a thouſand ſuch gods, and afterward eat them, and void them out again by their hinder parts, filthily ſtinking under the hedges, where you may find a great many ſuch gods, if you will ſeek for them. And therefore know for certainty, that by the grace of God it ſhall never be my god, becauſe it is falſely and deceitfully ordained by the prieſts in the church, to induce the ſimple people to idolatry; for it is only material bread.

Moreover, the ſaid Margery ſaid to this deponent, That Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called St. Thomas, was a falſe traitor, and damned in hell, becauſe he injuriouſly endowed the churches with poſſeſſions, and raiſed up many hereſies in the church, which ſeduce the ſimple people; and therefore if God be bleſſed, the ſaid Thomas is accurſed; and thoſe falſe prieſts that ſay that he ſuffered his death patiently before the altar, do lye; for as a cowardly traitor he was ſlain at the church door, as he was flying away.

Moreover, this deponent ſaith, that the ſaid Margery told her, that the curſed pope, cardinals, archbiſhops, and biſhops, and ſpecially the biſhop of Norwich and others that ſupport and maintain hereſies and idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, ſhall ſhortly have the very ſame or worſe miſchief fall upon them, than that curſed man Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falſely and curſedly deceive the people with their falſe mammetries and laws, to extort money from the ſimple folk to ſuſtain their pride, riot, and idleneſs. And know aſſuredly, that the vengeance of God will ſpeedily come upon them, which have moſt cruelly ſlain the children of God, father Abraham and W. White, a true preacher of the law of God, and John Waldon, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the ſaid Caiaphas, the biſhop of Norwich, and his miniſters, which are members of the devil, before this time, if the pope had not ſent over theſe falſe pardons unto thoſe parties, which the ſaid Caiaphas had falſely obtained, to induce the people to make proceſſion for the

ſtate

ſtate of them and of the church. Which pardons brought the ſimple people to curſed idolatry.

Item, The ſaid Margery ſaid to this deponent, that every faithful man and woman is not bound to faſt in Lent, or other days appointed for faſting by the church, and that every man may lawfully eat fleſh and all other meats upon the ſaid days and times: and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon Thurſday at night on the faſting days, than to go to the market to bring themſelves in debt to buy fiſh; and that pope Silveſter made the Lent.

Item, The ſaid Margery ſaid to this deponent, that William White was falſely condemned for an heretic, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where ſhe ſaw that when he would have opened his mouth to ſpeak unto the people to inſtruct them, a devil, one of biſhop Caiaphas's ſervants, ſtruck him on the lips, and ſtopped his mouth, that he could in no caſe declare the will of God.

Item, This deponent ſaith, that the ſaid Margery taught her, that ſhe ſhould not go on pilgrimage, neither to our Lady of Walſingham, nor to any other ſaint or place.

Alſo this deponent ſaith, that the ſaid Margery deſired her, that ſhe and Joan her maid would come ſecretly in the night to her chamber, and there ſhe ſhould hear her huſband read the law of Chriſt unto them; which law was written in a book that her huſband was wont to read to her by night, and that her huſband is well learned in the chriſtian verity.

Alſo that the ſame Margery had talked with a woman named Joan Weſt, and that the ſaid woman is in a good way of ſalvation.

Alſo that the ſaid Margery ſaid to this deponent, Joan, It appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to diſcloſe this that I have ſaid unto you; and this deponent ſwore, that ſhe ſhould never diſcloſe it, without the ſaid Margery gave her occaſion.

Then ſaid Margery unto this deponent, If thou do accuſe me unto the biſhop, I will do unto thee as I did once unto a certain friar, a carmelite of Yarmouth.

Then this deponent deſired to know what ſhe had done to the friar. Unto whom Margery anſwered, that ſhe had talked with the ſaid friar, rebuking him becauſe he did beg, ſaying, That it was no alms to give to him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to plough, and ſo he ſhould pleaſe God more than following the life of ſome of thoſe friars.

Then the friar required of Margery, whether ſhe could teach him or tell him any thing elſe.

Then the ſaid Margery declared to this friar the goſpel in Engliſh, and then he departed from her.

After this the ſaid friar accuſed Margery of hereſy; and ſhe underſtanding that the friar had accuſed her, accuſed the friar again, that he would have known her carnally: and becauſe ſhe would not conſent unto him, the friar had accuſed her of hereſy. And moreover ſhe ſaid, that her huſband would have killed the friar; ſo the friar for fear held his peace, and went his way for ſhame.

This Margery alſo ſaid, that ſhe had oftentimes been feignedly confeſſed to the dean of the fields, becauſe he ſhould think her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gave her oftentimes money.

Then this deponent aſked her, whether ſhe had confeſſed her ſins to a prieſt, or not.

And ſhe anſwered, That ſhe had never offended any prieſt, and therefore ſhe would never confeſs herſelf to any prieſt, neither obey him, becauſe they have no power to abſolve any man from their ſins; for that they offend daily more grievouſly than other men; and therefore that men ought to confeſs themſelves only unto God, and to no prieſt.

Item, That the ſaid Margery ſaid to this deponent, that the people did worſhip devils which fell from heaven with Lucifer, which devils, in their fall to the earth, entered into the images which ſtand in the churches, and have long lurked and dwelled in them, ſo that the people worſhipping thoſe images committed idolatry.

Item, She ſaid more to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles, of no effect or force; and that the bells are to be caſt out of the church, and that they are excommunicated which firſt ordained them.

Moreover, that ſhe ſhould not be burned, although ſhe were convicted of Lollardy; for that ſhe had a charter of ſalvation in her body.

Alſo the ſaid deponent ſaith, that Agnes Berthem, her ſervant, being ſent to the houſe of the ſaid Margery, the Saturday after Aſhwedneſday, ſhe not being within, found a braſs pot ſtanding over the fire, with a piece of bacon and oatmeal ſeething in it, as the ſaid Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were alſo divers others ſworn and examined upon the ſaid Margery, as John Grimley, and Agnes Berthem, ſervants to William Cliſland, which altogether confirmed the former depoſition.

Thus much we have thought good to note as concerning Margery Backſter, which we have gathered out of the old monuments and regiſters. But what became of her after, becauſe we find no mention made in the ſaid regiſters, we are not able to declare.

About the ſame time, even the ſame year, 1430, ſhortly after the ſolemn coronation of king Henry VI. a certain man named Richard Hoveden, a wood-winder, and a citizen of London, received alſo the crown of martyrdom. Which man, when he could by no perſuaſions be withdrawn or plucked away from the opinions of Wickliff, he was, by the rulers of the church, condemned for hereſy: and, as Fabian writeth, burned hard by the Tower of London.

Nicholas Canon, of Eye.

NOW to proceed in our ſtory of Norfolk and Suffolk, in following the order of years, we find that in the year of our Lord 1431, one Nicholas Canon, of Eye, was brought before the biſhop of Norwich for ſuſpicion of hereſy, with certain witneſſes ſworn to depoſe againſt him, touching his manners and converſation, which witneſſes appointing one William Chriſtopher to ſpeak in the name of them all, he depoſed in manner and form following.

Firſt, that on Eaſter-day, when all the pariſhioners went about the church of Eye ſolemnly in proceſſion, as the manner was, the ſaid Nicholas Canon, as it were mocking and deriding the other pariſhioners, went about the church the contrary way, and met the proceſſion.

This article he confeſſed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in ſo doing.

Item, The ſaid Nicholas aſked of maſter John Colman, of Eye, this queſtion, Maſter Colman, what think you of the ſacrament of the altar? To whom the ſaid Colman anſwered, Nicholas, I think that the ſacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very fleſh and very blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt under the form of bread and wine. Unto whom Nicholas in deriſion ſaid, Truly, if the ſacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, then may very God and very man be put in a ſmall room; as when it is in the prieſt's mouth that receiveth it at maſs. And why may not we ſimple men as well eat fleſh upon Fridays, and all other prohibited days, as the prieſt to eat the fleſh and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently? The which article the ſaid Nicholas denied that he ſpake unto maſter Colman,

but unto a man of Hockeſney, and furthermore he thought he had ſpoken well in that behalf.

Item, That on Corpus Chriſti day, at the elevation of high maſs, when all the pariſhioners and other ſtrangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the ſacrament, the ſaid Nicholas went behind a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the ſacrament.

This article he alſo acknowledging, affirmed that he believed himſelf to do well in ſo doing.

Item, when his mother would have the ſaid Nicholas to lift up his right hand, and to croſs himſelf from the crafts and aſſaults of the devil, forſomuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother took up his right hand, and croſſed him, ſaying, In nomine Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Which ſo ended, the ſaid Nicholas immediately deriding his mother's bleſſing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and bleſſed him otherwiſe, as his adverſaries report of him. This article the ſaid Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

Item, That upon Allhallows-day, in the time of elevation of high maſs, when as many of the pariſhioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the ſacrament, the ſaid Nicholas carrying a torch, went up to the high altar, and ſtanding behind the prieſt's back ſaying maſs, at the time of the elevation he ſtood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the prieſt, and his face toward the people, and would do no reverence unto the ſacrament. This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf. All which articles the biſhop's commiſſary cauſed to be copied out word for word, and to be ſent unto maſter William Worſted, prior of the cathedral church of Norwich, and to other doctors of divinity of the order of begging friars, that they might deliberate upon them, and ſhew their minds between that and Thurſday next following. Upon which Thurſday, being the laſt of November the year aboveſaid, the ſaid Nicholas was again examined before maſter Barnam and divers other, upon two other articles which he had confeſſed unto J. Excetor, notary, and Thomas Geruſten, bachelor of divinity, and others. Whereof the firſt article was this: That the ſaid Nicholas Canon, being of perfect mind and remembrance, confeſſed that he doubted whether in the ſacrament of the altar were the very body of Chriſt or no. This article he confeſſed before the commiſſary to be true.

Item, That he being of perfect mind and remembrance, believed that a man ought not to confeſs his ſins to a prieſt. This article he alſo confeſſed that he doubted upon.

Now remaineth to declare what theſe doctors aforeſaid concluded upon the articles, whoſe anſwer unto the ſame was this.

Firſt of all, as touching the firſt article, they ſaid that the article, in the ſame terms as it was propounded, is not ſimply an hereſy, but an error.

Item, As touching the ſecond article, the doctors agree as in the firſt.

Item, As touching the third article, they affirm that it is an hereſy.

Unto the fourth article they anſwered as unto the firſt and ſecond.

Item, The doctors affirm the fifth article to be an hereſy.

Item, As touching the ſixth article, the doctors conclude, that if the ſaid Nicholas, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the ſacrament of the altar were the very perfect body of Chriſt, or no, then the article is ſimply an hereſy.

Whereupon the ſaid commiſſary declared and pronounced the ſaid Nicholas, upon the determination of the ſaid doctors, to be an heretic, and thereupon forced the ſaid Nicholas to abjure all the ſaid articles. That done, he enjoined the ſaid Nicholas penance for his offences, three diſciplinings about the cloiſter of the cathedral church of Norwich, before a ſolemn proceſſion, bare headed and bare foot, carrying a taper of half a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforeſaid like a mere penitentiary; the which his penance the judge commanded ſhould be reſpited until the coming of the biſhop into his dioceſe; and that in the mean time he ſhould be kept in priſon, to the end that he ſhould not infect the flock with his venom and poiſon of errors and hereſies.

Thus have we briefly diſcourſed unto you the great trouble and afflictions which happened in Norfolk and Suffolk, by the ſpace of thoſe four years before mentioned, having drawn out briefly for every year, certain notable examples, ſufficient for the declaration of all the reſt, forſomuch as their opinions being nothing different, their penance and puniſhment did alſo nothing differ, otherwiſe than by thoſe particular examples may be plainly ſeen.

Thomas Bagley, Prieſt.

WE find in Fabian's Chronicles, that in the year of our Lord 1431, Thomas Bagley, a prieſt, vicar of Monenden, beſide Malden, being a valiant diſciple and adherent of Wickliff, was condemned by the biſhops of hereſy at London, about the middle of Lent, and was degraded and burned in Smithfield.

Paul Craw, a Bohemian.

THE ſame year alſo was Paul Craw, a Bohemian, taken at Saint Andrews, by the biſhop Henry, and delivered over to the ſecular power to be burnt, for holding contrary opinions unto the church of Rome touching the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, the worſhipping of ſaints, auricular confeſſion, with other of Wickliff's opinions.

After the burning of Richard Hoveden, of Nicholas Canon, and of Thomas Bagley, prieſt, whom the biſhops condemned to death anno 1431; not long after, about the year of our Lord 1439, they had another poor man by the back, named Richard Wiche, prieſt, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, and alſo in another old Engliſh chronicle, borrowed of one Perminder. What his opinions were, they do not expreſs. This they record, that this Richard Wiche firſt was degraded, then burnt at Tower-hill for hereſy. Some do affirm, that he before his death revolted; but that ſeemeth by his burning not to be true.

It is alſo teſtified of him, that before his death he ſpake (as propheſying) that the poſtern of the Tower ſhould ſink; which alſo afterward came, as he ſaith, to paſs, wherefore of the people he was counted for an holy man; inſomuch that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations and prayers, and areared a great heap of ſtones, and ſet up a croſs there by night: ſo that by this means a great clamor ran upon the church-men, and eſpecially upon ſuch as put him to death. Then, to ceaſe the rumor, the king gave commandment to puniſh ſuch as went thither on pilgrimage.

The

The Hiſtory of Reynold Pecock, Biſhop of Chicheſter, afflicted and impriſoned for the Goſpel of Chriſt.

AFTER the death of Henry Chicheſley before mentioned, next ſucceeded John Stafford, anno 1445, who continued eight years. After him came John Kemp, anno 1453, who ſat but three years. Then ſucceeded Thomas Burſchere. In the time of which archbiſhop fell the trouble of Reynold Pecock, biſhop of Chicheſter, afflicted by the pope's prelates for his faith and profeſſion of the goſpel. Of this biſhop, Hall alſo in his Chronology toucheth a little mention, declaring that an overthwart judgment (as he termeth it) was given by the fathers of the ſpirituality againſt him. This man (ſaith he) began to move queſtions not privately, but openly in the univerſities, concerning the Annates, Peter-pence, and other juriſdictions and authorities pertaining to the ſee of Rome, and not only put forth the queſtions, but declared his mind and opinion in the ſame; wherefore he was for this cauſe abjured at Paul's croſs. Thus much of him writeth Hall. Of whom alſo recordeth Polychronicon, but in few words. This biſhop, firſt of Saint Aſaph, then of Chicheſter, ſo long as duke Humfrey lived (by whom he was promoted, and much made of) was quiet and ſafe, and alſo bold to diſpute and to write his mind, and wrote (as Leland recordeth) divers books and treatiſes. But after that good duke was thus made away, this good man, lacking his backſtay, was open to his enemies, and matter ſoon found againſt him. Whereupon he being complained of, and accuſed by privy and malignant promoters unto the archbiſhop, letters firſt were directed down from the archbiſhop, to cite all men to appear that could any thing againſt him.

This citation being directed, the biſhop upon the ſummon thereof was brought, or rather came before the judges and biſhops unto Lambeth, where the foreſaid Thomas the archbiſhop, with his doctors and lawyers, were gathered together in the archbiſhop's court. In which convention alſo the duke of Buckingham was preſent, accompanied with the biſhops of Rocheſter and of Lincoln. What were the opinions and articles againſt him objected, after in his revocation ſhall be ſpecified. In his anſwering for himſelf, in ſuch a company of the pope's friends, albeit he could not prevail; notwithſtanding he ſtoutly defending himſelf, declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning againſt power could have prevailed.

But they on the contrary part, with all labour and travail, extended themſelves either to reduce him, or elſe to confound him. As here lacked no bluſtering words of terror and threatening, ſo alſo many fair flattering words and gentle perſuaſions were admixed withal. Briefly, to make a ſhort narration of a long and buſy traverſe, here was no ſtone left unturned, no ways unproved, either by fair means to intreat him, or by terrible menaces to terrify his mind, till at length, he being vanquiſhed and overcome by the biſhops, began to faint, and gave over. Whereupon, by and by a recantation was put unto him by the biſhops, which he ſhould declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here followeth.

The Form and manner of the Retractation of Reynold Pecock.

IN the name of God, Amen. Before you the moſt reverend father in Chriſt and lord, the lord Thomas, by the grace of God, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England and legate of the apoſtolic ſee, I Reynold Pecock, unworthy biſhop of Chicheſter, do purely, willingly, ſimply, and abſolutely confeſs and acknowledge, that I in times paſt, that is to ſay, by the ſpace of theſe twenty years laſt paſt and more, have otherwiſe conceived, holden, taught and written, as touching the ſacraments, and the articles of the faith, than the holy church of Rome, and univerſal church: and alſo that I have made, written, publiſhed and ſet forth many and divers pernicious doctrines, books, works, writings, and hereſies, containing in them errors contrary to the catholic faith, and eſpecially theſe errors and hereſies here under written.

1. Firſt of all, That we are not bound, by the neceſſity of faith, to believe that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt after his death deſcended into hell.

2. Item, That it is not neceſſary to ſalvation to believe in the holy catholic church.

3. Item, That it is not neceſſary to ſalvation to believe the communion of ſaints.

4. Item, That it is not neceſſary to ſalvation to affirm the body material in the ſacrament.

5. Item, That the univerſal church may err in matters which pertain unto faith.

6. Item, That it is not neceſſary unto ſalvation to believe that which every general council doth univerſally ordain, approve, or determine, ſhould neceſſarily for the help of our faith, and the ſalvation of ſouls, be approved and holden of all faithful chriſtians.

Wherefore I Reynold Pecock, wretched ſinner, which have long walked in darkneſs, and now, by the merciful diſpoſition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again unto the light and way of truth, and reſtored unto the unity of our holy mother the church, renounce and forſake all errors and hereſies aforeſaid.

Notwithſtanding (godly reader) it is not to be believed that Pecock did ſo give over theſe opinions, howſoever the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policy and play of the biſhops, that when they do ſubdue or overcome any man, they carry them whither they liſt, as it were a young ſteer by the noſe, and frame out his words for him beforehand, as it were for a parrot, that he ſhould ſpeak unto the people: not according to his own will, but after their luſt and fantaſy. Neither is it to be doubted but that this biſhop repented him afterward of his recantation; which may eaſily be judged hereby, becauſe he was committed again to priſon, and detained captive, where it is uncertain whether he was oppreſſed with ſecret tyranny, and there obtained the crown of martyrdom, or no.

John Gooſe in the time of K. Edward, was unjuſtly condemned and burnt at Tower-hill, anno 1473, in the month of Auguſt.

Thus had England alſo his John Hus, as well as Bohemia. Wherein moreover this is to be noted, that ſince the time of K. Richard II. there is no reign of any king to be aſſigned hitherto, wherein ſome good man or other hath not ſuffered the pains of fire for the religion and true teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

Of this ſaid John Gooſe or John Hus, this moreover I find in another Engliſh monument recorded, that the ſaid John, being delivered to Robert Beliſdon, one of the ſheriffs, to ſee him burnt in the afternoon; the ſheriff, like a charitable man, had him home to his houſe, and there exhorted him to deny his errors. But the godly man, after long exhortation heard, deſired the ſheriff to be content; for he was ſatisfied in his conſcience. Notwithſtanding this, he deſired of the ſheriff for God's ſake to give him ſome meat, ſaying, That he was very ſore hungered. Then the ſheriff commanded him meat; whereof he took and did eat, as if he had been toward no manner of danger; and ſaid to ſuch as ſtood about him, I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I ſhall paſs a little ſharp ſhower ere I go to ſupper. And when he had dined, he gave thanks, and required that he might ſhortly be led to the place where he ſhould yield up his ſpirit unto God. Ex Polychron.

About

About the year 1498, or in the year next following, the 20th day of July, was an old man burned in Smithfield.

In the year 1499 fell the martyrdom and burning of Jeronymus Savanarola, a man no leſs godly in heart than conſtant in his profeſſion. Who being a monk in Italy, and ſingularly well learned, preached ſore againſt the evil life and living of the ſpirituality, and eſpecially of his own order, complaining ſore upon them as the ſprings and authors of all miſchiefs and wickedneſs. Whereupon by the help of certain learned men, he began to ſeek reformation in his own order. Which thing the pope perceiving and fearing that the ſaid Jerome, which was now in great reputation with all men, ſhould diminiſh or overthrow his authority, he ordained his vicar or provincial to ſee reformation of theſe matters; which vicar with great ſuperſtition began to reform things.

But the ſaid Jerome did always withſtand him; whereupon he was complained of to the pope; and becauſe that contrary unto the pope's commandment he did withſtand the vicar, he was accurſed.

But for all that Jeronymus left not off preaching, but threatened Italy with the wrath and indignation of God, and propheſied before unto them, that the land ſhould be overthrown for the pride and wickedneſs of the people; and for the untruth, hypocriſy and falſehood of the clergy, which God would not leave unrevenged, as afterward it came to paſs, when K. Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and ſo ſtrangely beſet pope Alexander, that he was forced to make compoſition with the king.

This Jeronymus as a man worldly-wiſe foreſeeing the great perils and dangers that might come unto him, for fear, left off preaching. But when as the people which ſore hungered and longed for God's word, were inſtant upon him that he would preach again, he began again to preach 1496, in the city of Florence; and albeit that many counſelled him, that he ſhould not do ſo without the pope's commandment, yet he did not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good will.

When as the pope and his ſhavelings heard news of this, they were grievouſly incenſed againſt him; and now again curſed him, as an obſtinate and ſtiffnecked heretic. But notwithſtanding he proceeded in teaching and inſtructing the people.

After this, in 1498, he was taken and brought out of St. Mark's cloiſter, and two other friars with him, named Dominic and Silveſter, which favoured his learning, and was carried into priſon, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that moſt comfortable 31ſt Pſalm, wherein he doth excellently deſcribe and ſet forth the continual ſtrife between the fleſh and the ſpirit.

After this the pope's legates came to Florence and called forth theſe three good men, threatening them marvellouſly; but they continued ſtill conſtant.

Then came the chief counſellors of the city, with the pope's commiſſioners, which had gathered out certain articles againſt theſe men, whereupon they were condemned to death. Then they demanded of the ſaid Jerome and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they anſwered, That through God's help they would ſtedfaſtly continue in the manifeſt truth. Then they were firſt degraded, then hanged up in the market-place, afterward burnt to aſhes, and the aſhes gathered up, and caſt into the river of Arum, May 24, 1499.

William Tylſworth, Martyr.

IN the days of K. Henry VII. anno 1506, in the dioceſe of Lincoln in Buckinghamſhire (William Smith being biſhop of the ſame dioceſe) one William Tylſworth was burned in Amerſham, in a cloſe, called Stanley. At which time one Joan Clerk, being a married woman, which was the only daughter of the ſaid William Tylſworth, and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to ſet fire to her dear father: and at the ſame time her huſband John Clerk did penance at her father's burning, and bare a faggot. It followeth moreover in the teſtimony of the forenamed, that about the ſame time of the burning of William Tylſworth (as the Amerſham men ſay), or the next day after (as recordeth the foreſaid Agnes), was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelled at Miſſenden: and at his burning there were about twenty perſons that were compelled to bear faggots, and to do ſuch penance as the wicked phariſees did compel them. After that, by the ſpace of two or three years, was burned at Amerſham, Thomas Bernard a huſbandman, and James Mordon, a labourer; they two were burned both at one fire, and there was William Littlepage (who is yet alive) compelled to be burned in the right cheek, and father Rogers, and father Rever, alias Reive, which was after burned.. Alſo there were thirty more burned in the right cheek, and bare faggots the ſame time. The cauſe was, that they would talk againſt ſuperſtition and idolatry, and were deſirous to hear and read the ſcriptures. The manner of the burning in the cheek was this: their necks were tied faſt to a poſt or ſtay with towels, and their hands holden faſt that they might not ſtir, and ſo the iron, being hot, was put to their cheeks, and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Jeſus about them.

The cruel handling of Thomas Chaſe of Amerſham, wickedly ſtrangled and martyred in the Biſhop's Priſon at Wooburn, under William Smith, Biſhop of Lincoln.

ONE Thomas Chaſe, of Amerſham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handled; which Thomas Chaſe, by the report of ſuch as did know him, was a man of a godly, ſober, and honeſt behaviour (whoſe virtuous doings do yet remain in memory), and could not abide idolatry and ſuperſtition, but many times would ſpeak againſt it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and deſpiſe him, and took him and brought him before the blind biſhop, being at that time at Wooburn in the county of Buckingham, and as it is written Acts 12. that wicked Herod did vex certain of the congregation, and killed James the brother of John with the ſword; and becauſe he ſaw that it pleaſed the Jews, &c. he proceeded farther, and had this ſame Thomas Chaſe before him, aſking him, many queſtions touching the Romiſh religion, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes; but what anſwer this godly man Thomas Chaſe made them, it is unknown.

Howbeit it is to be ſuppoſed, that his anſwer was moſt zealous and godly in profeſſing Chriſt's true religion and goſpel, and to the extirpation of idolatry, ſuperſtition and hypocriſy, for that the ſaid Thomas Chaſe was commanded to be put in the biſhop's priſon, called Little-eaſe, in the biſhop's houſe at Wooburn, which priſon had not been miniſtered unto him, had not his anſwers been ſound and upright. There Thomas Chaſe lay bound moſt painfully with chains, oftentimes ſore pined with hunger, where the biſhop's alms was daily brought unto him by his chaplains, which alms was nothing elſe but checks, taunts, rebukes and threatenings, floutings and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr took moſt quietly and patiently, remembering Chriſt's promiſe, Matt. 5.

When the biſhop with his band of ſhavelings, perceived that by their cruelty they could not prevail againſt him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, leſt there ſhould be an uproar among the people.

And as Richard Hun ſhortly after was hanged or ſtrangled in Lollard's tower, about the year 1514, even ſo theſe blood-ſuckers moſt cruelly ſtrang'ed and preſt

to death this ſaid Thomss Chaſe in priſon, which moſt heartily called upon God to receive his ſpirit, as witneſſeth a certain woman that kept him in priſon.

After I read alſo of one Thomas Norris, who for the ſame cauſe, i. e. for the profeſſion of Chriſt's goſpel, was condemned by the biſhop, and burnt at Norwich the laſt day of March, 1507.

Laurence Gheſt.

LAmentable it is to remember, and a thing almoſt infinite, to comprehend the names, times and perſons of all them which have been ſlain by the rigor of the pope's clergy, for the true maintaining of Chriſt's cauſe, and of his ſacraments.

In the catalogue of whom, next cometh the memorial of Laurence Gheſt, who was burned in Saliſbury for the matter of the ſacrament, in the days of K. Henry VII. He was a comely and tall perſonage, and otherwiſe (as appeareth) not unfriended; for the which the biſhop and the cleſe were the more loth to burn him, but kept him in priſon the ſpace of two years. This Laurence had a wife and ſeven children. Wherefore they thinking to expunge and perſuade his mind, by ſtirring his fatherly affection towards his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the ſtake, they brought before him his wife and his ſeven children. At the ſight whereof although nature is commonly wont to work in other, yet in him religion overcoming nature, made his conſtancy to remain unmoveable, in ſuch ſort, as when his wife exhorted and deſired him to favour himſelf, he again began to deſire her to be content and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good courſe, running toward the mark of his ſalvation: and ſo fire being put to him, he finiſhed his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but alſo himſelf to follow Chriſt. As he was in burning one of the biſhop's men threw a firebrand at his face. Whereat the brother of Laurence ſtanding by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have ſlain him, had he not been otherwiſe ſtaid.

In the reign of K. Henry VII. a faithful woman of bleſſed memory, as it is glorious for all true godly chriſtians to behold; ſo again the example of the biſhop's chancellor, which cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible ſpectacle to the eyes of all papiſtical perſecutors to conſider, and to take example, which the living God grant they may, Amen.

The name of the town where ſhe was martyred, was, as is ſaid, Cheaping-Sadbury. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the chancellor who condemned her, was called doctor Whittington.

After this godly woman and manly martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the wretched chancellor above named, doctor Whittington, for the faithful profeſſion of the truth, which the papiſts then called hereſy, and the time now come when ſhe ſhould be brought to the place and pains of her martyrdom, a great concourſe of all the multitude, both in the town and country about (as the manner is in ſuch times), was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was alſo the foreſaid doctor Whittington the chancellor, there preſent to ſee the execution done.

Thus this faithful woman and true ſervant of God, conſtantly perſiſting in the teſtimony of the truth, committing her cauſe to the Lord, gave over her life to the fire, refuſing no pains nor torments to keep her conſcience clear and unreproveable in the day of the Lord. The ſacrifice being ended, the people began ro return homeward, coming from the burning of this bleſſed martyr.

It happened in the mean time, that as the catholic executioners were buſy in ſlaying this ſilly lamb at the town's ſide, a certain butcher was as buſy within the town ſlaying of a bull; which bull he had faſt bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher (belike not ſo ſkilled in his art of killing beaſts, as the papiſts be in murdering chriſtians), as he was lifting his ax to ſtrike the bull, failed in his ſtroke, and ſmote a little too low, or elſe how he ſmit, I know not: this was certain, that the bull, although ſomewhat grieved at the ſtroke, but yet not ſtricken down, put his ſtrength to the ropes, and brake looſe from the butcher into the ſtreet, the very ſame time as the people were coming in great preſs from the burning. Who ſeeing the bull coming towards them, and ſuppoſing him to be wild (as it was no other like) gave way for the beaſt, every man ſhifting for himſelf as well as he might. Thus the people giving back and making a lane for the bull, he paſſed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the chancellor was. Againſt whom the bull, as pricked with a ſudden vehemency, ran full butt with his horns, and taking him upon the paunch, gored him through and through, and ſo killed him immediately, carrying his guts, and trailing them with his horns all the ſtreet over, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that ſaw it.

Amongſt the great number of the faithful martyrs and profeſſors of Chriſt, that conſtantly in the ſtrength of the Holy Ghoſt gave their lives for the teſtimony of his truth, I find recorded in the regiſter of London, between the years 1508 and 1517, the names of divers other perſons, both men and women, who in the fulneſs of that dark and miſty time of ignorance had alſo ſome portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and goſpel, and were diverſly perſecuted and impriſoned for the ſame: notwithſtanding by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the catholic ſeat, and through the weakneſs and faintneſs of their own nature, not then fully ſtrengthened in God, it was again in them for the time ſuppreſſed and kept under, as appeareth by their ſeveral abjurations made before R. Fitzjames, then biſhop of London, or his vicar general, deputed for the ſame.

Joan Baker. William Potter. John Forge. Thomas Goodred. Thomas Walker, alias Talbot. Thomas Forge. Alice Forge. John Forge their ſon. William Couper. John Calverton. John Woodrof. Richard Woolman. Roger Hilliar. Alice Couper. Thomas Auſty. Joan Auſty. Thomas Grant. John Garter. Chriſtopher Ravins. Dyoniſe Ravins. Thomas Vincent. Lewis John. Joan John. John Webb, alias Baker. John Houſhold. Robert Raſcal. Elizabeth Stamford. George Browne. John Wikes. John Soutake. Richard Butler. John Samme. William King. Robert Durdant. Henry Woolman. Edward Spilman. John Higges, alias Noke, alias Johnſon. Henry Chambers. John Higgins, and Thomas Egleſton.

In ſearching the regiſter for the collection of the names before recited, I find that within the compaſs of the ſame years, there were alſo ſome others, who after they had once ſhewed themſelves as frail and unconſtant as the reſt, being either therewith pricked in conſcience, or otherwiſe zealouſly overcome with the manifeſt truth of God's moſt ſacred word, became yet again as earneſt profeſſors of Chriſt as ever they were before; and for the ſame profeſſion were the ſecond time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were moſt cruelly burned.

Of which number were William Sweeting, and John Brewſter, who were both burned together in Smithfield the eighteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1511.

John Stilman, Martyr.

IT would aſk a long tractation and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good men and women, beſides theſe above-rehearſed, which in thoſe days recanted and abjured about the beginning of K. Henry's reign and before: among whom yet notwithſtanding ſome there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made ſtrong in the profeſſion of his truth, and conſtant unto death; of which number one was John Stilman by name, who about September 24, in the year of our Lord 1518, was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames then biſhop of London, at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithſtanding his former recantation, oath and abjuration, made about eleven years then paſt, before Edmund then biſhop of Saliſbury, as well for ſpeaking againſt the worſhipping, praying, and offering unto images: as alſo for denying the carnal and corporal preſence in the ſacrament of Chriſt's memorial: did condemn him a relapſed heretic, October 25. and ſo delivered him the ſame preſent day unto the ſheriffs of London, to be openly burned at Smithfield.

Next to John Stilman above-mentioned, followeth in this order of bleſſed martyrs, the perſecution and condemnation of Thomas Man: who March 29, in the year of our Lord 1518, was burned in Smithfield.

W. Sweeting, alias Clerke, and James Brewſter, martyrs, were examined and condemned at the ſame time, and both burnt in Smithfield at one fire, Oct. 18, 1511.

Chriſtopher Shoomaker, Martyr.

TO theſe bleſſed ſaints before-named, we will alſo adjoin Chriſtopher Shoomaker, a pariſhioner of Great Miſſenden, who came to the houſe of John Say, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little book the words which Chriſt ſpake to his diſciples. And thus coming to his houſe about four times, at every time he read ſomething out of the ſame book unto him: teaching him not to be deceived in the prieſts' celebration of the maſs, and declaring that it was not the ſame very preſent body of Chriſt, as the prieſts did phantaſy; but in ſubſtance bread, bearing the remembrance of Chriſt: and taught him moreover, that pilgrimage, worſhipping and ſetting up candles to ſaints, were all unprofitable. And thus the ſaid John Say being taught by this Chriſtopher, and alſo confirmed by John Okenden and Robert Pope, was brought to the knowledge of the ſame doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that regiſter concerning Chriſtopher Shoomaker: declaring further, that he was burned at Newbury about this time, which was anno 1518. And thus much out of the regiſters of London.

IN turning over the regiſters and records in Lincoln likewiſe, and coming to the year of our Lord 1520, and 1521, I find that as the light of the goſpel began more to appear, and the number of profeſſors to grow, ſo the vehemency of perſecutions and the ſtir of the biſhops began alſo to increaſe. Whereupon enſued great perturbation and grievous affliction in divers and ſundry quarters of this realm, eſpecially about Buckinghamſhire and Amerſham, Uxbridge, Henly, Newbury, in the dioceſe of London, in Eſſex, Colcheſter, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and other places more. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in theſe countries among the people. Wherefore they are much beguiled and miſinformed, which condemn this kind of doctrine now received, of novelty; aſking, Where was this church and religion forty years ago, before Luther's time? to whom it may be anſwered, that this religion and form of doctrine was planted by the apoſtles, and taught by true biſhops; afterward decayed, and now reformed again: and although it was not received nor admitted of the pope's clergy before Luther's time, neither yet is; yet it was received of other, in whoſe heart it pleaſed the Lord ſecretly to work, and that of a great number, which both profeſſed and ſuffered for the ſame, as in the former times of this hiſtory may appear. And if they think this doctrine ſo new that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how then came ſuch great perſecution before Luther's time here in England? If theſe were of the ſame profeſſion which they were of, then was their cruelty unreaſonable, ſo to perſecute their own catholic fraternity. And if they were otherwiſe, how then is this doctrine of the goſpel ſo new, or the profeſſors thereof ſo late ſtart up as they pretend them to be? But this cometh only of ignorance, and for not knowing and conſidering well the times and antiquities of the church which have been before us. Which if they did, they ſhould ſee and ſay, that the church of England hath not wanted great multitudes which taſted and followed the ſweetneſs of God's holy word almoſt in as ample manner, for the number of well-diſpoſed hearts, as now, although public authority then lacked to maintain the open preaching of the goſpel, yet the ſecret multitude of true profeſſors was not much unequal: certain the fervent zeal of thoſe chriſtian days ſeemed much ſuperior to theſe our days and times; as manifeſtly may appear by their ſitting up all night in reading and hearing; alſo by their expences and charges in buying of books in Engliſh, of whom ſome gave five marks, ſome more, ſome leſs, for a book: ſome gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul in Engliſh. In which rarity of books, and want of teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muſe at; to note in the regiſters, and to conſider how the word of truth notwithſtanding did multiply ſo exceedingly as it did amongſt them. Wherein is to be ſeen no doubt the marvellous working of God's mighty power; for ſo I find and obſerve in conſidering the regiſters, how one neighbour reſorting and conferring with another, immediately with a few words of their firſt or ſecond talk, did win and turn their minds to that wherein they deſired to perſuade them, touching the truth of God's word and his ſacrament. To ſee their travails, their earneſt ſeeking, their burning zeals, their readings, their watchings, their ſweet aſſemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the faithful, may make us now, in theſe our days of free profeſſion, to bluſh for ſhame.

The Hiſtory of Dr. Martin Luther, with his Life and Doctrine deſcribed.

MARTIN LUTHER, after he was grown in years, being born at Iſleben in Saxony, Anno 1483, was ſent to the univerſity, firſt of Magdeburg, then of Erford. In this univerſity of Erford, there was a certain aged man in the convent of the Auguſtines (who is thought to be Weſelus), with whom Luther being then of the ſame order, a friar Auguſtine had conference upon divers things, eſpecially touching the article of remiſſion of ſins; the which article the ſaid aged father opened unto Luther after this ſort; declaring, that we muſt not generally believe only forgiveneſs of ſins to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paul, to David, or ſuch good men alone; but that God's expreſs commandment is, that every man ſhould believe his ſins to be forgiven him in Chriſt: and further ſaid, that this interpretation was confirmed by the teſtimony of St. Bernard; and ſhewed him the place, in the ſermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus ſet forth: But add thou, that thou believeſt this, that by him thy ſins are forgiven thee. This is the teſtimony that the Holy Ghoſt giveth thee in thy heart, ſaying, Thy ſins are forgiven thee. For this is the opinion of the apoſtle, that man is freely juſtified by faith.

By theſe words Luther was not only ſtrengthened, but was alſo inſtructed of the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeateth ſo many times this ſentence, We are juſtified by faith. And having read the expoſitions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the purpoſe of the old man, as by the comfort he received in his ſpirit, the vanity of thoſe interpretations, which he had read before of the ſchoolmen. And ſo reading by little and little, with conferring the ſayings and examples of the prophets and apoſtles, and continual invocation of God, and excitation of faith by force of prayer, he perceived that doctrine moſt evidently. Then began he to read St. Auguſtine's books, where he found many comfortable ſentences: among other, in the expoſition of the Pſalms, and eſpecially in the book of the ſpirit and letter, which confirmed this doctrine of faith and conſolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aſide the ſententiaries, as Gabriel and Cameracenſis. Alſo he read the books of Occam, whoſe ſubtilty he preferred above Thomas Aquinas and Scotus. He read alſo and revolved Gerſon: but above all the reſt, he peruſed all over St. Auguſtine's works with attentive cogitation. And thus continued he his ſtudy at Erford the ſpace of four years in the covent of the Auguſtines.

About this time one Staupitius, a famous man, miniſtering his help to further the erection of an univerſity in Wittenberg, and endeavouring to have ſchools of divinity founded in this new univerſity: when he had conſidered the ſpirit and towardlineſs of Luther, he called him from Erford, to place him at Wittenberg, in the year 1508, and of his age 26. There his towardneſs appeared in the ordinary exerciſe, both of his diſputations in the ſchools, and preaching in churches: where many wiſe and learned men attentively heard Luther, namely Dr. Mellarſtad.

This Mellarſtad would oftentimes ſay, that Luther was of ſuch marvellous ſpirit, and ſo ingenious, that he gave apparent ſignification, that he would introduce a more compendious, eaſy, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and aboliſh the order that then was uſed.

There firſt he expounded the logic and philoſophy of Ariſtotle, and in the mean while intermitted no whit his ſtudy in theology. Three years after he went to Rome, about certain contentions of the monks; and returning the ſame year, he was graded doctor, at the expences of the elector Frederic duke of Saxony, according to the ſolemn manner of ſchools; for he had heard him preach; well underſtood the quietneſs of his ſpirit; diligently conſidered the vehemency of his words; and had in ſingular admiration thoſe profound matters which in his ſermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree Staupitius, againſt his will, inforced upon him; ſaying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to paſs in his church by him. And though theſe words were ſpoken merrily, yet it came ſo to paſs anon after.

After this, he began to expound the epiſtle to the Romans, and conſequently the Pſalms: where he ſhewed the difference between the law and the goſpel. He alſo confounded the error that reigned then in ſchools and ſermons, teaching that men may merit remiſſion of ſins by their proper works, and that they be juſt before God by outward diſcipline, as the phariſees taught. Luther diligently reduced the minds of men to the Son of God. And as John Baptiſt demonſtrated the Lamb of God which took away the ſins of the world; even ſo Luther, ſhining in the church as a bright ſtar after a long cloudy and obſcure ſky, expreſly ſhewed, that ſins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift.

Theſe happy beginnings of ſo good matters, got him great authority, eſpecially ſeeing his life alſo was correſpondent to his profeſſion. The conſideration whereof allured to him marvellouſly the hearts of his auditors, and alſo many notable perſonages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonies, but preciſely obſerved his rule among his fellows; he meddled in no doubtful opinions, but taught this only doctrine, as moſt principal of all others to all men, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remiſſion of ſins, of faith, of true comfort in times of adverſity. Every man received good taſte of this ſweet doctrine, and the learned conceived high pleaſure to behold Jeſus Chriſt, the prophets, and apoſtles to come forth into light, out of darkneſs, whereby they began to underſtand the difference betwixt the law and the goſpel; betwixt the promiſes of the law, and the promiſe of the goſpel; betwixt ſpiritual juſtice, and civil things: which certainly could not have been found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and ſuch-like ſchool-clerks.

It happened moreover about this time, that many were provoked, by Eraſmus's learned works, to ſtudy the Greek and Latin tongues; who perceiving a more gentle and ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the monks barbarous and ſophiſtical doctrine; and eſpecially ſuch as were of a liberal nature and good diſpoſition. Luther began to ſtudy the Greek and Hebrew tongue, to this end, that after he had learnt the phraſe and property of the tongues, and drawn the doctrine of the very fountains, he might give more ſound judgment.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, which was in the year of our Lord 1516, Leo the tenth of that name, ſucceeding after Julius the ſecond, was pope of Rome. Who, under pretence of war againſt the Turk, ſent a jubilee with his pardons abroad through all chriſtian realms and dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable riches and treaſure. The gatherers and collectors whereof perſuaded the people, that whoſoever would give ten ſhillings, ſhould at his pleaſure deliver one ſoul from the pains of purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatſoever they would have him, according to the ſaying, Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe on earth, the ſame ſhall be looſed in heaven. But if it were but one jot leſs than ten ſhillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing. Ex Chriſtia. Maſſæo, lib. 20. Chro.

This filthy kind of the pope's merchandiſe came alſo to Germany, through the means of a certain dominic friar named Tecellius, who moſt impudently cauſed the pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and ſold about the country. Whereupon Luther, much moved with the blaſphemous ſermons of this ſhameleſs friar, and having his heart earneſtly bent with ardent deſire to maintain true religion, publiſhed certain propoſitions concerning indulgences, which are to be read in the firſt tome of his works, and ſet them openly on the temple that joineth to the caſtle of Wittenberg, the morrow after the feaſt of all-ſaints, the year 1517.

This beggarly friar, hoping to obtain the pope's bleſſing, aſſembled certain monks and ſophiſtical divines of his covent, and forthwith commanded them to write ſomething againſt Luther. And whilſt he would not himſelf ſeem to be dumb, he began not only to inveigh in his ſermons, but to thunder againſt Luther; crying, Luther is an heretic, and worthy to be perſecuted with fire. And beſides this, he burned openly Luther's propoſitions, and the ſermon which he wrote of indulgences. This rage and fumiſh fury of this friar inforced Luther to treat more amply of the cauſe, and to maintain his matter.

And thus roſe the beginnings of this controverſy; wherein Luther, neither ſuſpecting nor dreaming of any change that might happen in the ceremonies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falſely accuſe him, which blaze, that he began with plauſible matter, whereby he might get praiſe, to the end that in proceſs of time he might change the ſtate of the commonweal, and purchaſe authority either for himſelf or other.

And certainly he was not ſuborned or ſtirred up by them of the court (as the duke of Brunſwick wrote), inſomuch

ſomuch that the duke Frederic was ſore offended that ſuch contention and controverſy ſhould ariſe, having regard to the ſequel thereof.

And as this good duke Frederic was one, of all the princes of our time, that loved beſt quietneſs and common tranquillity; neither was avaricious, but willingly bent to refer all his counſels to the common utility of all the world (as it is eaſy to be conjectured divers ways) ſo he neither encouraged nor ſupported Luther, but often repreſented ſemblance of heavineſs and ſorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater diſſenſions. But being a wiſe prince, and following the counſel of God's rule, thought with himſelf, that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things. Neither was he ignorant what blaſphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obſtinately to repugn the truth. Wherefore he obeyed God, committing himſelf to his holy grace, and omnipotent protection. And although Maximilianus the emperor, Carolus king of Spain, and pope Julius, had given commandment to the ſaid duke Frederic, that he ſhould inhibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the duke, conſidering with himſelf the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the teſtimonies and places of the ſcripture which he alledged, would not withſtand the thing which he judged ſincere.

And yet neither did he this, truſting to his own judgment, but very anxious and inquiſitive to hear the judgment of others, which were both aged and learned. In the number of whom was Eraſmus, whom the duke deſired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther: ſaying and proteſting, that he would rather the ground ſhould open and ſwallow him, than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifeſt truth; and therefore he deſired him to declare his judgment in the matter to him freely and friendly.

Eraſmus, thus being entreated of the duke, began thus jeſtingly and merrily to anſwer the duke's requeſt, ſaying, That in Luther were two great faults; firſt, that he would touch the bellies of monks; the ſecond, that he would touch the pope's crown; which two matters in no caſe are to be dealt withal. Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, he ſaid, That Luther did well in detecting errors, and that reformation was to be wiſhed, and very neceſſary in the church: and moreover, that the effect of his doctrine was true; but only that he wiſhed in him a more temperate moderation, and manner of writing and handling. Whereupon duke Frederic ſhortly after wrote to Luther, ſeriouſly exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his ſtile.

Furthermore, the ſame Eraſmus, the year next following that, wrote up to the archbiſhop of Mentz a certain epiſtle touching the cauſe of Luther; in which epiſtle he thus ſignified to the biſhop, That many things were in the books of Luther condemned of monks and divines for heretical, which in the books of Bernard and Auſtin are read for ſound and godly.

Alſo, That the world is burthened with men's inſtitutions, with ſchool-doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of begging friars; which friars, when they are but the pope's ſervants and underlings, yet they have ſo grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible both to the pope himſelf, and to all princes: who ſo long as the pope maketh with them, ſo long they make him more than a god; but if he make any thing againſt their purpoſe or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dream or phantaſy.

Once, ſaid he, it was counted an hereſy when a man repugned againſt the goſpel, or articles of the faith: now he that diſſenteth from Thomas Aquinas is an heretic. whatſoever doth not like them, whatſoever they underſtand not, that is hereſy. To ſpeak Greek is hereſy, or to ſpeak more finely than they do, that is with them hereſy. And thus much by the way concerning the judgment of Eraſmus.

Now to return, and to entreat ſomething orderly of the acts and conflicts of Luther with his adverſaries.

After that Tecellius, with his fellow monks and friary fellows, had cried out with open mouth againſt Luther, in maintaining the pope's indulgences; and that Luther again, in defence of his cauſe, had ſet up propoſitions againſt the open abuſes of the ſame, marvel it was to ſee how ſoon theſe propoſitions were ſparkled abroad in ſundry and far places, and how greedily they were catched up in the hands of divers, both far and near. And thus the contention of this matter increaſing between them, Luther was compelled to write thereof more largely and fully than otherwiſe he thought, which was in the year of our Lord 1517.

Yet all this while Luther never thought of any alteration to come of any ceremony, much leſs ſuch a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as afterward did follow. But only hearing that he was accuſed to the biſhop of Rome, he did write humbly unto him: in the beginning of which writing he declareth the inordinate outrage of thoſe his pardon-mongers, which ſo exceſſively did pill and poll the ſimple people, to the great ſlander of the church, and ſhame to his holineſs: and ſo proceeding, in the end of his writing he thus ſubmitted himſelf:

"Wherefore, ſaith he, moſt holy father, I offer myſelf proſtrate under the feet of your holineſs, with all that I am, and that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you ſhall pleaſe. Your voice, the voice of Chriſt in your ſpeaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deſerved death, I ſhall be contented to die: for the earth is the Lord's, and all the fulneſs thereof, who is to be bleſſed for ever, Amen." This was in the year of our Lord 1518.

After that Martin Luther, provoked by Tecellius, had declared his mind in writing, lowly and humbly, and had ſet up certain propoſitions to be diſputed; not long after, among other monks and friars, ſteppeth up one Silveſter, who publiſhed abroad a certain impudent and railing dialogue againſt him. Unto whom Luther anſwered again, firſt alledging the place of the apoſtle, 1 Theſſ. 5. That we muſt prove all things. Alſo Gal. 2. That if any angel from heaven do bring any other goſpel than that we have received, he ought to be accurſed.

And in the latter part of his anſwer thus Luther writeth to the reader, "Let opinions remain opinions, ſo they be not yokes to the chriſtians. Let us not make mens opinions equal with the articles of faith, and to the decrees of Chriſt and Paul. Moreover, I am aſhamed, ſaith he, to hear the common ſaying of theſe divine ſchool-doctors, who holding one thing in the ſchools, and thinking otherwiſe in their own judgment, thus are wont ſecretly among themſelves, and with their privy friends talking together, to ſay, Thus do we hold, and thus do we ſay, being in the ſchools: but yet (be it ſpoken here amongſt us) it cannot be ſo proved by the holy ſcriptures," &c. Ex Paralip. Abb. Uſperg.

Then was Martin Luther cited the 7th of Auguſt, by one Jeronymus, biſhop of Aſcalon, to appear at Rome. About which time Thomas Cajenatus, cardinal, the pope's legate, was then lieger at the city of Auguſta, who before had been ſent down in commiſſion, with certain mandates of pope Leo, unto that city. The univerſity of Wittenberg underſtanding of Luther's citation, immediately directed up their letters, with their public ſeal, to the pope in Luther's behalf. Alſo another letter they ſent to Carolus Militus, the pope's chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good Frederic ceaſed not for his part to ſolicit the matter with his letters and earneſt ſuit with cardinal Cajetanus, that the cauſe of Luther might be freed from Rome, and removed to Auguſta, in the hearing of the cardinal. Cajetanus,

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at the ſuit of the duke, wrote unto the pope; from whom he received this anſwer again the 23d of Auguſt, "That he had cited Luther perſonally to appear before him at Rome; but Luther, abuſing and contemning the gentleneſs offered, did not only refuſe to come, but alſo became more bold and ſtubborn, continuing, or rather increaſing in his former hereſy, as by his writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the cardinal ſhould cite and call up the ſaid Luther to appear at the city of Auguſta before him; adjoining withal the aid of the princes of Germany, and of the emperor, if need required; ſo that when the ſaid Luther ſhould appear, he ſhould lay hand upon him, and commit him to ſafe cuſtody, and after he ſhould be brought up to Rome: and if he perceived him to come to any knowledge for amendment of his fault, he ſhould releaſe him, and reſtore him to the church again, or elſe he ſhould be interdict, with all other his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatſoever ſtate or condition they were. Againſt all which perſons and degrees he willed him to extend the ſame curſe and malediction (only the perſon of the emperor excepted) interdicting, by the cenſure of the church, all ſuch lands, lordſhips, towns, tenements, and villages, as ſhould miniſter any harbour to the ſaid Luther, and were not obedient unto the ſee of Rome. Contrariwiſe, to all ſuch as ſhewed themſelves obedient, he ſhould promiſe full remiſſion of all their ſins."

Likewiſe the pope directed other letters alſo the ſame time to duke Frederic, complaining with many grievous words againſt Luther.

The cardinal thus being charged with injunctions from Rome, according to his commiſſion, ſendeth with all ſpeed for Luther to appear at Auguſta before him.

About the beginning of October Martin Luther yielding his obedience to the church of Rome, came to Auguſta at the cardinal's ſending (at the charges of the noble prince elector, as alſo with his letters of commendation), where he remained three days before he came to his ſpeech; for ſo it was provided by his friends, that he ſhould not enter talk with the cardinal, before a ſufficient warrant or ſafe conduct was obtained of the emperor Maximilian. Which being obtained, immediately he entered, offering himſelf to the ſpeech of the cardinal, and was received very gently; who propounded unto Luther three things, or as Sleiden ſaith but two, to wit,

1. That he ſhould repent and revoke his errors.

2. That he ſhould promiſe, from that time forward, to refrain from the ſame.

3. That he ſhould refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the church.

When Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the legate brought forth the Extravagants of Clement, which beginneth, Unigenitus, &c. becauſe that he, contrary to that canon, had held and taught in his fifty-eight propoſitions, That the merits of Chriſt are not the treaſures of indulgences or pardons. Secondly, The cardinal, contrary to the ſeventh propoſition of Luther, affirmeth, That faith is not neceſſary to him that receiveth the ſacrament.

Furthermore, another day, in the preſence of four of the emperor's council, having there a notary, and witneſſes preſent, Luther proteſted for himſelf, and perſonally, in this manner following;

"Imprimis, I Martin Luther, a friar Auguſtine, proteſt, That I do reverence and follow the church of Rome in all my ſayings and doings, preſent, paſt, and to come; and if any thing hath been, or ſhall be ſaid by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken as though it had never been ſpoken. But becauſe the cardinal hath required at the commandment of the pope three things of me to be obſerved:

1. That I ſhould return again to the knowledge of myſelf:

2. That I ſhould beware of falling into the ſame again hereafter:

3. That I ſhould promiſe to abſtain from all things which might diſquiet the church of God:

I proteſt here this day, That whatſoever I have ſaid, ſeemeth unto me to be found, true, and catholic; yet for the further proof thereof, I do offer myſelf perſonally, either here or elſewhere, publicly to give a reaſon of my ſayings. And if this pleaſe not the legate, I am ready alſo in writing to anſwer his objections, if he have any againſt me: and touching theſe things, to hear the ſentence and judgment of the univerſities of the empire, Baſil, Friburg, and Louvain. Hereof when they had received an anſwer in writing, they departed.

After this Luther by and by prepared an anſwer to the legate, teaching, that the merits of Chriſt are not committed unto men: that the pope's voice is to be heard when he ſpeaketh agreeable to the ſcriptures: that the pope may err, that he ought to be reprehended, Acts 15. Moreover, he ſhewed, that in the matter of faith, not only the general council, but alſo every faithful chriſtian is above the pope, if he lean to better authority and reaſon: that the Extravagant containeth untruths: that it is an infallible verity, that none is juſt: that it is neceſſary for him that cometh to the receiving of the ſacrament, to believe: that faith in the abſolution and remiſſion of ſins is neceſſary: that he ought not, nor might not decline from the verity of the ſcripture: that he ſought nothing but the light of the truth, &c.

But the cardinal would hear no ſcriptures, he diſputed without ſcriptures; he deviſed gloſſes and expoſitions of his own head: and by diſtinctions (wherewith the divinity of the Thomiſts is full) like a very Proteus he avoided all things. After this, Luther being commanded to come no more in the preſence of the legate, except he would recant, notwithſtanding abode there ſtill, and would not depart. Then the Cardinal ſent for Joannes Staupitius, vicar of the Auguſtines, and moved him earneſtly to bring Luther to recant of his own accord. Luther tarried the next day alſo, and nothing was ſaid unto him. The third day moreover he tarried, and delivered up his mind in writing: in which, firſt, "He thanked him for his courteſy and great kindneſs, which he perceived by the words of Staupitius, toward him; and therefore was the more ready to gratify him in whatſoſoever kind of office he could do him ſervice: confeſſing moreover, that where he had been ſomewhat ſharp and eager againſt the pope's dignity, that was not ſo much of his own mind, as it was to be aſcribed to the importunity of certain which gave him occaſion. Notwithſtanding, as he acknowledged his exceſs therein, ſo he was ready to ſhew more moderation in that behalf hereafter; and alſo promiſed to make amends for the ſame unto the biſhop, and that in the pulpit, if he pleaſed. And as touching the matter of pardons, he promiſed alſo to proceed no further in any mention thereof, ſo that his adverſaries likewiſe were bound to keep ſilence. But whereas he was preſt to retract his ſentence before defended; foraſmuch as he had ſaid nothing but with a good conſcience, and which was agreeable to the firm teſtimonies of the ſcripture; therefore he humbly deſired the determination thereof to be referred to the biſhop of Rome; for nothing could be more grateful to him, than to hear the voice of the church ſpeaking," &c.

Who doth not ſee by this ſo honeſt and humble ſubmiſſion of Luther, but that if the biſhop of Rome would have been anſwered with any reaſon, or contented with ſufficient mean, he had never been touched any further of Luther? but the ſecret purpoſe of God had a further work herein to do: for the time now was come, when God thought good that pride ſhould have a fall. Thus while the unmeaſurable deſire of that biſhop ſought more than enough (like to Æſop's dog coveting to have both fleſh and ſhadow) not only he miſſed that he gaped for, but alſo loſt that which he had.

But to the purpoſe of our matter again: this writing Luther delivered to the cardinal, the third day after he

was commanded out of his ſight. When Luther ſaw that he would give no anſwer nor countenance to the letter, at length, by the counſel of his friends, and eſpecially becauſe the cardinal had ſaid before, that he had a commandment to impriſon Luther, and John Staupitius, the vicar; after that he had made and ſet up his appeal where it might be ſeen and read, he departed, thinking that he had ſhewed ſuch dangerous obedience long enough. Luther, a beholder and a doer of theſe things, recordeth the ſame, and ſheweth the cauſe why he ſubmitted himſelf to the church of Rome: declaring alſo, that even thoſe things which are moſt truly ſpoken, yet ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. Some things he ſuppreſſeth and concealeth, which he ſuppoſeth the reader to underſtand, not without grief and ſorrow.

At length he proteſteth, that he reverenceth and followeth the church of Rome in all things, and that he ſetteth himſelf only againſt thoſe, which, under the name of the church of Rome, go about to ſet forth and commend Babylon unto us.

Thus have you heard, how that Luther, being rejected from the ſpeech and ſight of Cajetanus the cardinal, after ſix days waiting, departed by the advice of his friends, and returned into Wittenberg; leaving a letter in writing to be given to the cardinal; wherein he declared ſufficiently, firſt his obedience in his coming, the reaſons of his doctrine, his ſubmiſſion reaſonable to the ſee of Rome, his long waiting after he was repelled from the cardinal's ſpeech, the charges of the duke, and finally, the cauſe of his departing. Beſides this letter to the cardinal, he left alſo an appellation to the biſhop of Rome, from the cardinal, which he cauſed to be fixed before his departure.

After that Luther was thus departed and returned again into his country, Cajetanus writeth to duke Frederic a ſharp and a biting letter: in which firſt he ſignifieth unto him his gentle entertainment and good-will ſhewed to reduce Luther from his error. Secondly, he complaineth of the ſudden departing of him, and of Staupitius. Thirdly, he declareth the pernicious danger of Luther's doctrine againſt the church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorteth the duke, that as he tendereth his own honour and ſafety, and regardeth the favour of the high biſhop, he will ſend him up to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions, foraſmuch as ſuch a peſtilence breeding, as that was, could not, neither ought by any means long ſo to be ſuffered.

To this letter of the cardinal the duke anſwered again, That he following his conſcience, grounded upon the word of God, would not revoke that for an error, which could be proved no error; and himſelf he excuſeth thus; That where it is required of him to baniſh him his country, or to ſend him up to Rome, it would be little honeſty for him ſo to do, and leſs conſcience, unleſs he knew juſt cauſe why he ſhould ſo do: which if the cardinal would or could declare unto him, there ſhould lack nothing in him which were the part of a chriſtian prince to do. And therefore he deſired him to be a means unto the biſhop of Rome, that innocency and truth be not oppreſſed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

This done, the duke ſendeth the letter of the cardinal unto Martin Luther. Who anſwered again to the prince; ſhewing firſt how he came obediently unto Cajetanus with the emperor's warrant; and what talk there was between them: how Cajetanus preſſed him, againſt his conſcience and manifeſt truth, to revoke theſe errors. Firſt, that the merits of Chriſt's paſſion were not the treaſure of the pope's pardons. Secondly, that faith was neceſſary in receiving the ſacraments. Albeit in the firſt he was content to yield to the cardinal; in the ſecond, becauſe it touched a great part of our ſalvation, he could not with a ſafe conſcience relent, but deſired to be taught by the ſcripture: or at leaſt, that the matter might be brought into open diſputation in ſome free place of Germany, where the truth might be diſcuſſed and judged of learned men. The cardinal, not pleaſed with this, in great anger caſt out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his preſence or ſpeech: whereas he yet notwithſtanding perſiſted in his obedience to the church of Rome, gave attendance, waiting upon the cardinal's pleaſure a ſufficient time.

At laſt, when no anſwer would come; after he had waited the ſpace of five or ſix days, to his great detriment and greater danger, by the perſuaſion of his friends, he departed. Whereat if the cardinal were diſpleaſed, he had moſt cauſe to blame himſelf. And now whereas the cardinal threateneth me (ſaith he) not to let the action fall, but that the proceſs thereof ſhould be purſued at Rome, unleſs I either come and preſent myſelf, or elſe be baniſhed your dominions; I am not ſo much grieved for mine own cauſe, as that you ſhould ſuſtain for my matter any danger or peril. And therefore ſeeing there is no place nor country which can keep me from the malice of my adverſaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forſake my country, whitherſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to lead me: thanking God, which hath counted me worthy to ſuffer thus much for the glory of Chriſt's name.

Here (no doubt) was the cauſe of Luther in great danger, being now brought to this ſtrait, that both Luther was ready to fly the country, and the duke again was as much afraid to keep him; had not the marvellous providence of God (who had this matter in guiding) here provided a remedy where the power of man did fail, by ſtirring up the whole univerſity of Wittenberg; who ſeeing the cauſe of truth thus to decline, with a full and general conſent addreſſed their letters unto the prince, in defence of Luther and of his cauſe; making their humble ſuit unto him, that he of his princely honour would not ſuffer innocency, and the ſimplicity of truth, ſo clear as is the ſcriptures, to be foiled and oppreſſed by mere violence of certain malignant flatterers about the pope; but that the error firſt may be ſhewed and convicted, before the party be pronounced guilty.

By the occaſion of theſe letters, the duke began more ſeriouſly in his mind to conſider the cauſe of Luther, and to read his works, and alſo to hearken to his ſermons, whereby (through God's holy working) he grew to knowledge and ſtrength, perceiving in Luther's quarrel more than he did before. This was about the beginning of December, 1518.

As this paſſed on, pope Leo playing the lion at Rome, in the mean time, in the month of November, to ſtabliſh his ſeat againſt this defection which he feared to come, had ſent forth new indulgences into Germany, and all quarters abroad, with a new edict, wherein he declared this to be the catholic doctrine of the holy mother church of Rome, prince of all other churches, that biſhops of Rome, which are ſucceſſors of Peter, and vicars of Chriſt, have this power and authority given to releaſe and diſpenſe, alſo to grant indulgences available both for the living and for the dead, lying in the pains of purgatory: and this doctrine he charged to be received of all chriſtian men, under pain of the great curſe, and utter ſeparation from all holy church.

This popiſh decree and indulgence, as a new merchandiſe to get money, being ſet up in all quarters of Chriſtendom for the holy father's advantage, came alſo to be received into Germany about the month of December. Luther, in the mean time, hearing how they were about in Rome to proceed and pronounce againſt him, provided a certain appellation conceived in due form of law, wherein he appealeth from the pope to the general council.

When pope Leo perceived, that neither his pardons would proſper to his mind, nor that Luther could be brought to Rome; to aſſay how to come to his purpoſe by crafty allurements, he ſent his chamberlain Carolus Miltitius into Saxony to duke Frederic, with a golden roſe, after the uſual ceremony accuſtomed every year

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to be preſented to him, with ſecret letters alſo to certain noblemen of the duke's council, to ſolicit the pope's cauſe, and to remove the duke's mind, if it might be, from Luther.

But before Miltitius approached into Germany, Maximilian the emperor deceaſed in the month of January, anno 1519. At what time two there were which ſtood for the election, to wit, Francis the French king, and Charles king of Spain, which was alſo duke of Auſtria, and duke of Burgundy. To make this matter ſhort, through the means of Frederic, prince elector, who having the offer of the preferment, refuſed the ſame, the election fell to Carolus, called Carolus the fifth, ſurnamed Prudence; which was about the end of Auguſt.

In the month of June before there was a public diſputation ordained at Lypſia, which is a city in Miſnia, under the dominion of George duke of Saxony, uncle to duke Frederic. This diſputation firſt began through the occaſion of Joannes Eckius a friar, and Andreas Caroloſtadius, doctor of Wittenberg. This Eckius had impugned certain propoſitions or concluſions of Martin Luther, which he had written the year before, touching the pope's pardons. Againſt him Caroloſtadius wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius again, to anſwer Caroloſtadius, ſet forth an apology. Which apology Caroloſtadius confuted by writing. Upon this began the diſputation, with ſafe conduct granted by duke George, to all and ſingular perſons that would reſort to the ſame. To this diſputation came alſo Martin Luther, with Philip Melancthon; Luther not thinking then to diſpute any matter, becauſe of his appellation above-mentioned, but only to hear what there was ſaid or done.

Firſt, before the entry into the diſputation it was agreed, that the acts ſhould be penned by notaries, and after divulged abroad. But Eckius afterward went back from that; pretending, that the penning of the notaries would be an hindrance and a ſtay unto them, whereby the heat of them in their reaſoning ſhould the more languiſh, and their vehemency abate. But Caroloſtadius, without notaries, would not diſpute. The ſum of their diſputations was reduced to certain concluſions. Amongſt which, firſt came in queſtion to diſpute of free-will, that is, whether a man have, of himſelf, any election or purpoſe to do that which is good: or, to uſe the terms of the ſchool, whether a man of congruence may deſerve grace, doing that which in him doth lie? Herein when the queſtion was to be diſcuſſed, what the will of man may do of itſelf, without grace; they, thro' heat of contention, as the manner is, fell into other by-matters and ambages, little or nothing appertaining to that which Caroloſtadius propoſed.

Eckius affirmed, That the pure ſtrength to do good is not in man's will, but is given of God to man, to take intereſt and increaſe of man again, which firſt he ſeemed to deny.

Then being aſked of Caroloſtadius, Whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceedeth of God?

To this he anſwered, The whole good work, but not wholly; granting, that the will is moved of God; but to conſent, to be in man's power.

Againſt this reaſoning Coroloſtadius, alledging certain places of Auſtin, and namely of St. Paul, which ſaith, That God worketh in us both to will and to perform. And this ſentence of Caroloſtadius ſeemed to overcome.

Eckius for his aſſertion inferred certain eſcripts out of Bernard, which ſeemed little to the purpoſe. And thus was a whole week loſt about theſe contentions and ſophiſtical altercation between Eckius and Caroloſtadius.

Luther (as was ſaid) came, not thinking at all to diſpute; but having true liberty granted by the duke, and under the pope's authority, was provoked, and forced againſt his will, to diſpute with Eckius. The matter of their controverſy was about the authority of the biſhop of Rome. Here is firſt to be admoniſhed, that Luther before had ſet forth in writing this doctrine; That they which do attribute the preheminency to the church of Rome, have no foundation for them, but out of the pope's decrees, ſet forth not much paſt 400 years heretofore: which decrees he affirmed to be quite contrary to all ancient hiſtories, above 1000 years paſt, contrary to all the holy ſcriptures, and unto the Nicene council.

Againſt this aſſertion Eckius ſet up a contrary concluſion, ſaying, That they which hold that the ſupremacy and preheminency of the church of Rome above all other churches was not before the time of pope Silveſter the firſt, do err, foraſmuch as they, which ſucceed in the ſee and faith of Peter, were always received for the ſucceſſors of Peter, and vicars of Chriſt in earth.

This being the laſt of all the other themes of Eckius, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this againſt Luther, to bring him into more diſpleaſure with the biſhop of Rome; wherein Luther himſelf much refuſed to diſpute, alledging that matter to be more odious than neceſſary for that preſent time, and that alſo for the biſhop of Rome's ſake, he had much rather keep ſilence in the ſame. Whereunto if he muſt needs be urged, he would the fault ſhould be underſtood of all men to be where it was, namely, in his adverſaries, which provoked him thereunto, and not in himſelf.

Eckius again clearing himſelf, tranſlated all the fault unto Luther, which firſt in his treatiſe De indulgentiis Papæ, defended, that before pope Silveſter's time the church of Rome had no place of majority or preheminence above other the churches: and alſo before the cardinal Cajetanus affirmed, That pope Pelagianus wreſted many places of the ſcripture out of their proper ſenſe, unto his own affection and purpoſe. Wherefore the fault hereof (ſaid he) to him rather is to be imputed, which miniſtered the firſt occaſion.

Thus Luther being egged and conſtrained to diſpute, whether he would or no, the queſtion began to be propounded touching the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome; which ſupremacy Eckius did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's law. Maſter Luther on the other ſide denied not the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome above other churches, neither denied the ſame moreover to be univerſal over all churches; but only he affirmed it not to be inſtituted by God's law.

Upon this queſtion the diſputation did continue the ſpace of five days. During all which ſeaſon, Eckius very unhoneſtly and uncourteouſly demeaned himſelf, ſtudying by all means how to bring his adverſary into the hatred of the auditors, and into danger of the pope. The reaſons of Eckius were theſe: Foraſmuch as the church being a civil body, cannot be without an head, therefore as it ſtandeth with God's law, that other civil regiments ſhould not be deſtitute of their head; ſo it is by God's law requiſite, that the pope ſhould be the head of the univerſal church of Chriſt.

To this Martin Luther anſwered, That he confeſſeth and granteth the church to be headleſs ſo long as Chriſt is alive, who is the only head of the church; neither doth the church require any other head beſide him, foraſmuch as it is a ſpiritual kingdom, and not earthly: and he alledgeth for him the place of Col. 1.

Eckius again produceth certain places out of Jerome and Cyprian, which made very little to prove the primacy of the pope to hold by God's law. As touching the teſtimony of Bernard, neither was the authority of that author of any great force in this caſe, neither was the place alledged ſo greatly to the purpoſe.

Then came he to the place of St. Matthew, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, &c. To this was anſwered, That this was a confeſſion of faith; and that Peter there repreſenteth the perſon of the whole univerſal church, as Auſtin doth expound it. Alſo that Chriſt in that place meaneth himſelf to be the rock, as is manifeſt to collect both by his words, and order of the ſentence, and many other conjectures. Likewiſe

wiſe to the place of St. John, Feed my ſheep (which words Eckius alledged to be ſpoken properly and peculiarly to Peter alone). Martin anſwered, "That after theſe words ſpoken, equal authority was given to all the apoſtles, where Chriſt ſaith unto them; Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſins ſoever ye remit, they are remitted, &c. By theſe words (ſaith he) Chriſt aſſigning to them their office, doth teach, what is to feed, and what he ought to be that feedeth. After this, Eckius came to the authority of the council of Conſtance; alledging this amongſt other articles, That it ſtandeth upon neceſſity of our ſalvation, to believe the biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head of the church: alledging moreover, that in the ſame council it was debated and diſcuſſed, that the general council could not err. Whereunto Martin Luther again did anſwer diſcreetly, ſaying, That all the articles which John Hus did hold in that council, were not condemned for heretical, with much other matter more. Again, of what authority the council of Conſtance is to be eſteemed, that he left to other men's judgments. This is moſt certain (ſaid he) that no council hath ſuch authority to make new articles of faith.

Here Martin Luther began to be cried out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminiſhing the authority of general councils, although indeed he meant nothing leſs, but ever laboured to confirm the authority of the ſame. Yet was he called heretic and ſchiſmatic, and one of the Bohemian faction, with many other terms more of reproachful contumely.

Eckius then granted the authority of the apoſtles to be equal; and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all biſhops therefore to be equal; For between apoſtleſhip and miniſtry, ſaith he, there is great difference.

To conclude, Eckius in no caſe could abide that any creature ſhould decline from any word or ſentence of the pope's decrees, or the conſtitutions of the forefathers.

To this again Luther anſwered, grounding himſelf upon the place of Gal. 2. where Saint Paul, ſpeaking of the principal apoſtles, ſaith, "And of them which ſeemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to me, for God accepteth no man's perſon: nevertheleſs that they were of ſome reputation, did avail nothing at all," &c.

Eckius to this ſaid, "That as touching the authority of the apoſtles, they were all choſen of Chriſt, but were ordained biſhops of St. Peter."

And whereas Luther brought in the conſtitution of the decree, which ſaith, Yea, let not the biſhop of Rome be called univerſal biſhop, &c.

To this Eckius anſwered on this ſort, That the biſhop of Rome ought not to be called univerſal biſhop: yet he may be called, ſaith he, biſhop of the univerſal church. And thus much touching the queſtion of the pope's ſupremacy.

From this matter they entered next to purgatory, wherein Eckius kept no order; for when they ſhould have diſputed what power the pope hath in purgatory, Eckius turneth the ſcope of the queſtion, and proveth that there is purgatory; and alledgeth for him the place of Maccabees. Luther, leaning upon the judgment of Jerome, affirmeth the book of Maccabees not to be canonical. Eckius again replieth, the book of Maccabees to be of no leſs authority than the goſpels. Alſo he alledgeth the place, 1 Cor. 3. He ſhall be ſaved, yet ſo as it were by fire. Moreover, he inferred the place of Matthew 5. Agree thou with thine adverſary while thou art in the way with him, leſt he commit thee to priſon, from whence thou ſhalt not eſcape till thou haſt paid the uttermoſt farthing, &c. To this he added alſo the place of the Pſalms, We have paſſed through the fire and the water, &c. How theſe places be wreſted to purgatory, let the reader diſcern and judge. Then was inferred the queſtion of indulgences, whereof Eckius ſeemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and ſo paſſed it over.

At laſt they came to the queſtion of penance: touching which matter, the reaſons of Eckius digreſſed much from the purpoſe, which went about to prove, that there be ſome manner of pains of ſatisfaction: which thing Luther did never deny: but that for every particular offence ſuch particular penance is exacted of God's juſtice upon the repentant ſinner, as is in man's power to remit or releaſe as pleaſeth him; ſuch penance neither Luther, nor any true chriſtian, did admit.

And thus have ye the chief effect of this diſputation between Luther and Eckius at Lypſia, which was in the month of July, 1519.

About the beginning of the ſame year 1519, Ulderick Zuinglius came firſt to Zurick, and there began to teach. Who in the ſixteenth article in his book of articles, recordeth, that Luther and he both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write againſt the pope's pardons and indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I ſuppoſe we ſhall find that Luther began a year or two before Zuinglius. Notwithſtanding, this doth Sleidon teſtify, that in this preſent year, when Sampſon a franciſcan came with the pope's pardons to Zurick, Ulderick Zuinglius did withſtand him, and declared his chaffer and pardons to be a vain ſeducing of the people, to inveigle away their money. Ex Sleid. lib. 1.

The next year enſuing, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvain, and alſo of Colen, condemned the books of Luther as heretical. Againſt whom Luther again effectually defended himſelf, and charged them with obſtinate violence and malicious impiety.

After this, within few days flaſhed out from Rome the thunderbolt of pope Leo againſt the ſaid Luther, notwithſtanding he ſo humbly and obediently before had reverenced both the perſon of the pope, and agniſed the authority of his ſee, and had alſo dedicated unto him the book intituled, Of Chriſtian Liberty. In which book theſe two points principally he diſcuſſeth and proveth;

1. That a chriſtian man is free, and lord over all things, and ſubject to none.
2. That a chriſtian man is a diligent underling and ſervant of all men, and to every man ſubject.

Moreover in the ſame year he ſet out a defence of all his articles, which the pope's bull had before condemned.

Another book alſo he wrote to the nobility of Germany, in the which book he impugneth and ſhaketh the three principal walls of the papiſts: the firſt whereof is this:

1. Whereas the papiſts ſay, That no temporal or profane magiſtrate hath any power upon the ſpirituality, but theſe have power over the other.
2. Where any place of ſcripture, being in controverſy, is to be decided, they ſay, No man may expound the ſcripture, or be judge thereof, but only the pope.
3. When any council is brought againſt them, they ſay, That no man hath authority to call a council, but only the pope.

Moreover, in the foreſaid book divers other matters he handleth and diſcourſeth: That the pope can ſtop no free council; alſo what things ought to be handled in councils: That the pride of the pope is not to be ſuffered. What money goeth out of Germany yearly to the pope, amounting to the ſum of three millions of florins. The true meaning of this verſe he expoundeth: Tu ſupplex ora: tu protege, tuque labora. Wherein the three eſtates, with their offices, are deſcribed: to wit, the miniſter, the magiſtrate, and the ſubjects.

Furthermore, in the ſaid book he proveth and diſcuſſeth, that the emperor is not under the pope; but contrariwiſe that the donation of Conſtantine is not true,

but

but forged: That prieſts may have wives: That the voices of the people ought not to be ſeparate from the election of eccleſiaſtical perſons: That interdicting and ſuſpending of matrimony at certain times is brought in of avarice: What is the right uſe of excommunication: That there ought to be fewer holy-days: That liberty ought not to be reſtrained in meats: That wilful poverty and begging ought to be aboliſhed: What damage and inconvenience have grown by the council of Conſtance; and what misfortunes Sigiſmund the emperor ſuſtained, for not keeping faith and promiſe with John Hus and Jerome: That heretics ſhould be convinced not by fire and faggot, but by evidence of ſcripture, and God's word: How ſchools and univerſities ought to be reformed: What is to be ſaid and judged of the pope's decretals: That the firſt teaching of children ought to begin with the goſpel. Item, he writeth in the ſame book againſt exceſſive apparel among the Germans: Alſo againſt their exceſs in ſpices, &c.

In this year moreover followed not long after the coronation of the new emperor Carolus Quintus, which was in the month of October, at Aquiſgrave.

After which coronation, being ſolemnized about the month of November, pope Leo ſent again to duke Frederic two cardinals his legates, of whom the one was Hieronimus Leander, who after a few words of high commendation firſt premiſed to the duke touching his noble progeny, and other his famous virtues, they made two requeſts unto him in the pope's name; firſt, That he would cauſe all books of Luther to be burned. Secondly, that he would either ſee the ſaid Luther there to be executed, or elſe would make him ſure, and ſend him up to Rome unto the pope's preſence.

Theſe two requeſts ſeemed very ſtrange unto the duke: who, anſwering again to the cardinals, ſaid, That he being long abſent from thence, about other public affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of Luther. Notwithſtanding this, he heard, that Eckius was not only a great perturber, not only of Luther, but alſo of other learned and good men of his univerſity. As for himſelf, he was always ready to do his duty; firſt, in ſending Luther to Cajetanus the cardinal of the city of Auguſta, and afterward at the pope's commandment would have ſent him away out of his dominions, had not Meltitius the pope's own chamberlain given contrary counſel ſtill to retain him in his own country, fearing leſt that in other countries he might do more harm, where he was leſs known: and ſo alſo now was as ready to do his duty, whereſoever right and equity did ſo require.

But forſomuch as in this caſe he ſeeth much hatred and violence ſhewed on the one part, and no error yet convicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of divers well learned and ſound men of judgment; and forſomuch as alſo the cauſe of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, therefore he deſired the ſaid legates to be a mean to the pope's holineſs, that certain learned perſons of gravity and upright judgment might be aſſigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his error might firſt be known, before he were made an heretic, or his books burned. Which being done, when he ſhould ſee his error by manifeſt and ſound teſtimonies of ſcripture revinced, Luther ſhould find no favour at his hands; otherwiſe he truſted that the pope's holineſs would exact no ſuch thing of him, which he might not with equity and honour of his place and eſtate reaſonably perform, &c.

Then the cardinals, declaring to the duke again, that they could not otherwiſe do, but according to the form of their preſcript-commiſſion, they muſt proceed, took the books of Luther, and ſhortly after ſet fire upon them, and openly burnt them. Luther, hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of ſtudents and learned men in Wittenberg, and there taking the pope's decrees, and the bull lately ſent down againſt him, openly and ſolemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, ſet them likewiſe on fire, and burnt them, which was the 10th of December.

A little before theſe things thus paſſed between the pope and Martin Luther, the emperor had commanded and ordained a ſitting or aſſembly of the ſtates of all the empire to be holden at the city of Worms, againſt the ſixth day of January next enſuing. In the which aſſembly, through the means of duke Frederic, the emperor gave forth, that he would have the cauſe of Luther there brought before him, and ſo it was. For at what time the aſſembly was commenced in the city of Worms, the day and month aforeſaid, which was the ſixth of January: afterward upon the ſixth day of March following the emperor, through the inſtigation of duke Frederic, directed his letters unto Luther; ſignifying, that forſomuch as he had ſet forth certain books, he therefore, by the advice of his peers and princes about him, had ordained to have the cauſe brought before him in his own hearing, and therefore he granted him licence to come, and return home again. And that he might ſafely and quietly ſo do, and be thereof aſſured, he promiſed unto him by public faith and credit, in the name of the whole empire, his paſſport and ſafe conduct; as by the inſtrument which he ſent unto him, he might more fully be aſcertained. Wherefore without all doubt or diſtruſt, he willed him ſoon after to make his repair unto him, and to be there preſent the one and twentieth day after the receipt thereof: and becauſe he ſhould not miſdoubt any fraud or injury herein, he aſſured unto him his warrant and promiſe.

Martin Luther being thus provided for his ſafe conduct by the emperor, after he had been firſt accuſed at Rome upon Maundy Thurſday, by the pope's cenſure, ſhortly after Eaſter ſpeedeth his journey toward the emperor at Worms. Where the ſaid Luther appearing before the emperor and the ſtates of Germany, manfully defended the truth in many diſputations with John Eckius, archbiſhop of Friers, and others. And having departed thence he continued writing and preaching till 1546. on the 17th of February, in which year he ſickened of his accuſtomed malady, to wit, of the oppreſſion of humours in the orifice or opening of the ſtomach, whereof I remember I have ſeen him oft diſeaſed in this place. This ſickneſs took him after ſupper, with the which he vehemently contending, required receſs into a by-chamber, and there he reſted on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increaſed. And as Dr. Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awaked, and prayed him to riſe, and call up Ambroſe his children's ſchoolmaſter, to make fire in another chamber. Into the which when he was newly entered, Albert earl of Mansfield, with his wife, and divers others (whoſe names in theſe letters for haſte were not expreſſed) at that inſtant came into his chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine o'clock in the morning. Feb. 18. he commended himſelf to God with this devout prayer.

The Prayer of Luther at his death.

MY heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou haſt manifeſted unto me thy dear Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. I have taught him, I have known him, I love him as my life, my health, and my redemption; whom the wicked have perſecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my ſoul to thee.

After this, he ſaid as enſueth, thrice: I commend my ſpirit into thy hands, thou haſt redeemed me, O God of truth. God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that all thoſe that believe on him ſhould have life everlaſting. John 3.

Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, unto whom ſo faithfully he commended his ſpirit, to enjoy, no doubt, the bleſſed ſociety of the patriarch,

triarch, prophets and apoſtles, in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught. Let us learn to be modeſt and meek: let us conſider the wretched calamities and marvellous changes that ſhall follow this miſhap and doleful chance. I beſeech thee, O Son of God, crucified for us, and reſuſcitated Emanuel, govern, conſerve, and defend thy church. Hæc Melancthon.

The uſual Prayer of Martin Luther.

CONfirm, O God, in us, that thou haſt wrought, and perfect the work that thou haſt begun in us, to thy glory: ſo be it.

Fredericus prince elector died long before Luther, in the year of our Lord 1525, leaving no iſſue behind him, for that he lived a ſingle life, and was never married: wherefore after him ſucceeded John Frederic duke of Saxony.

The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk of Melden in France.

MElden is a city in France, ten miles diſtant from Paris, where John Clerk was firſt apprehended and taken, anno 1523, for ſetting upon the church-door a certain bill againſt the pope's pardons lately ſent thither from Rome, in which bill he named the pope to be antichriſt. For the which his puniſhment was this, that three ſeveral days he ſhould be whipped, and afterward have a mark imprinted in his forehead, as a note of infamy. His mother being a chriſtian woman, although her huſband was an adverſary, when ſhe beheld her ſon thus piteouſly ſcourged, and ignominiouſly deformed in the face, conſtantly and boldly did encourage her ſon, crying with a loud voice, Bleſſed be Chriſt, and welcome be theſe prints and marks.

After this execution and puniſhment ſuſtained, the ſaid John departed that town, and went to Roſie in Bry, and from thence removed to Metz in Lotharing, where he remained a certain ſpace, applying his vocation, being a wool-carder by his occupation. Whereas he the day before that the people of that city ſhould go out to the ſuburbs to worſhip certain blind idols near by (after an old uſe and cuſtom among them received), being inflamed with the zeal of God, went out of the city to the place where the images were, and brake them all down in pieces. The next morrow after when the canons, prieſts, and monks, keeping their old cuſtom, had brought with them the people out of the city to the place of idolatry, to worſhip as they were wont, they found all their blocks and ſtocks broken upon the ground. At the ſight whereof they being mightily offended in their minds, ſet all the city on a gog to ſearch out the author thereof, who was not hard to be found; forſomuch as the foreſaid Clerk, beſides that he was a man much addicted that way, was alſo ſeen ſomewhat late in the evening before to come from the ſame place into the city. Wherefore he being ſuſpected and examined upon the ſame, at firſt confeſſed the fact, rendering alſo the cauſe which moved him ſo to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of doctrine, were moved marvelouſly againſt him, crying out upon him in a great rage. Thus his cauſe being informed to the judges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the Son of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he ſuſtained extreme torments. For firſt his hand was cut off from his right arm, then his noſe with ſharp pincers was violently pluck from his face; after that both his arms and his paps were likewiſe pluckt and drawn with the ſame inſtrument. To all them that ſtood looking on, it was an horror to behold the grievous and doleful ſight of his pain: again to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him the gift to ſuffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and conſtantly he endured in his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner ſinging the verſes of the hundred and fifteenth Pſalm; Their images are ſilver and gold, the work only of man's hand, &c. The reſidue of his life that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith conſumed; which was about the year of our Lord 1524. Ex Pantal. & Criſp.

The Story of a Jew chriſtened and martyred at Conſtantinople, anno 1528.

TO theſe foreign martyrs aforeſaid we will adjoin the hiſtory of a certain Jew, who in the year of our Lord 1528, dwelling in the city of Conſtantinople, was converted, and there receiving the ſacrament of baptiſm, became a good chriſtian. When the Turks underſtood hereof, they were vehemently exaſperated againſt him, that he forſaking his jewiſhneſs, ſhould be regenerate to the faith of Chriſt: and fearing leſt his converſation ſhould be a detriment to their mahometical law, they ſought means how to put him to death; which in ſhort time after they accompliſhed. And for the greater infamy to be done to the man, they caſt his dead corpſe into the ſtreets, commanding that no man ſhould be ſo hardy as to bury the ſame.

Wherein the marvellous glory and power of Chriſt appeared. For the dead corpſe lying ſo by the ſpace of nine days in the midſt of the ſtreets retained ſo his native colour, and was ſo freſh, without any kind of filthineſs or corruption, and alſo not without a certain pleaſant delectable ſcent or odour, as if it had been lately ſlain, or rather not ſlain at all. Which when the Turks beheld, they were thereat marvelouſly aſtoniſhed; and being greatly afraid, they themſelves took it up, and carried it to a place near without the town, and buried it.

In the year 1524 began a great and terrible perſecution in the countries of Germany, France, and other regions beſides, for the teſtimony of Chriſt; ſo if the number and names of all thoſe good men and women, which ſuffered in the ſame perſecution, with their acts and doings, ſhould be gathered and compiled together, it would aſk a long time and a large volume: but we refer the full tractation of their lives and doings to thoſe writers of their own country, where they are to be read. My purpoſe is, Chriſt willing, to return to the hiſtory of our martyrs which ſuffered here in England.

Seven godly Martyrs burned in Coventry.

MIſtreſs Smith, widow. Robert Hatches a ſhoemaker. Archer a ſhoemaker. Hawkins a ſhoemaker. Thomas Bond a ſhoemaker. Wrigſham a glover. Landſadle a hoſier.

The principal cauſe of the apprehenſion of theſe perſons was, for teaching their children and family the Lord's prayer and ten commandments in Engliſh, for which they were upon Aſhwedneſday taken and put in priſon, ſome in places under ground, ſome in chambers and other places about, till Friday following.

Then they were ſent to a monaſtery called Mackſtock abbey, ſix miles from Coventry. During which time their children were ſent for to Gray-Friars in Coventry, before the warden of the ſaid friars, called friar Stafford: who ſtraitly examining them of their belief, and what hereſies their fathers had taught them, charged them upon pain of ſuffering ſuch death as their fathers ſhould, in no wiſe to meddle any more with the Lord's prayer, the creed, and commandments in Engliſh.

When

When done, upon Palm-Sunday the fathers of theſe children were brought back again to Coventry, and there the week next before Eaſter were condemned for relapſe (becauſe moſt of them had borne faggots in the ſame city before) to be burned.

Only miſtreſs Smith was diſmiſſed for that preſent, and ſent away. And becauſe it was in the evening, being ſomewhat dark, as ſhe ſhould go home, Simon Mourton the ſumner offered himſelf to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a ſcroll within her ſleeve; Yea, ſaith he, what have ye here? and ſo took from her, and eſpied that it was the Lord's prayer, the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments in Engliſh. Which when the wretched ſumner underſtood; Ah, ſirrah, ſaid he, Come, as good now as another time; and ſo brought her back again to the biſhop, where ſhe was immediately condemned, and burned with the ſix men before named, the fourth of April, in a place thereby called the Little Park, anno 1519.

Thomas Hitten, at Maidſtone, burnt.

TOuching the memorial of Thomas Hitten remaineth nothing in writing, but only his name, ſave William Tindal in his apology againſt More, and alſo in another book, intituled, The practice of prelates, doth once or twice make mention of him by way of digreſſion. He was (ſaith he) a preacher at Maidſtone, whom the biſhop of Canterbury, William Warham, and Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, after they had long kept and tormented him in priſon with ſundry torments, and that notwithſtanding he continued conſtant; at laſt they burned him at Maidſtone, for the conſtant and manifeſt teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, and of his free grace and ſalvation, in the year of our Lord God, 1530.

Thomas Bilney of Norwich, Martyr.

THomas Bilney was brought up in the univerſity of Cambridge, even from a child, profiting in all kind of liberal ſciences, even unto the profeſſion of both laws. But at the laſt having gotten a better ſchoolmaſter, even the Holy Spirit of Chriſt, who endued his heart by privy inſpiration with the knowledge of better and more wholſome things, he came at the laſt unto this point, That, forſaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his ſtudy unto thoſe things which tended more unto godlineſs than gainfulneſs.

Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his followers to the knowlege of the goſpel, amongſt which number was Thomas Arthur and maſter Hugh Latimer. At the laſt, Bilney forſaking the univerſity, went into many places, teaching and preaching. The authority of Thomas Wolſey, cardinal of York, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride much greater. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible inſolence of the clergy, which they could now no longer ſuffer or abide, began to ſhake and reprove this exceſſive pomp of the clergy, and alſo to pluck at the authority of the biſhop of Rome.

After this, the 27th of November, in the year 1527, the ſaid cardinal, accompanied with a great number of biſhops, as the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Cuthburt of London, John of Rocheſter, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Henry of St. Aſſe, with many other both divines and lawyers, came into the chapter-houſe of Weſtminſter, where the ſaid maſter Thomas Bilney was brought before them, and the ſaid cardinal there inquired of maſter Bilney, whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther, or any other condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church. Whereunto Bilney anſwered, That wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal aſked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, That he ſhould not preach, rehearſe, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but ſhould impugn the ſame every where? He anſwered, That he had made ſuch an oath, but not lawfully. Which interrogatories ſo miniſtered, and anſwers made, the cardinal cauſed him to ſwear, to anſwer plainly to the articles and errors preached and ſet forth by him; as well in the city and dioceſe of London, as in the dioceſe of Norwich and other places, and that he ſhould do it without any craft, qualifying, or leaving out any part of the truth.

After many other examinations, he at laſt abjured. His penance was, to bear a faggot upon his ſhoulder, to go before the proceſſion to St. Paul's, and to ſtand before the preacher all ſermon-time, and after that to abide in priſon until the cardinal ſhould releaſe him.

After which abjuration made, about the year 1529, the ſaid Bilney took ſuch repentance and ſorrow, that he was near the point of utter deſpair; as by the words of maſter Latimer is credibly teſtified; whoſe words for my better diſcharge, I thought here to annex, written in his ſeventh ſermon preached before king Edward, which be theſe, "I knew a man myſelf, Bilney, little Bilney, that bleſſed martyr of God, what time he had borne his faggot, and was come again to Cambridge, had ſuch conflicts within himſelf (beholding this image of death) that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would ſerve. And as for the comfortable places of ſcripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man would run him through the heart with a ſword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well againſt the tyrannical ſee of Rome." Hæc Latim. Serm. 7.

Again, the ſaid maſter Latimer, ſpeaking of Bilney in another of his ſermons preached in Lincolnſhire, hath theſe words following, "That ſame maſter Bilney, which was burnt here in England for God's word ſake, was induced and perſuaded by his friends to bear a faggot at the time when the cardinal was aloft, and bore the ſwing.

Now when the ſame Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after, he was in ſuch an anguiſh and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word; for he thought that all the whole ſcripture was againſt him, and ſounded to his condemnation. So that I many times communed with him (for I was familarly acquainted with him), but all things whatſoever any man could alledge to his comfort ſeemed to make againſt him. Yet for all that, afterward he came again; God indued him with ſuch ſtrength and perfectneſs of faith, that he not only confeſſed his faith in the goſpel of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, but alſo ſuffered his body to be burned for that ſame goſpel's ſake which we now preach in England," &c. Hæc ille, Ser. 8.

Furthermore, in the firſt ſermon of the ſaid Mr. Latimer before the ducheſs of Suffolk, fol. 5. he yet ſpeaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth, "Here I have (ſaid he) occaſion to tell you a ſtory which happened at Cambridge. Maſter Bilney, or rather ſaint Bilney, that ſuffered death for God's word ſake, the ſame Bilney was the inſtrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God: For I was as obſtinate a papiſt as any was in England; inſomuch that when I ſhould be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went againſt Philip Melancthon, and againſt his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my ſtudy, and deſired me for God's ſake to hear his confeſſion. I did ſo: and (to ſay the truth) by his confeſſion I learned more than afore in many years.

So

So from that time forward I began to ſmell the word of God, and forſake the ſchool-doctors and ſuch fooleries," &c. And much more he hath of the matter, which ye may ſee in the life of maſter Latimer.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with ſorrow and remorſe for his abjuration, the ſpace almoſt of two years; that is, from the year 1529, to the year 1531. It followed then, that he, by God's grace and good counſel, came at length to ſome quiet conſcience, being fully reſolved to give over his life for the confeſſion of that truth which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and ſetting his time, he took his leave in Trinity-Hall, at ten of the clock at night, of certain of his friends, and ſaid, That he would go to Jeruſalem, alluding belike to the words and example of Chriſt in the goſpel, going up to Jeruſalem, what time he was appointed to ſuffer his paſſion. And ſo Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the teſtimony of Chriſt's goſpel, told his friends that he would go up to Jeruſalem, and ſo would ſee them no more: and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached firſt privily in houſholds, to confirm the brethren and ſiſters, and alſo to confirm the anchoreſs whom he had converted to Chriſt. Then preached he openly in the fields, confeſſing his fact, and preaching publicly the doctrine which before he abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all to beware by him, and never to truſt to their fleſhly friends in cauſes of religion. And ſo, ſetting forward in his journey toward the celeſtial Jeruſalem, he departed from thence to the anchoreſs in Norwich, and there gave her a New Teſtament of Tindal's tranſlation, and the obedience of a chriſtian man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to priſon, there to remain till the blind biſhop Nix ſent up for a writ to burn him.

In the mean ſeaſon, the friars and religious men, with the reſidue of their doctors civil and canon, reſorted to him, buſily labouring to perſuade him, not to die in thoſe opinions, ſaying, He ſhould be damned body and ſoul, if he ſo continued. Among whom firſt were ſent to him of the biſhop, Doctor Call, miniſter (as they call him) or provincial of the gray-friars, and doctor Stokes an Auguſtine friar, who lay with him in priſon in diſputation, till the writ came that he ſhould be burned. Doctor Call, by the word of God, through the means of Bilney's doctrine and good life, whereof he had good experience, was ſomewhat reclaimed to the goſpel ſide. Doctor Stokes remained obdurate.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before doctor Pelles, doctor of law, and chancellor, firſt was degraded by ſuffragan Underwood, according to the cuſtom of their popiſh manner, by the aſſiſtance of all the friars and doctors of the ſame ſuit. Which done he was immediately committed to the lay-power, and to the two ſheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's ſpecial good friend, and ſorry to accept him to ſuch execution as followed. But ſuch was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could no otherwiſe do, but needs muſt receive him. Who notwithſtanding, as he could not bear in his conſcience himſelf to be preſent at his death; ſo, for the time that he was in his cuſtody, he cauſed him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholſomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being ſaint Magnus-day, and Saturday, the ſaid Bilney had divers of his friends reſorting unto him in the Guild-hall, where he was kept. Amongſt whom, one of the ſaid friends finding him eating of an ale-brew with ſuch a chearful heart and quiet mind as he did, ſaid, That he was glad to ſee him at that time, ſo ſhortly before his heavy and painful departure, ſo heartily to refreſh himſelf. Whereunto he anſwered, O, ſaid he, I follow the example of the huſbandmen of the country, who having a ruinous houſe to dwell in, yet beſtow coſt as long as they may, to hold it up. And ſo do I now with this ruinous houſe of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to him, refreſh the ſame as you ſee. Then ſitting with his ſaid friends in godly talk to their edification, ſome put him in mind, that though the fire, which he ſhould ſuffer the next day, ſhould be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit ſhould cool it to his everlaſting refreſhing. At this word the ſaid Thomas Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as alſo he did divers times beſides) and feeling the heat thereof, O, ſaid he, I feel by experience, and have known it long by philoſophy, that fire by God's ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am perſuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of ſome ſpoken of in the ſame, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no conſumption: and I conſtantly believe, howſoever that the ſtubble of this my body ſhall be waſted by it, yet my ſoul and ſpirit ſhall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithſtanding followeth joy unſpeakable.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution (as the manner is) with their gleves and halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Biſhops-Gate, in a low valley, commonly called The Lollards pit, under ſaint Leonard's hill, environed about with great hills (which place was choſen for the people's quiet ſitting to ſee the execution), at the coming forth of the ſaid Thomas Bilney out of the priſon-door one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durſt, ſpake to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be conſtant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the ſaid Bilney anſwered, with a quiet and mild countenance, Ye ſee when the mariner is entered his ſhip to ſail on the troublous ſea, how he for a while is toſſed in the billows of the ſame, but yet in hope, that he ſhall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: So am I now toward this ſailing; and whatſoever ſtorms I ſhall feel, yet ſhortly after ſhall my ſhip be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof by the grace of God, deſiring you to help me with your prayers to the ſame effect.

And ſo he going forth in the ſtreets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied with one doctor Warner, doctor of divinity and parſon of Winterton, whom he did chooſe, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghoſtly comfort; he came at the laſt to the place of execution, and deſcended down from the hill to the ſame, apparelled in a layman's gown with his ſleeves hanging down, and his arms out, his hair being piteouſly mangled at his degradation (a little ſingle body in perſon, but always of a good and upright countenance), and drew near to the ſtake prepared, and ſomewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he deſired that he might ſpeak ſome words to the people, and there ſtanding, thus he ſaid:

Good people, I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again, and that ye might teſtify that I depart out of this preſent life, as a true chriſtian man, in a right belief towards almighty God, I will rehearſe unto you in a faſt faith the articles of my creed: and then began to rehearſe them in order, as they being in the common creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to almighty God, and at the article of Chriſt's incarnation, having a little meditation in himſelf, and coming to the word "crucified," he humbly bowed himſelf and made great reverance; and then proceeding in the articles, and coming to theſe words, I believe the catholic church, there he pauſed, and ſpake theſe words, Good people, I muſt here confeſs to have offended the chur h, in preaching once againſt the prohibition of the ſame, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, where I was fellow,

earneſtly intreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the pariſh, ſhewing, that they had no ſermon there of long time before: and ſo in my conſcience moved, I did make a poor collation unto them, and thereby ran into the diſobedience of certain authority in the church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I truſt at the general day, charity that moved me to this act ſhall bear me out at the judgment ſeat of God; and ſo he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the ſtake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the ſtake, whereon he ſhould afterward ſtand, to be better ſeen; he made his private prayer with ſuch earneſt elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in ſo good quiet behaviour, that he ſeemed not much to conſider the terror of his death, and ended at the laſt his private prayers with the 143d Pſalm, beginning, Hear my prayer, O Lord, conſider my deſire; and the next verſe, he repeated in deep meditation thrice, And enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, for in thy ſight ſhall no man living be juſtified: and ſo finiſhing that pſalm, he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himſelf to the officers, aſking them if they were ready, and they anſwered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and ſtood in his hoſe and ſhirt, and went to the ſtake, ſtanding upon that ledge, and the chain was caſt about him; and ſtanding thereon, the ſaid doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who ſpake but few words for weeping.

Upon whom the ſaid Thomas Bilney did moſt gently ſmile, and inclined his body to ſpeak to him a few words of thanks, and the laſt were thoſe, O Maſter doctor, feed your flock, feed your flock, that when the Lord cometh, he may find you ſo doing: and farewell, good maſter doctor, and pray for me; and ſo he departed without any anſwer, ſobbing and weeping. And while he thus ſtood upon the ledge at the ſtake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houſes, being there preſent (as they were uncharitably and maliciouſly preſent at his examination and degradation, &c.) came to him, and ſaid, O maſter Bilney, the people be perſuaded that we be the cauſers of your death, and that we have procured the ſame, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and diſcharge us of the matter. Whereupon the ſaid Thomas Bilney ſpake with a loud voice to the people, and ſaid, I pray you, good people, be never the worſe to theſe men for my ſake, as though they ſhould be the authors of my death; it was not they: and ſo he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and ſet fire to the reed, and made a very great flame, which ſparkled and deformed the viſor of his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breaſt, crying ſometimes Jeſus, ſometimes Credo. Which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day and two or three days before notable great, in which it was ſaid, That the fields were marvelloufly plagued by the loſs of corn: and ſo for a little pauſe he ſtood without flame, the flame departing and returning thrice ere the wood took ſtrength to be the ſharper to conſume, and then he gave up the ghoſt, and his body being withered bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers with his halbert ſmote out the ſtaple in the ſtake behind him, and ſuffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and ſo he was conſumed.

Next after the conſummation of Thomas Bilney, we have the martyrdom of Richard Bayfield, who, in the month of November, and in the ſame year, was burned in Smithfield.

John Tewkeſbury, Leather-ſeller of London, Martyr.

JOHN Tewkeſbury was converted by the reading of Tindal's teſtament, and the Wicked Mammon: he had the bible written. In all points of religion he openly did diſpute in the biſhop's chapel in his palace; who in the doctrine of juſtification and all other articles of his faith was very expert, and prompt in his anſwers, in ſuch ſort as Tonſtal and all his learned men were aſhamed, that a leatherſeller ſhould ſo diſpute with them, with ſuch power of the ſcriptures and heavenly wiſdom, that they were not able to reſiſt him.

After many examinations, he was at length perſuaded by the biſhop to abjure his opinions, which he did, and performed penance on the 8th day of May 1529. Notwithſtanding which, being confirmed by the grace of God, he did return and conſtantly abide in the teſtimony of the truth; he was apprehended two years afterwards, and brought before Sir Thomas More and the biſhop of London, when certain articles being objected to him, he confeſſed the ſame, and thereupon the biſhop pronounced ſentence againſt him, and delivered him to the ſheriffs of London, who burned him in Smithfield upon St. Thomas's eve, 1531.

James Bainham, Lawyer, and Martyr.

JAmes Bainham, gentleman, ſon of one maſter Bainham, a knight of Glouceſterſhire, being virtuouſly brought up by his parents, in the ſtudies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latin and the Greek tongues.

After that, he gave himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, being a man of virtuous diſpoſition, and godly converſation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earneſt reader of the ſcriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a viſitor of the priſoners, liberal to ſcholars, very merciful to his clients, uſing equity and juſtice to the poor, very deligent in giving counſel to all the needy, without money or reward, briefly a ſingular example to all lawyers.

At laſt he was accuſed to Sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, and carried to the chancellor's houſe at Chelſea, where he continued in free priſon a while, until Sir Thomas More ſaw he could not prevail in perverting of him to his ſect. Then he caſt him into priſon in his own houſe, and whipped him at the tree in his garden, called the tree of Troth, and after ſent him to the Tower to be racked, and ſo he was, Sir Thomas More being preſent, till, in a manner, he had lamed him, becauſe he would not accuſe the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would ſhew where his books lay; and becauſe his wife denied them to be at his houſe, ſhe was ſent to the Fleet, and their goods confiſcate.

After they had thus practiſed againſt him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before John Stokeſley, biſhop of London, the 15th day of December 1531, in the ſaid town of Chelſea, and there examined upon articles and interrogatories.

And after his examination and condemnation, he was delivered to Sir R. Greſham, ſheriff, who ſent him to Newgate, and after burned him in Smithfield, the laſt day of April, in the year 1532, at three of the clock in the afternoon.

This maſter Bainham, during his impriſonment, was very cruelly handled. For almoſt the ſpace of a fortnight he lay in the biſhop's coal-houſe in the ſtocks, with

with irons upon his legs. Then he was carried to the Lord Chancellor's, and there chained to a poſt two nights. Then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by the ſpace of a fortnight. Then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, ſcourged with whips, to make him revoke his opinions. From thence he was carried to Barking, then to Chelſea, and there condemned, and ſo to Newgate to be burned.

At whoſe burning, here is notoriouſly to be obſerved, that as he was at the ſtake in the midſt of the flaming fire, which fire had half conſumed his arms and legs, he ſpake theſe words: O ye papiſts, behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may ſee a miracle: for in this fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a bed of down: but it is to me as a bed of roſes. Theſe words ſpake he in the midſt of the flaming fire, when his legs and arms, as I ſaid, were half conſumed.

The Martyrdom of John Frith and Andrew Hewet.

JOhn Frith, a learned and excellent young man, which had ſo profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that ſcarcely there was his equal amongſt all his companions: and beſides, withal had ſuch a godlineſs of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly praiſe-worthy in them both.

Alſo Andrew Hewet, born in Feverſham, in the county of Kent, a young man of the age of four and twenty years, was apprentice with one maſter Warren, a taylor, in Watlin-ſtreet.

When they were at the ſtake, one doctor Cook, a parſon in London, openly admoniſhed all the people, that they ſhould in no wiſe pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog. At which words Frith ſmiling, deſired the Lord to forgive them. Theſe words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cauſe. Thus thoſe two bleſſed martyrs committed their ſouls into the hands of God, anno 1533.

Thomas Benet, Martyr, burned in Exeter.

THIS Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge, and by order of degree of the univerſity there made M. of art, and (as ſome think) was alſo a prieſt, a man doubtleſs very well learned, and of a godly diſpoſition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious martyr of Chriſt.

After many diſputations and threatenings he was at length perſuaded to recant; for which being afterwards ſore troubled, he reſumed his former labours; but the deviliſh rage of blind perſecutors was ſuch, that they purſued him to the flames, in which he was burned in a jerkin of neats-leather.

Hitherto we have run over (good reader) the names, the acts and doings of them which have ſuſtained death and the torments of burning for Chriſt's cauſe, thro' the rigorous proclamation above ſpecified, ſet out (as is ſaid) in the name of king Henry, but indeed procured by the biſhops. Which proclamation was ſo ſtraitly looked upon, and executed ſo to the uttermoſt, in every point, by the ſaid popiſh prelates, that no good man could peep out with his head never ſo little, but he was caught by the back, and brought either to the fire, as were theſe above mentioned, or elſe compelled to abjure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women; whoſe names if they were ſought out through all regiſters in England, no doubt it would make too long a diſcourſe.

The Life and Story of the true Servant and Martyr of God William Tindal; who, for his notable Pains and Travail may well be called the Apoſtle of England in this our later Age.

WILLIAM TINDAL, the faithful miniſter and conſtant martyr of Chriſt, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the univerſity of Oxford, where he by long continuance grew up, and increaſed as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as eſpecially in the knowledge of the ſcriptures, whereunto his mind was ſingularly addicted, inſomuch that he, lying then in Magdalen-hall, read privily to certain ſtudents and fellows of Magdalen-college, ſome parcel of divinity; inſtructing them in the knowledge and truth of the ſcriptures.

Thus he, in the univerſity of Oxford, increaſing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the ſchools, ſpying his time, removed from thence to the univerſity of Cambridge, where after he had likewiſe made his abode a certain ſpace, leaving that univerſity alſo, he reſorted to one maſter Welch, a knight of Gloceſterſhire, and was there ſchoolmaſter to his children, and in good favour with his maſter. This gentleman, as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there reſorted to him many times ſundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors, and great beneficed men: who there with maſter Tindal ſitting at the ſame table, did uſe many times to enter communication, and talk of learned men, as of Luther, and of Eraſmus; alſo of divers other controverſies and queſtions upon the ſcripture.

It followed not long after this, that there was a ſitting of the biſhop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the prieſts to appear, amongſt whom maſter Tindal was alſo warned to be there. And whether he had any miſdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay ſome things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is (as he himſelf declared) that he doubted their privy accuſations; ſo that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him ſtrength faſt to ſtand in the truth of his word.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievouſly, reviling and rating at him as tho' he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things, whereof no accuſer yet could be brought forth (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuſer), notwithſtanding that the prieſts of the country the ſame time were there preſent. And thus maſter Tindal, after thoſe examinations, eſcaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his maſter again.

To be ſhort, maſter Tindal being ſo moleſted and vexed in the country by the prieſts, was conſtrained to leave that country, and to ſeek another place; and ſo coming to maſter Welch, he deſired him of his good will that he might depart from him, ſaying on this wiſe to him, "Sir, I perceive that I ſhall not be ſuffered to tarry long here in this country, neither ſhall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the ſpirituality; and alſo what diſpleaſure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I ſhould be right ſorry." So that in fine, maſter Tindal, with the good will of his maſter, departed, and came up to London, and there preached a while. At length he bethinking himſelf of Cuthbert Tonſtal, then biſhop of London, and eſpecially for the great commendation of Eraſmus, who in his annotations ſo extolleth him for his earning, thus caſt with himſelf, that if he might attain unto his ſervice, he were a happy man. And ſo coming to Sir Henry Gilford, the king's controller, and bringing with him an oration of Iſocrates, which he had then

tranſlated out of Greek into Engliſh, he deſired him to ſpeak to the ſaid biſhop of London for him; which he did. The anſwer of whom was this, That his houſe was full, he had more than he could well find, and adviſed him to ſeek in London abroad, where he ſaid he could lack no ſervice, &c. And ſo remained he in London, the ſpace almoſt of a year. But finding no place for his purpoſe within the realm, and having ſome aid and proviſion by God's providence miniſtered unto him by Humfrey Monmouth, and certain other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany; where this good man was moved (and no doubt ſtirred of God) to tranſlate the ſcripture into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the ſimple vulgar people of the country; firſt ſetting in hand with the New Teſtament, which he firſt tranſlated about the year of our Lord 1527. After that he took in hand to tranſlate the Old Teſtament, finiſhing the five books of Moſes, with ſundry moſt learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, moſt worthy to be read and read again of all good chriſtians, as the like alſo he did upon the New Teſtament.

The books of William Tindal being compiled, publiſhed, and ſent over into England, it cannot be ſpoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole Engliſh nation, which was before many years ſhut up in darkneſs.

At his firſt departing out of the realm he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men in thoſe quarters, where after that he had continued a certain ſeaſon, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and had his moſt abiding in the town of Antwerp, until the time of his apprehenſion.

At what time Tindal had tranſlated the fifth book of Moſes called Deuteronomy, minding to print the ſame at Hamborough, he ſailed thitherward; where by the way upon the coaſt of Holland, he ſuffered ſhipwreck, by the which he loſt all his books, writings, and copies, and ſo was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having loſt by that ſhip both money, his copies and time, he came in another ſhip to Hamborough, where at his appointment, maſter Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the tranſlating of the whole five books of Moſes, from Eaſter till December, in the houſe of a worſhipful widow, miſtreſs Margaret Van Emmerſon, anno 1529, a great ſweating ſickneſs being the ſame time in the town. So having diſpatched his buſineſs at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerp again.

William Tindal being in the town of Antwerp, had been lodged about one whole year in the houſe of Thomas Pointz, an Engliſhman, who kept there an houſe of Engliſh merchants. About which time came thither one out of England, whoſe name was Henry Philips, his father being cuſtomer of Pool, a comely fellow like as he had been a gentleman, having a ſervant with him: but wherefore he came, or for what purpoſe he was ſent thither, no man could tell.

Maſter Tindal divers times was deſired forth to dinner and ſupper among merchants; by the means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, ſo that within ſhort ſpace maſter Tindal had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging to the houſe of Thomas Pointz, and had him alſo once or twice with him to dinner and ſupper, and further entered ſuch friendſhip with him, that through his procurement he lay in the ſame houſe of the ſaid Pointz; to whom he had ſhewed moreover his books and other ſecrets of his ſtudy; ſo little did Tindal then miſtruſt this traitor.

But Pointz having no great confidence in the fellow, aſked maſter Tindal how he came acquainted with this Philips. Maſter Tindal anſwered, that he was an honeſt man, handſomely learned, and very comfortable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he bare ſuch favour to him, ſaid no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by ſome friend of his. The ſaid Philips being in the town three or four days, upon a time deſired Pointz to walk with him forth of the town, to ſhew him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and ſome of the king's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet ſuſpected nothing, but after, by the ſequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the ſetting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the king of England. But after when the time was paſt, Pointz perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter for lucre of money, to help him to his purpoſe: for he perceiving before that he was monied, and would that Pointz ſhould think no leſs; but by whom, it was unknown. For he had deſired Pointz before to help him to divers things, and ſuch things as he named, he required might be of the beſt, for, ſaid he, I have money enough; but of this talk came nothing, but that men ſhould think he had ſome things to do; for nothing elſe followed of his talk. So it was to be ſuſpected, that Philips was in doubt to move this matter for his purpoſe, to any of the rulers or officers of the town of Antwerp, for doubt it ſhould come to the knowledge of ſome Engliſhman, and by the means thereof Mr. Tindal ſhould have had warning.

So Philips went from Antwerp to the court of Bruſſels, which is from thence twenty-four Engliſh miles, the king having there no embaſſador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controverſy, for the queſtion betwixt the king and the lady Katharine, which was aunt to the emperor, and the diſcord grew ſo much, that it was doubted whether there ſhould have been war between the emperor and the king, ſo that Philips, as a traitor both againſt God and the king, was there the better retained, as alſo other traitors more beſides him; who after he had betrayed Mr. Tindal into their hands, ſhewed himſelf likewiſe againſt the king's own perſon, and there ſet forth things againſt the king. To make ſhort, the ſaid Philips did ſo much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp, that procurer general, which is the emperor's attorney, with certain other officers, as after followeth. The which was not done with ſmall charges and expences, from whomſoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz, ſitting at his door, Philips's man came unto him, and aſked whether Mr. Tindal was there, and ſaid, His maſter would come to him, and ſo departed. But whether his maſter Philips were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, neither of the maſter nor of the man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrow, being eighteen Engliſh miles from Antwerp, where he had buſineſs to do for the ſpace of a month or ſix weeks, and in the time of his abſence Henry Philips came again to Antwerp to the houſe of Pointz, and coming in, ſpake with his wife, aſking her for Mr. Tindal, and whether he would dine there with him, ſaying, What good meat ſhall we have? She anſwered, Such as the market will give. Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and ſet the officers which he brought with him from Bruſſels, in the ſtreet, and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to maſter Tindal, and deſired him to lend him forty ſhillings; for (ſaid he) I loſt my purſe this morning, coming over at the paſſage between this and Machelin. So maſter Tindal took him forty ſhillings, the which was eaſy to be had of him, if he had it, for in the wily ſubtilties of this world he was ſimple and unexpert.

Then

Then ſaid Philips, Maſter Tindal, you ſhall be my gueſt here to-day. No, ſaid maſter Tindal, I go forth this day to dinner, and you ſhall go with me, and be my gueſt, where you ſhall be welcome. So when it was dinner time, maſter Tindal went forth with Philips, and at the going out of Pointz' houſe, was a long narrow entry, ſo that two could not go in a front. Maſter Tindal would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wiſe, but put maſter Tindal afore, for that he pretended to ſhew great humanity. So maſter Tindal, being a man of no great ſtature, went before, and Philips a tall comely perſon followed behind him; who had ſet officers upon either ſide of the door upon two ſeats, which being there might ſee who came in the entry; and coming through the ſame entry, Philips pointed with his finger over maſter Tindal's head down to him, that the officers which ſat at the door might ſee that it was he whom they ſhould take, as the officers that took maſter Tindal, afterward told Pointz, and ſaid to Pointz when they had laid him in priſon, That they pitied to ſee his ſimplicity when they took him. Then they brought him to the emperor's attorney, or procuror general, where he dined. Then came the procuror general to the houſe of Pointz, and ſent away all that was there of maſter Tindal's, as well his books as other things, and from thence Tindal was had to the caſtle of Filford, eighteen Engliſh miles from Antwerp, and there he remained until he was put to death.

Afterwards Pointz, by the accuſation of Philips, for maſter Tindal was ſore troubled, and long kept in priſon: but at length, when he ſaw no other remedy, by night he made his eſcape, and avoided their hands. But good Tindal could not eſcape their hands, but remained in priſon ſtill, who being brought unto his anſwer, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor; for in any criminal cauſe there, it ſhall be permitted to have council, to make anſwer in the law. But he refuſe to have any ſuch, ſaying, that he would anſwer for himſelf; and ſo he did.

At laſt, after much reaſoning, when no reaſon would ſerve, although he deſerved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the aſſembly at Auſburgh, and upon the ſame brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the ſtake, and then ſtrangled firſt by the hangman, and afterward with fire conſumed in the morning at the town of Filford, anno 1536, crying thus at the ſtake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, Lord, open the king of England's eyes.

Such was the power of his doctrine, and ſincerity of his life, that during the time of his impriſonment (which endured a year and a half) it is ſaid he converted his keeper, his daughter, and other of his houſhold. Alſo the reſt that were with him converſant in the caſtle reported of him, That if he were not a good chriſtian man, they could not tell whom to truſt.

Of Judas that betrayed Chriſt it is written, That he returned the money again to the phariſees, and afterward hanged himſelf. So Philips this miſerable traitor, after he had been received of Tindal, and borrowed money of him, and yet betrayed him and purſued him to death; albeit he rejoiced awhile after that he had done it, yet the ſaying ſo goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent blood, but was conſumed at laſt with lice.

The Hiſtory of the worthy Martyr of God John Lambert, otherwiſe named Nicolſon, condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, anno 1538.

IMmediately upon the ruin and deſtruction of the monaſteries, the ſame year, and in the month of November, followed the trouble and condemnation of John Lambert the faithful ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, and martyr of bleſſed memory. This Lambert being born and brought up in Norfolk, was firſt converted by Bilney, and ſtudied in the univerſity of Cambridge. Where after that he had ſufficiently profited both in Latin and Greek, and had tranſlated out of both tongues ſundry things into the Engliſh tongue, being inforced at laſt by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the ſeas, to Tindal and Frith, and there remained the ſpace of a year and more, being preacher and chaplain to the Engliſh houſe at Antwerp, till he was diſturbed by Sir Thomas More, and, by the accuſation of one Barlow, was carried from Antwerp to London: where he was brought to examination firſt at Lambeth, then at the biſhop's houſe at Oxford, before Warham the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other adverſaries, having five and forty articles miniſtered againſt him, whereunto he rendered anſwer again by writing.

The king ſitting in judgment with the biſhops, ten were appointed to anſwer his arguments; and the whole day being ſpent in fruitleſs diſputation, Lambert ſaid to the king, I commend my ſoul unto God, but my body I wholly yield and ſubmit unto your clemency. Then ſaid the king, If you do commit yourſelf unto my judgment, you muſt die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to ſuffer, he was brought out of the priſon at eight of the clock in the morning unto the houſe of the lord Cromwel, and ſo carried into his inward chamber, whereas it is reported of many, that Cromwel deſired of him forgiveneſs, for that he had done. There at the laſt, Lambert being admoniſhed that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheared, and being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he ſaluted the gentlemen, and ſat down to breakfaſt with them, ſhewing no manner of ſadneſs or fear. When as the breakfaſt was ended, he was carried ſtraitway to the place of execution, where he ſhould offer himſelf unto the Lord a ſacrifice of ſweet ſavour, who is bleſſed in his ſaints for ever and ever, Amen.

As touching the terrible manner and faſhion of the burning of this bleſſed martyr, here is to be noted, that of all other which have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was none ſo cruelly and piteouſly handled as he. For after that his legs were conſumed and burnt up to the ſtumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, ſo that but a little fire and coals were left under him, then two that ſtood on each ſide of him, with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach. Then he lifting up ſuch hands as he had, and his fingers ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in theſe words, None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt; and ſo being let down from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

The burning of one Collins at London.

NEither is here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, ſome time a lawyer and a gentleman, which ſuffered the fire this year alſo in Smithfield, anno 1538. Whom although I do not here recite as in the number of God's profeſſed martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean ſequeſtered from the company of the Lord's ſaved flock and family, notwithſtanding that the biſhop of Rome's church did condemn and burn him for an heretic, but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of ſaints. At leaſtwiſe this caſe of him and of his end may be thought to be ſuch, as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madneſs, in burning ſo without all diſcretion this man, being mad and diſtract of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occaſion as here followeth.

This gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and comelineſs, but notwithſtanding of ſo light behaviour and

unchaſte conditions (nothing correſpondent to the grace of her beauty) that ſhe forſaking her huſband, which loved her intirely, betook herſelf unto another paramour. Which when he underſtood, he took it very grievouſly and heavily, more than reaſon would. At the laſt being overcome of exceeding dolour and heavineſs, he fell mad, being at that time a ſtudent of the law in London. When he was thus raviſhed of his wits, by chance he came into a church, where a prieſt was ſaying maſs, and was come to the place where they uſe to hold up and ſhew the ſacrament.

Collins being beſide his wits, ſeeing the prieſt holding up the hoſt over his head, and ſhewing it to the people; he in like manner counterfeiting the prieſt, took up a little dog by the legs and held him over his head, ſhewing him unto the people. And for this he was by and by brought to examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dog with him, the ſame year of our Lord, in the which John Lambert was burned, 1538.

The burning of Cowbridge at Oxford.

WITH this foreſaid Collins may alſo be adjoined the burning of Cowbridge, who likewiſe being mad and beſide his right ſenſes, was either the ſame or the next year following condemned by Longland biſhop of Lincoln, and committed to the fire by him to be burnt at Oxford. What his opinions and articles were wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearſe. For as he was then a man mad, and deſtitute of ſenſe and reaſon, ſo his words and ſayings could not be found; yea rather, what wiſe man would ever collect articles againſt him, which ſaid, He could not tell what. And if his articles were ſo horrible and mad as Cope in his dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my judgment a man more fit to be ſent to Bedlam, than to be had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reaſon is it to require reaſon of a creature mad or unreaſonable, or to make hereſy of the words of a ſenſeleſs man, not knowing what he affirmed?

But this is the manner and property of this holy mother church of Rome, that whatſoever cometh in their hands and inquiſition, to the fire it muſt. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuſe that will ſerve, nor age that they will ſpare, nor any reſpect almoſt that they conſider, as by theſe two miſerable examples, both of Collins and Cowbridge, it may appear. Who rather ſhould have been pitied, and all ways convenient ſought how to reduce the ſilly wretches into their right minds again, according as the true paſtors of Iſrael be commanded by the Spirit of God to ſeek again the things that be loſt, and to bind up the things that be broken, &c. and not ſo extremely to burſt the things that be bruiſed before. But to end with this matter of Cowbridge, whatſoever his madneſs was before, or however erroneous his articles were (which for the fond phantaſies of them I do not expreſs) yet as touching his end, this is certain, that in the midſt of the flame, he lifting up his head to heaven, ſoberly and diſcreetly called upon the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo departed.

William Leiton and Puttedew, Martyrs.

ABOUT the ſame time and year, or not much before, when John Lambert ſuffered at London, there was one Puttedew alſo condemned to the fire, about the parts of Suffolk, who coming into the church, and telling the prieſt, That after he had drunk up all the wine, he afterward bleſſed the hungry people with the empty chalice; was for the ſame immediately apprehended, and ſhortly after burned.

The other, William Leiton, was a monk of Eye in the county of Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich, for ſpeaking againſt a certain idol which was accuſtomed to be carried about the proceſſions at Eye: and alſo for holding, that the ſacramental ſupper ought to be adminiſtered in both kinds, about the year and time aforeſaid.

N. Peke, Martyr.

IN the burning of a Suffolk-man, named N. Peke, dwelling ſome time at Earleſtonham, and burnt at Ipſwich, thus I find it recorded and teſtified; that when as he being faſt bound to a ſtake, and furze ſet on fire round about him, was ſo ſcorched, that he was as black as any ſoot, one doctor Reading there ſtanding before him, with doctor Heyre and doctor Springwell, having a long white wand in his hand, did knock him upon the right ſhoulder; and ſaid, Peke, recant, and believe that the ſacrament of the altar is the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, blood, and bone, after that the prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration over it: and here have I in my hand to abſolve thee for thy miſbelief that hath been in thee; having a ſcroll of paper in his hand. When he had ſpoken theſe words, Peke anſwered, and ſaid, I defy it and thee alſo; and with a great violence he ſpit from him very blood, which came by reaſon that his veins brake in his body for extreme anguiſh. And when the ſaid Peke had ſo ſpoken, then doctor Reading ſaid, To as many as ſhall caſt a ſtick to the burning of this heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my lord biſhop of Norwich.

Then baron Curſon, Sir John Audley knight, with many others of eſtimation being there preſent, did riſe from their ſeats, and with their ſwords did cut down boughs and throw them into the fire, ſo did all the multitude of the people.

Witneſs John Ramſey, and others, who did ſee this act.

Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, Divines and Martyrs.

AFTER the death of the good lord Cromwel, Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter having gotten his full purpoſe, and free ſwing to exerciſe his cruelty, ſtraitways made his firſt aſſaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, whom, within two days after Cromwel's death, he cauſed to be put to execution.

This Barnes, after he came from the univerſity of Lovain, went to Cambridge, where he was made prior and maſter of the houſe of the Auguſtines, who with his reading, diſputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the ſcriptures, preaching ever againſt biſhops and hypocrites, and yet did not ſee his inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till the good maſter Bilney with other converted him wholly unto Chriſt.

The adverſaries of doctor Barnes accuſed him in the Regent Houſe before the vice-chancellor, whereas his articles were preſented with him and received, he promiſing to make anſwer at next convocation, and ſo it was done. Then doctor Nottoris, a rank enemy to Chriſt, moved doctor Barnes to recant, but he refuſed ſo to do.

Then ſuddenly was ſent down to Cambridge a ſerjeant of arms, called maſter Gibſon, who ſuddenly arreſted doctor Barnes openly in the convocation houſe, whom he carried with him to London the next morning, which was the Tueſday before Shrove-Sunday, and came on the Wedneſday to London, and lay at maſter Parnel's houſe by the ſtocks. In the morning he was carried by the ſerjeant at arms to cardinal Wolſey and others to Weſtminſter, who committed him to the Fleet.

On the Saturday he came again afore them into the Chapter Houſe, and there remained till five o'clock at night. And after long diſputations, and threatenings, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he ſaid again to have the counſel of Gardiner and Fox, and they perſuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, becauſe (they ſaid) he ſhould do no more in time to come, and with divers other perſuaſions that were mighty in the ſight of reaſon and fooliſh fleſh. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he conſented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand; and yet they would ſcarcely receive him into the boſom of the church as they termed it.

Then they commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in cloſe priſon, and in the morning to do penance in Paul's church.

The cardinal had a ſcaffold made on the top of the ſtairs for himſelf with ſix and thirty abbots, mitred priors and biſhops, and he in his whole pomp mitred (which Barnes ſpake againſt) ſat there there enthroniſed, his chaplains and ſpiritual doctors in gowns of damaſk and ſattin, and he himſelf in purple, even like a bloody antichriſt. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the ſtairs alſo, for the biſhop of Rocheſter to preach againſt Luther and doctor Barnes; and great baſkets full of books ſtanding before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made afore the rood of Northen, there to be burned.

Now while the ſermon was a doing, Dr. Barnes was commanded to kneel down and aſk God forgiveneſs, the catholic church, and cardinal's grace; and after that he was commanded at the end of the ſermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deſerved, or was worthy (his hereſies were ſo horrible and ſo deteſtable), and once again kneeled down on his knees, deſiring the people forgiveneſs and to pray for him; and ſo the cardinal departed under a canopy with all his mitred men with him till he came to the ſecond gate of Paul's, and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then being commanded to come down from the ſtage (whereon the ſweepers uſe to ſtand when they ſweep the church), the biſhops ſat them down again, and commanded the knight marſhal and the warden of the Fleet with their company to carry him about the fire, and ſo was he brought to the biſhops, and there for abſolution kneeled down. Where Rocheſter ſtood up and declared unto the people how many days of pardon and forgiveneſs of ſins they had for being at that ſermon, and there did aſſoil doctor Barnes, and ſhewed the people that he was received into the church again.

After that Barnes had continued in the Fleet the ſpace of half a year, at length being delivered, he was committed to be a free priſoner at the Auſtin-friars in London.

When thoſe caterpillars and bloody beaſts had there undermined him, they complained again to my lord cardinal. Whereupon he was removed to the Auſtin-friars of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himſelf underſtanding nothing thereof, but ſuppoſing ſtill that he ſhould there remain, and continue in free priſon, at laſt one maſter Horne, who had brought him up, was his ſpecial friend, having intelligence of the writ which ſhould ſhortly be ſent down to burn him, gave him counſel to feign himſelf to be deſperate, and that he ſhould write a letter to the cardinal and leave it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himſelf, and to leave his clothes in the ſame place: and there another letter to be left to the mayor of the town, to ſearch for him in the water, becauſe he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, cloſed in wax for the cardinal, which ſhould teach all men to beware by him. Upon this, they were ſeven days ſearching for him, but he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel, and ſo tarried not there, but took ſhipping and went by long ſeas to Antwerp, and ſo to Luther, where he continued till the king's marriage with the lady Anne of Cleve, when he returned to England, as others did, and continued a faithful preacher in London, being all her time well entertained and promoted.

Mr. Thomas Garret was curate in Honey-lane in London, who endured many troubles and perſecutions for the goſpel's ſake, flying from place to place to eſcape the tyranny of his enemies, and was at length apprehended and martyred, as is hereafter declared.

Mr. Jerome, vicar of Stepney, being a diligent preacher of God's word, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached divers and ſundry ſermons, to the intent to plant in the conſciences of men the ſincere truth of the chriſtian religion; he laboured as much as time then ſerved, to extirp and weed out the roots of mens traditions, doctrines, dreams and fantaſies. In ſo doing it could not otherwiſe be but he muſt needs provoke much hatred againſt him amongſt the adverſaries of Chriſt's goſpel.

It ſo happened, that the ſaid Jerome, preaching at Paul's on the fourth Sunday in Lent, made there a ſermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of Agar and Sarah, declaring what theſe two ſignified. In proceſs whereof he ſhewed further, how that Sarah and her child Iſaac, and all they that were Iſaac's, and born of the free woman Sarah, were freely juſtified: contrary, they that were born of Agar the bond woman were bound and under the law, and cannot be freely juſtified.

In theſe words what was here ſpoken, but what St. Paul himſelf uttereth and expoundeth in his epiſtle to the Gal. 4. or what could here be gathered of any reaſonable or indifferent hearer, but conſonant to ſound doctrine, and vein of the goſpel? now ſee what rancour and malice armed with crafty and ſubtle ſophiſtry can do. This ſermon finiſhed, it was not long but he was charged and convented before the king at Weſtminſter, and there accuſed for erroneous doctrine.

Percaſe thou wilt muſe (gentle reader) what erroneous doctrine here could be picked out. Note therefore, for thy learning; and he that liſteth to ſtudy how to play the ſycophant, let him here take example. The knot found in this ruſh was this, for that he preached erroneouſly at Paul's croſs, teaching the people that all that were born of Sarah were freely juſtified, ſpeaking there abſolutely without any condition either of baptiſm or of penance, &c. Who doubteth here but if St. Paul himſelf had been at Paul's Croſs, and had preached the ſame words to the Engliſhmen, which he wrote to the Galatians in this behalf, ipſo facto, he had been apprehended for an heretic for preaching againſt the ſacrament of baptiſm and repentance?

Alſo concerning his ſermons, one doctor Wilſon entered into diſputation with him, and defended that good works juſtified before God, and were neceſſary and available to ſalvation. To whom Jerome anſwered again, That all works, whatſoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of ſalvation of themſelves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God directeth the workers thereof, and yet it is at his mercy and goodneſs to accept them. Which to be true, doctor Wilſon neither could nor did deny.

And thus much concerning theſe three good men. Now let us ſee the order of their martyrdom, joining them all together; what was the cauſe of their condemnation; and what were their proteſtations and words at their ſuffering.

Through ſiniſter complaints of popiſh ſycophants, Barnes was ſent for, and convented before the king; who being grievouſly incenſed againſt him, enjoined both him, Jerome and Garret, at the ſolemn Eaſter

ſermons at St. Mary Spittal, 1541, openly in writing to revoke the doctrine which they had taught: at which ſermon S. Gardiner alſo was preſent to hear their recantation.

Firſt, Dr. Barnes, according to his promiſe made to the king, ſolemnly and formally began to make his recantation; which done, he with much circumſtance and obteſtation called upon Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and aſking of him forgiveneſs, requiring him in token of a grant to hold up his hand, to the intent that he there openly declaring his charity before the world, the biſhop alſo would declare his charity in like manner.

Which when the biſhop refuſed to do at the firſt, as he was required, Barnes again called for it, deſiring him to ſhew his charity, and to hold up his hand. Which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little: then Barnes entering into his ſermon, after his prayer made, beginning the proceſs of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted: inſomuch that the mayor, when the ſermon was finiſhed, ſitting with the biſhop of Wincheſter, aſked him, whether he ſhould from the pulpit ſend him to ward, to be forthcoming, for that his bold preaching contrary to his recantation. The like did Jerome, and Garret after him.

The king had appointed before certain to make report of the ſermons. Beſides them, there was one who writing to a friend of his in the court in the favour of theſe preachers, declaring how gaily they had all handled the matter, both to ſatisfy that recantation, and alſo in the ſame ſermons to utter out the truth, that it might ſpread without lett of the word. Wherefore partly by theſe reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this letter, which came to the lord Cromwel's hands, ſaith Gardiner, Barnes with his other fellows were apprehended, and committed to the Tower.

Stephen Gardiner would needs clear himſelf, that he was in no part nor cauſe of their caſting into the Tower, and giveth this reaſon for him; for that he had then no acceſs, nor had after, ſo long as Cromwel's time laſted, to the king's ſecret council; yet notwithſtanding the ſaid Gardiner cannot perſuade us to the contrary, but that his privy complaining to the king, and his ſecret whiſperings in his friends ears, and his other workings by his factors about the king, was a great ſparkle to ſet their faggots on fire.

Thus then Barnes, Jerome and Garret, being committed to the Tower after Eaſter, there remained till the 30th day of July, which was two days after the death of the lord Cromwel.

Then enſued proceſs againſt them by the king's council in the parliament, to the which proceſs Gardiner confeſſeth himſelf that he was privy among the reſt. Whereupon all thoſe three good ſaints of God, the 30th of July, not coming to any anſwer, nor yet knowing any cauſe of their condemnation, without any public hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they preparing themſelves to the fire, had there at the ſtake divers and ſundry exhortations, among whom Dr. Barnes firſt began with this proteſtation following.

"I am come here to be burned as an heretic, and you ſhall hear my belief, whereby you ſhall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold.

I take God to record, I never, to my knowledge, taught any erroneous doctrine, but only thoſe things which ſcripture led me unto; and that in my ſermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occaſion of any inſurrection. Altho' I have been ſlandered to preach that our lady was but a ſaffron-bag, which I utterly proteſt before God that I never meant it, nor preached it; but all my ſtudy and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the anabaptiſts, which deny that our Saviour Chriſt did take any fleſh of the bleſſed virgin Mary, which ſects I deteſt and abhor. And in this place there have been burned ſome of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained; but with all diligence evermore did I ſtudy to ſet forth the glory of God, the obedience to our ſovereign lord the king, and all under him, and the true and ſincere religion of Chriſt: and now hearken to my faith.

I believe in the holy and bleſſed Trinity, three perſons and one God, that created and made all the world; and that this bleſſed Trinity ſent down the ſecond perſon, Jeſus Chriſt, into the womb of the moſt bleſſed and pureſt virgin Mary. For I believe, that without man's will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and took fleſh of her, and that he ſuffered hunger, thirſt, cold, and other paſſions of our body (ſin excepted). I believe that this his death and paſſion was the ſufficient ranſom for the ſin of all the world. And I believe, that thro' his death he overcame ſin, death, and hell, and that there is none other ſatisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and paſſion only, and that no work of man did deſerve any thing of God, but only his paſſion, as touching juſtification, for I know the beſt work that ever I did is impure and unperfect. And with this he caſt abroad his hands, and deſired God to forgive him his treſpaſſes. For although perchance, ſaid he, you know nothing by me, yet do I confeſs, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable; wherefore I beſeech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, according to the ſaying of the prophet David, Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, O Lord. And in another place, Lord, if thou ſtraitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment? Wherefore I truſt in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Chriſt. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here that I ſpeak againſt good works, for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not ſhall never come into the kingdom of God. We muſt do them, becauſe they are commanded us of God, to ſhew and ſet forth our profeſſion, not to deſerve or merit; for that is only the death of Chriſt.

Then there was one that aſked him his opinion of praying for ſaints. Then ſaid he, Now of ſaints you ſhall hear my opinion. I believe they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that ſcripture willeth them to have. But I ſay, throughout ſcripture we are not commanded to pray to any ſaints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that ſaints ought to be prayed unto; for then ſhould I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithſtanding whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if ſaints do pray for us, then I truſt to pray for you within this half hour, Mr. Sheriff, and for every chriſtian man living in the faith of Chriſt, and dying in the ſame as a ſaint. Wherefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will ſurely pray for you.

Well, have you any thing more to ſay? Then ſpake he to Mr. Sheriff, and ſaid, Have ye any article againſt me for the which I am condemned? And the ſheriff anſwered, No. Then ſaid he, Is there here any man elſe that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now ſpeak, and I will make them anſwer. And no man anſwered. Then ſaid he, Well, I am condemned by the law to die, and, as I underſtand, by an act of parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but be like for hereſy, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occaſion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myſelf. And Dr. Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter that now is, if he have ſought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Chriſt forgave them that put him to death.

And if any of the council, or any other, have ſought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may ſee, and aſk mercy for it. I beſeech you all to pray for the king's grace, as I have done ever ſince I

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was in priſon, and do now, that God may give him proſperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly prince Edward may ſo reign, that he may finiſh thoſe things that his father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of ſedition and diſobedience unto the king's majeſty; but here I ſay to you that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea, not ſo much as in a look to ſhew yourſelves diſobedient unto him, and that not only for fear of the ſword, but alſo for conſcience ſake before God. Yea, and I ſay further, if the king ſhould command you any thing againſt God's law, if it be in your power to reſiſt him, yet may you not do it.

Then ſpake he to the ſheriff, and ſaid, Mr. Sheriff, I require you on God's behalf to have me commended unto the king's grace, and to ſhew him that I require of his grace theſe five requeſts: firſt, that where his grace hath received into his hands all the goods and ſubſtance of the abbies. Then the ſheriff deſired him to ſtop there. He anſwered, Mr. Sheriff, I warrant you I will ſpeak no harm, for I know it is well done that ſuperſtition be clean taken away, and the king's grace hath well done in taking it away. But his grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his whole realm as a king (which neither his father nor grandfather, neither his anceſtors that reigned before him, ever had) and that through the preaching of us and ſuch other wretches as we are, which always have applied our whole ſtudies, and given ourſelves for the ſetting forth of the ſame, and this is now our reward. Well, it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God long he may live and reign among you. Would to God it may pleaſe his grace to beſtow the ſaid goods, or ſome of them, to the comfort of his poor ſubjects, which ſurely have great need of them.

The ſecond that I deſire his grace, is, That he will ſee that matrimony be had in more reverence than it is: and that men for every light cauſe invented caſt not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and in whoredom, following the filthy luſts of the fleſh.

The third, That the abominable ſwearers may be puniſhed and ſtraitly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their miſcheivous oaths. Then deſired he Mr. Pope to have him commended to Mr. Edgar, and to deſire him for the dear blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that he would leave that abominable ſwearing which he uſed; for ſurely except he did forſake it, he would come to ſome miſchievous end.

The fourth, That his grace would ſet forth Chriſt's true religion, and ſeeing he hath begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would pleaſe his grace to look on God's word himſelf, for that it hath been obſcured with many traditions invented of our own brains. Now, ſaid he, how many petitions have I have ſpoken of? And the people ſaid, four. Well, ſaid he even theſe four be ſufficient, which I deſire you, that the king's grace may be certified of, and ſay, that I moſt humbly deſire him to look earneſtly upon them; and that his grace teke heed that he be not deceived with falſe preachers and teachers and evil counſel, for Chriſt ſaith, "That ſuch falſe prophets ſhall come in lambs ſkins."

Then deſired he all men to forgive him, and if he had ſaid any evil at any time unadviſedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occaſion of evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear him witneſs that he deteſted and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines againſt the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, by whom he doubted not but to be ſaved. And with thoſe words he deſired them all to pray for him; and then he turned him about, and put off his cloaths, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death.

The like confeſſion make alſo Jerome and Garret, profeſſing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the chriſtian faith, briefly declaring their minds, upon every article, as the time would ſuffer; whereby the people might underſtand there was no cauſe nor error in their faith, wherefore juſtly they ought to be condemned; proteſting moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the old or new teſtament, ſet forth by their ſovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongſt them, with his moſt dear ſon prince Edward. Which done, Jerome added this exhortation in few words following.

"I ſay unto you, good brethren, that God hath bought us all with no ſmall price, neither with gold nor ſilver, or other ſuch things of ſmall value, but with his moſt precious blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him again, but do as much as to a chriſtian man belongeth, to fulfil his commandments, this is, Love your brethren. Love hurteth no man, love fulfileth all things. If God hath ſent thee plenty, help thy neighbour that need. Give him good counſel. If he lack, conſider if you were in neceſſity, thou wouldeſt gladly be refreſhed. And again, bear your croſs with Chriſt. Conſider what reproof, ſlander and reproach he ſuffered of his enemies, and how patiently he ſuffered all things. Conſider that all that Chriſt did was of his mere goodneſs, and not of our deſerving. For if we could merit our own ſalvation, Chriſt would not have died for us. But for Adam's breaking of God's precepts we had been all loſt, if Chriſt had not redeemed us again. And like as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of paradiſe; ſo we, if we break God's commandments, ſhall have damnation, if we do not repent and aſk mercy. Now therefore let all chriſtians put no truſt nor confidence in their works, but in the blood of Chriſt, to whom I commit my ſoul to guide, beſeeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here preſent with me, that our ſouls leaving theſe wretched carcaſes may conſtantly depart in the true faith of Chriſt."

In much like ſort Garret alſo proteſting and exhorting the people, after his confeſſion made, ended his proteſtation in manner as followeth.

"I alſo deteſt, abhor and refuſe all hereſies and errors; and if either by negligence or ignorance I have taught or maintained any, I am ſorry for it, and aſk God mercy; or if I have been ſo vehement or raſh in preaching, whereby any perſon hath taken any offence, error or evil opinion, I deſire him, and all other perſons which I have any way offended, forgiveneſs. Notwithſtanding to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing againſt God's holy word, or contrary to the true faith, to the maintenance of errors, hereſies, or vicious living, but have always, for my little learning and wit, ſet forth the honour of God and the right obedience to his laws, and alſo the king's accordingly. And if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I deſire thy pardon for my bold preſumption. And I pray God ſend the king's grace good and godly counſel, to his glory, to the king's honour, and the increaſe of virtue in this his realm. And thus now I yield my ſoul up unto almighty God, truſting and believing that he of his infinite mercy, for his promiſe made in the blood of his Son, our moſt merciful Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, will take it, and pardon me of all my ſins whereby I have moſt grievouſly from my youth offended his majeſty; wherefore I aſk him mercy, deſiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently ſuffer this pain, and die ſtedfaſtly in true faith, perfect hope, and charity."

And ſo after their prayer made, wherein moſt effectually they deſired the Lord Jeſus to be their comfort and

and conſolation in this their affliction, and to eſtabliſh them with perfect faith, conſtancy, and patience through the Holy Ghoſt, they taking themſelves by the hands, and kiſſing one another, quietly and humbly offered themſelves to the hands of the tormentors, and ſo took their death both chriſtianly and conſtantly, with ſuch patience as might well teſtify the goodneſs of their cauſe, and quiet of their conſcience.

John Porter, cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in Paul's, 1541.

EDmund Bonner, biſhop of London, in the days lord Cromwel, being the embaſſador at Paris, was a great doer in ſetting forward the printing of the bible in that great volume: promiſing moreover, that he would for his part have ſix of thoſe bibles ſet up in the church of St. Paul in London: which alſo at his coming home he no leſs performed.

The bibles thus ſtanding in Paul's, by the commandment of the king, and the appointment of Bonner the biſhop, many well diſpoſed people uſed much to reſort to the hearing thereof, eſpecially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, miſdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was, ſo long as the days of Cromwel laſted.

After he was gone, it happened amongſt divers and ſundry godly diſpoſed perſons, which frequented there the reading of the foreſaid bible, that one John Porter uſed ſometimes to be occupied in that godly exerciſe, to the edifying as well of himſelf, as others.

This Porter was a freſh young man, and of a big ſtature, who by diligent reading of the ſcripture, and by hearing of ſuch ſermons as then were preached by them that were the ſetters forth of God's truth, became very expert.

Bonner and his chaplains being grieved withal, and the world beginning then to frown upon the goſpellers, ſent for the foreſaid Porter, and rebuked him very ſharply for his reading. But Porter anſwered him, That he truſted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his advertiſements which he had fixed in print over every bible.

Bonner then laid unto his charge, that he had made expoſitions upon the text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults.

He anſwered, He truſted that ſhould not be proved by him.

But in fine Bonner ſent him to Newgate, where he was miſerably fettered in irons, both legs and arms, with a collar of iron about his neck, faſtened to the wall in the dungeon, being there ſo cruelly handled, that he was compelled to ſend for a kinſman of his, whoſe name was alſo Porter; who ſeeing his kinſman in this miſerable caſe, intreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be releaſed out of thoſe cruel irons; and ſo thro' friendſhip and money had him up among other priſoners, which lay there for felony and murder, where Porter being among them, hearing and ſeeing their wickedneſs and blaſphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, and ſuch inſtructions as he had learned of the ſcriptures: for which, his ſo doing he was complained of, and ſo carried down, and laid in the lower dungeon of all, oppreſſed with bolts and irons, where, within ſix or eight days after, he was found dead.

It is ſignified to us by credible information, that the ſame night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near to the ſame place of the priſon, where Porter lay, did hear him piteouſly to groan and make a lamentable noiſe, where ſome ſuppoſe that he was put in certain ſtrait irons which be there in the houſe, called, The devil on the neck, being after an horrible ſort deviſed, ſtraining and wrenching the neck of a man with his legs together, in ſuch ſort, as the more he ſtirreth in it, the ſtraiter it preſſeth him, ſo that within three or four hours it breaketh and cruſheth a man's back and body in pieces: in which deviliſh torment, whether John Porter was ſlain or no, it is not certain.

But howſoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead in the dungeon, with ſuch groaning and piteous noiſe heard the night before in the ſaid dungeon as is declared.

Kerby, and Roger Clarke of Suffolk, Martyrs.

KErby and Roger Clarke, of Mendelſham, wete apprehended at Ipſwich 1546, the Saturday before Gang Monday, and brought before the lord Wentworth, with other commiſſioners appointed there to ſit upon their examinations, judgments, and cauſes. The night before they were arraigned, a bill was ſet upon the town houſe door (by whom, it was unknown) and brought the next day unto the lord Wentworth; who anſwered, That it was good counſel.

In the mean time Kerby and Roger being in the gaoler's houſe, named John Bird, an honeſt and a good man (who had checks divers times at the bar, that he was more meet to be kept, than be a keeper), came in maſter Robert Wingfield, ſon and heir of Humfrey Wingfield, knight: with maſter Brueſs of Wenneham; who then having conference with Kerby (being then in a chamber ſeperate from the other) maſter Wingfield ſaid to Kerby, Remember, the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterpriſe, that thou take no more upon thee than thou ſhalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is ſweet. Better it were betime to ſtick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than raſhly to begin, and then to ſhrink; with ſuch like words of perſuaſion. To whom he anſwered again, Ah, maſter Wingfield, be at my burning, and you ſhall ſay, there ſtandeth a chriſtian ſoldier in the fire: for I know that fire and water, ſword, and all other things, are in the hands of God, and he will ſuffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give ſtrength to bear. Ah, Kerby, ſaid maſter Wingfield, if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell; for I promiſe thee I am not ſo ſtrong that I am able to burn. And ſo both the gentlemen, ſaying that they would pray for them, ſhook hands with them, and ſo departed.

When they came to the judgment-ſeat, the lord Wentworth, with all the reſt of the juſtices there ready, and the commiſſary alſo, Kerby and Roger lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion in all men's eyes, making their prayers ſecretly to God for a ſpace of time, whilſt they might ſay the Lord's prayer five or ſix times.

That done, their articles were declared upon them, with all circumſtances of the law: and then it was demnded and required of them, Whether they believed, that after the words ſpoken by a prieſt (as Chriſt ſpake them to his apoſtles), there were not the very body and blood of Chriſt, fleſh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the virgin Mary, and no bread after?

Unto the which words they anſwered and ſaid, No, they did not ſo believe: but that they did believe the ſacrament which Chriſt Jeſus did inſtitute at his laſt ſupper, on Maundy Thurſday at night, to his diſciples, was only to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-ſhedding for remiſſion of ſins, and that there was neither fleſh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine, and yet more than bread and wine, for that it is conſecrated to an holy uſe.

Then with much perſuaſions, both fair means and threats beſide, were theſe two poor men hardly laied to; but moſt at the hands of Foſter an inferior juſtice, not being learned in ſuch knowledge.

Then ſentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the ſaid town on the next Saturday, and

Roger to be burned at Bury the Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the lord Wentworth, with moſt humble reverence holding up his hands and bowing himſelf devoutly, ſaid, Praiſed be almighty God; and ſo ſtood ſtill without any more words.

Then did the lord Wentworth talk ſecretly, putting his hand behind another juſtice that ſat between them. The ſaid Roger perceiving that, ſaid with a loud voice, Speak out, my lord, and if you have any thing contrary to your conſcience, aſk God mercy, and we for our parts do forgive you; and ſpeak not in ſecret, for ye ſhall come before a judge, and then make anſwer openly, even before him that ſhall judge all men; with other like words.

The lord Wentworth ſomewhat bluſhing, and changing his countenance, through remorſe as it was thought, ſaid, I did ſpeak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the law is. Then was Kerby and Roger ſent forth; Kerby to priſon there, and Roger to Saint Edmunds Bury. The one of the two burſting out with a loud voice (Roger it is ſuppoſed) thus ſpake with a vehemency, Fight, ſaid he, for your god, for he hath not long to continue.

The next day, which was Saturday, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the market place, where a ſtake was ready, wood, broom, and ſtraw, and did off his clothes unto his ſhirt, having a night-cap upon his head, and ſo was faſtened to the ſtake with irons, there being in the gallery the lord Wentworth, with the moſt part of all the juſtices of thoſe quarters, where they might ſee his execution, how every thing ſhould be done, and alſo might hear what Kerby did ſay; and a great number of people, about two thouſand by eſtimation. There was alſo ſtanding in the gallry by the lord Wentworth, doctor Rugham, which was before a monk of Bury, and ſexton of the houſe, having on a ſurplice and a ſtole about his neck. Then ſilence was proclaimed, and the doctor began to diſable himſelf, as not meet to declare the holy ſcriptures, being unprovided, becauſe the time was ſo ſhort, but that he hoped in God's aſſiſtance it ſhould come well to paſs.

All this while Kerby was trimming with irons and faggots, broom and ſtraw, as one that ſhould be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a moſt meek ſpirit glorified God, which was wonderful to behold. Then Mr. Doctor at laſt entered into the ſixth chapter of St. John. Who in handling that matter, ſo oft as he alledged the ſcriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he ſaid true, and bid the people believe him. But when he did otherwiſe, he told him again, You ſay not true, believe him not, good people. Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged doctor Rugham a falſe prophet. So when Mr. Doctor had ended his collation, he ſaid unto Kerby, Thou good man, doſt thou not believe that the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is the very fleſh and blood of Chriſt, and no bread, even as he was born of the virgin Mary; Kerby anſwering boldly, ſaid, I do not ſo believe. How doeſt thou believe? ſaid the doctor. Kerby ſaid, I do believe that in the ſacrament that Jeſus Chriſt inſtituted at his laſt ſupper on Maundy Thurſday, to his diſciples (which ought of us likewiſe to be done), is his death and paſſion and his blood-ſhedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembered, and (as I ſaid before) yet bread, and more than bread, for that it is conſecrated to a holy uſe. Then was maſter doctor in the dumps, and ſpake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then ſaid the under-ſheriff to Kerby, Haſt thou any thing more to ſay? Yea, Sir, ſaid he, if you will give me leave. Say on, ſaid the ſheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his night cap from his head, put it under his arms, as though it ſhould have done him ſervice again: but remembering himſelf, he ſaid the hymn, Te Deum, and the belief; with other prayers in the Engliſh tongue. The lord Wentworth, whilſt Kerby was thus doing, did ſhroud himſelf behind one of the poſts of the gallery, and wept, and ſo did many others. Then ſaid Kerby, I have done: you may execute your office, good Mr. Sheriff. Then fire was ſet to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breaſt, and holding up his hands ſo long as his remembrance would ſerve, and ſo ended his life, the people giving ſhouts, and praiſing God with great admiration of his conſtancy, being ſo ſimple and unlettered.

On the Monday morning after, about ten of the clock, Roger Clarke of Mendelſham was brought out of priſon, and went on foot to the gate, called Southgate, in Bury, and by the way the proceſſion met with them, but he went on, and would not bow, cap or knee, but with moſt vehement words rebuked that idolatry and ſuperſtition, the officers being much offended. And without the gate, where was the place of execution, the ſtake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled down, and ſaid Magnificat in the Engliſh tongue, making as it were a paraphraſe upon the ſame, wherein he declared, how that the bleſſed virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureneſs as any other, yet humbled herſelf to our Saviour. And what ſayeſt thou, John Baptiſt, ſaid he, the greateſt of all men's children? Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the ſins of the world. And thus with a loud voice he cried unto the people, while he was faſtening unto the ſtake, and then the fire was ſet to him, where he ſuffered pains unmercifully; for the wood was green, and would not burn, ſo that he was choaked with ſmoak: and moreover, being ſet in a pitch-barrel, with ſome pitch ſticking ſtill by the ſides, he was therewith ſore pained, till he had got his feet out of the barrel. And at length one ſtanding by, took a faggot-ſtick, and ſtriking at the ring of iron about his neck, ſo paſhed him, and ſtruck him belike upon the head, that he ſhrunk down on the one ſide into the fire, and ſo was diſſolved.

Mrs. Anne Aſkew, Martyr.

IN the month March 1545, this faithful ſervant of God was ſtrictly examined before the inquiſitors; from whence ſhe was had before the lord mayor, who examined her, as they had done before, and afterwards committed her to the Compter, refuſing to take any ſureties for her appearance, where ſhe remained eleven days, no friend being admitted to ſpeak with her.

On the 23d of March, a gentleman, one Mr. Britain, a relation of hers, waited on the lord mayor, deſiring that ſhe might be bailed. But his lordſhip anſwered, He could not do it; for he ſaid, Like as he could not commit her to priſon without the conſent of a ſpiritual officer, no more could he bail her without the conſent of the ſame. Upon which Mr. Britain went to the chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my lord mayor. He anſwered him, That the matter was ſo heinous, that he durſt not of himſelf do it, without my lord at London were made privy thereunto. But he ſaid he would ſpeak unto my lord in it, and bade him repair unto him the next morrow, and he ſhould well know my lord's pleaſure. And upon the morrow, he came thither, and ſpake both with the chancellor and with the biſhop of London.

The biſhop declared unto him, That he was very well contented that ſhe ſhould come forth to communication, and appointed her to appear before him the next day after, at three o'clock at afternoon. Where having attended, after many taunts and diſputes, the biſhop drew up what he called, The confeſſion of Anne Aſkew, which he read, and aſked, If ſhe would agree to it? She ſaid, I believe ſo much thereof, as the holy ſcripture doth

doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that you will add that thereunto. Then he answered, That she should not teach him what he should write.

With that he went forth into his great chamber, and read the same bill before the audience, which inveigled and willed her to set to her hand, saying also, That she had favour shewn her.

Then the bishop said, She might thank other, and not herself, for the favour that she found at his hand: for he considered, said he, that she had good friends, and also that she came of a worshipful stock.

Then answered one Christopher, a servant unto Mr. Denny, Rather ought you, my lord, to have done it in such case, for God's sake, than for man's.

Then my lord sat down, and took her the writing to set thereto her hand, and she wrote after this manner, "I Anne Askew do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church."

This being done, it was thought that she should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of law. Howbeit the bishop would not suffer it, but committed her from thence to prison again until the next morrow, and then he willed her to appear in the Guild-Hall, and so she did. Notwithstanding they would not put her to bail there neither, but read the bishop's writing unto her, as before, and so commanded her again to prison.

There were her sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow in St. Paul's church, which did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognizance for her forthcoming. And thus she was at the last delivered, for that time.

The year after, 1546, she was again apprehended, and examined before the king's council at Greenwich, with whom not agreeing in the doctrine of the sacrament, they made a bill thereof, willing her to set her hand thereto, but she would not.

On the Sunday after she was sore sick, thinking no less than to die; she therefore desired to speak with master Latimer, but it would not be allowed. Then was she sent to Newgate in the extremity of her sickness.

The Sum of the Condemnation of Anne Askew at the Guild-Hall, written by herself.

"They said to me there, That I was an heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in mine opinion. I answered, That I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not, I said, deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood? I said, Yea. For the same Son of God that was born of the virgin Mary is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up, Acts 1. And as for that ye call your god, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof, mark it when you list, let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.

After that, they willed me to have a priest. And then I smiled. Then they asked if it were not good? I said, I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favour. And so we were condemned with a quest.

The Effect of my Examination and Handling since my Departure from Newgate.

On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where master Rich, and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God; but I did not esteem their glossing pretences.

Then came there to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant, as he had done. I said to him, That it had been better for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

Then Mr. Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o'clock.

Then came Rich and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience to shew unto them, if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, that I knew none.

Then they asked me of my lady of Suffolk, my lady of Sussex, my lady of Hertford, my lady Denny, and my lady Fizwilliams. To whom I answered, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it.

Then said they unto me, That the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect. I answered, That the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was dissembled with by them in other matters.

Then commanded they me to shew how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by the means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the apprentices, and they by her did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

Then they said, that there were divers gentlewomen that gave me money. I said, I knew not their names.

Then they said, that there were divers ladies that had sent me money. I answered, That there was a man in a blue coat which delivered me ten shillings, and said, that my lady of Hertford sent it me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my lady Denny sent it me. Whether it were true or no, I cannot tell. For I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say. Then they said, there were of the council that did maintain me. And I said, No.

Then they did put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my lord chancellor and master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead.

Then the lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor. Where he with many flattering words persuaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

Then was I brought to an house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job, I thank my Lord God therefore. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing; if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, That I would rather die than break my faith.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewel, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray."

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower, thus it was; first she was led down into a dungeon, where Sir Anth.

Anth. Knevet the lieutenant commanded his gaoler to pinch her with the rack. Which being done ſo much as he thought ſufficient, he went about to take her down, ſuppoſing that he had done enough. But Wriſley the chancelle, not contented that ſhe was looſed ſo ſoon, confeſſing nothing, commanded the lieutenant to ſtrain her on the rack again. Which becauſe he denied to do, tendering the weakneſs of the woman, he was threatened therefore grievouſly of the ſaid Wriſley, ſaying, that he would ſignify his diſobedience unto the king: and ſo conſequently upon the ſame, he and maſter Rich throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themſelves; firſt aſking her if ſhe were with child. To whom ſhe anſwering again, ſaid, Ye ſhall not need to ſpare for that, but do your wills upon me; and ſo quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, ſhe abode their tyranny, till her bones and joints were almoſt plucked aſunder, in ſuch ſort as ſhe was carried away in a chair. When the racking was paſt, Wriſley and his fellow took their horſe toward the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant immediately taking boat ſped him to the court in all haſte, to ſpeak with the king before the other, and ſo did. Who there making his humble ſuit to the king, deſired his pardon, and ſhewed him the whole matter as it ſtood, and of the racking of miſtreſs Aſkew, and how he was threatened by the lord chancellor, becauſe at his commandment, not knowing his highneſs's pleaſure, he refuſed to rack her; which he for compaſſion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly deſired his highneſs's pardon. Which when the king had underſtood, he ſeemed not very well to like of their ſo extreme handling of the woman, and alſo granted to the lieutenant his pardon, willing him to return and ſee to his charge.

The Confeſſion of the Faith which Anne Aſkew made in Newgate before ſhe ſuffered.

I Anne Aſkew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adverſity, and the water of trouble, yet not ſo much as my ſins have deſerved, do confeſs myſelf here a ſinner before the throne of his heavenly majeſty, deſiring his forgiveneſs and mercy. And forſomuch as I am by the law unrighteouſly condemned for an evil doer concerning opinions, I take the ſame moſt merciful God of mine, which hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his moſt holy word. And I truſt in my merciful Lord, which is the giver of all grace, that he will graciouſly aſſiſt me againſt all evil opinions which are contrary to his bleſſed verity. For I take him to witneſs, that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermoſt of my power.

But this is the hereſy, which they report me to hold, that after the prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration, there remaineth bread ſtill. They both ſay, and alſo teach it for a neceſſary article of faith, that after theſe words be once ſpoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the ſelf-ſame body that hung upon the croſs on Good-Friday, both fleſh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs ſay I nay. For then were our common creed falſe, which ſaith, that he ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father almighty, and from thence ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the hereſy that I hold, and for it muſt ſuffer the death. But as touching the holy and bleſſed ſupper of the Lord, I believe it to be a moſt neceſſary remembrance of his glorious ſufferings and death. Moreover I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt would I ſhould believe.

Finally, I believe all thoſe ſcriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his moſt precious blood. Yea, and as ſaint Paul ſaith, thoſe ſcriptures are ſufficient for our learning and ſalvation, that Chriſt hath left here with us; ſo that I believe, we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore look what he hath ſaid unto me with his own mouth in his holy goſpel, that I have with God's grace cloſed up in my heart, and my full truſt is (as David ſaith) that it ſhall be a lanthorn to my footſteps, Pſalm 28.

There be ſome that do ſay, I deny the euchariſt or ſacrament of thankſgiving; but thoſe people do untruly report of me. For I both ſay and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Chriſt inſtituted it and left it, a moſt ſingular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your maſs as it is now uſed in our days, I do ſay and believe it to be the moſt abominable idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon theſe words that I have now ſpoken, will I ſuffer death.

O Lord, I have more enemies now than there be hairs on my head; yet, Lord, let them not overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord, in my ſtead; for on thee caſt I my care. With all the ſpite they can imagine, they fall upon me, which am thy poor creature. Yet, ſweet Lord, let me not ſet by them which are againſt me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily deſire of thee, that thou wilt of thy merciful goodneſs forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open alſo their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that in thy ſight, which is only acceptable before thee, and ſet forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantaſy of ſinful men. So be it, O Lord, ſo be it.

By me Anne Aſkew.

Hitherto we have intreated of this good woman, now it remaineth that we touch ſomewhat as concerning her end and martyrdom. After that ſhe, being born of ſuch ſtock and kindred that ſhe might have lived in great wealth and proſperity, if ſhe would rather have followed the world than Chriſt, now had been ſo tormented, that ſhe could neither live long in ſo great diſtreſs, neither yet by her adverſaries be ſuffered to die in ſecret; the day of her execution being appointed, ſhe was brought into Smithfield in a chair, becauſe ſhe could not go on her feet by reaſon of her great torments. When ſhe was brought to the ſtake, ſhe was tied by the middle with a chain that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, doctor Shaxton, who was then appointed to preach, began his ſermon. Anne Aſkew hearing, and anſwering again unto him, where he ſaid well, confirmed the ſame; where he ſaid amiſs, There, ſaid ſhe, he miſſeth, and ſpeaketh without the book.

The ſermon being finiſhed, the martyrs, ſtanding there at three ſeveral ſtakes ready to their martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourſe of the people was exceeding, the place where they ſtood being railed about to keep out the preſs. Upon the bench under St. Bartholomew's church ſat Wriſley chancellor of England, the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, with divers other more. Before the fire ſhould be ſet unto them, one of the bench hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being afraid leſt the faggots by the ſtrength of the gunpowder would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid: but the earl of Bedford declaring unto him, how the gunpowder was not laid under the faggots, but only upon their bodies to rid them out of their pain, which having vent, there was no danger to them of the faggots, ſo diminiſhed that fear.

Then Wriſley lord chancellor ſent to Anne Aſkew letters, offering to her the king's pardon if ſhe would recant. Who, refuſing once to look upon them, made this anſwer again, That ſhe came not thither to deny her Lord and Maſter.

Then were the letters likewiſe offered unto the other, who in like manner, following the conſtancy of the woman,

man, denied not only to receive them, but alſo to look upon them. Whereupon the lord mayor commanded fire to be put to them, crying with a loud voice, Fiat juſtitia.

And thus the good Anne Aſkew, with her bleſſed companions, being troubled with ſo many manner of ways, and having paſſed through ſo many torments, having now ended the long courſe of her agonies, being compaſſed in with flames of fire, as a bleſſed ſacrifice unto God, ſhe ſlept in the Lord, anno 1546, leaving behind her a ſingular example of chriſtian conſtancy for all men to follow.

John Lacels, John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian.

THERE was at the ſame time alſo burnt together with her, one Nicholas Belenian, prieſt of Shropſhire, John Adams, a taylor, and John Lacels, gentleman, of the court and houſhold of king Henry.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Aſkew. For albeit that of themſelves they were ſtrong and ſtout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they being the more boldened, received occaſion of greater comfort in that ſo painful and doleful kind of death: who beholding her invincible conſtancy, and alſo ſtirred up through her perſuaſions, did ſet apart all kind of fear.

Thus they confirming one another with mutual exhortations, tarried looking for the tormentor and fire, which, at the laſt flaming round about them, conſumed their bleſſed bodies in happy martyrdom, in the year of our ſalvation 1546, about the month of June.

Rogers, Martyr, burned in Smithfield.

LIKE as Wincheſter and other biſhops did ſet on king Henry againſt Anne Aſkew and her fellow martyrs, ſo doctor Repſe, biſhop of Norwich, did incite no leſs the old duke of Norfolk againſt one Rogers in the county of Norfolk; who much about the ſame year and time was there condemned and ſuffered martyrdom. After which time it was not long, but within an half year both the king himſelf and the duke's houſe decayed: albeit the duke's houſe, by God's grace, recovered again afterward, and he himſelf converted to more moderation in this kind of dealing.

The Condemnation of Mr. George Wiſeheart, Gent. who ſuffered Martyrdom for the Faith of Chriſt, at St. Andrew's in Scotland, March 1, 1346.

MR. George Wiſeheart, being in captivity in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, the dean of the ſame town was ſent by the commandment of the cardinal and his wicked council, and there ſummoned the ſaid maſter George, that he ſhould upon the morning following appear before the judge, then and there to give account of his ſeditions and heretical doctrine.

To whom Mr. George anſwered, What needeth, ſaid he, my lord cardinal to ſummon me to anſwer for my doctrine openly before him, under whoſe power and dominion I am thus ſtraitly bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to anſwer of his extort power? Or believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine? To manifeſt yourſelves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies, and conſtitutions made by men.

Upon the next morning, the lord cardinal cauſed his ſervants to addreſs themſelves in their moſt warlike array, with jack, ſnapſkal, ſplent, ſpear, and ax, more ſeeming for the war, than for the preaching of the true word of God.

And when theſe armed champions marching in warlike order had conveyed the biſhops into the abbey church, incontinently they ſent for maſter George, who was conveyed into the ſaid church by the captain of the caſtle, accompanied with an hundred men, addreſſed in manner aforeſaid; like a lamb led they him to ſacrifice.

As he entered into the abbey church-door, there was a poor man laying, vexed with great infirmities, aſking of his alms, to whom he flung his purſe. And when he came before the lord cardinal, by and by the ſub-prior of the abbey, called dean John Winryme, ſtood up in the pulpit, and made a ſermon to all the congregation there then aſſembled, taking his matter out of the thirteenth chapter of Matthew.

And when he ended his ſermon, incontinently they cauſed Mr. George to aſcend into the pulpit, there to hear his accuſations and articles. And right againſt them ſtood by one of the fed flock, a monſter, John Lauder, laden full of curſings written in paper. Of which he took out a roll, both long, and alſo full of curſings, threats, maledictions, and words of deviliſh ſpite and malice, ſaying to the innocent Mr. George, ſo many cruel and abominable words, and he hit him ſo ſpitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded leſt the earth then would have ſwallowed him up quick. Notwithſtanding he ſtood ſtill with great patience, hearing their ſayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When that this fed ſow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running down with ſweat, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, he ſpit at Mr. George's face, ſaying, What anſwereſt thou to theſe ſayings, thou runnagate, traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by ſufficient witneſs againſt thee?

Mr. George hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, ſweetly and chriſtianly he anſwered to them all in this manner;

"Many and horrible ſayings unto me, many words, abominable to hear, ye have ſpoken here this day, which not only to teach, but alſo to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your diſcretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my ſayings, and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lord, I deſire to be heard for three cauſes.

"The firſt is, Becauſe through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifeſt. It is reaſonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me, teaching truly the pure word of God, without any diſſimulation.

"The ſecond reaſon is, Becauſe that your health ſpringeth of the word of God; for he worketh all things by his word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing if you ſhould ſtop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God.

"The third reaſon is, Becauſe your doctrine uttereth many blaſphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inſpiration of God, but of the devil, with no leſs peril than of my life. It is juſt therefore and reaſonable that your diſcretions ſhould know what my words and doctrines are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I periſh not unjuſtly, to the great peril of your ſouls. Wherefore both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and ſafeguard of my life, I beſeech your diſcretions to hear me, and in the mean time I ſhall recite my doctrine without any colour.

Firſt, and chiefly, ſince the time that I came into this realm, I taught nothing but the ten commandments of God, the twelve articles of the faith, and the prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreover in Dundee I taught the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I ſhall ſhew your diſcretions faithfully, what faſhion and manner I uſed when I taught, without any human dread,

ſo that your diſcretions give your ears benevolent and attent."

Suddenly then with an high voice cried the accuſer, the fed ſow, Thou heretic, runnagate, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou haſt taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou haſt been a preacher ſo long.

Then all the whole congregation of the prelates, with their complices, ſaid theſe words; If we give him licenſe to preach, he is ſo crafty, and in the holy ſcripture ſo exerciſed, that he will perſuade the people to his opinion, and raiſe them againſt us.

Mr. George ſeeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuſer, John Lauder aforeſaid, with hoggiſh voice anſwered; Is not my lord cardinal the ſecond perſon within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, biſhop of Meropois, commendator of Aberbroſhok, legatus natus, legatus à latere? And ſo reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have loaden a ſhip, much ſooner an aſs; Is he not, quoth John Lauder, an equal judge apparently unto thee? Whom other deſireſt thou to be thy judge?

To whom this humble man anſwering, ſaid, I refuſe not my lord cardinal; but I deſire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal eſtate, with ſome of your lordſhips mine auditors, becauſe I am here my lord governor's priſoner.

Whereupon the prideful and ſcornful people that ſtood by mocked him, ſaying, Such man, ſuch judge; ſpeaking ſeditious and reproachful words againſt the governor, and other the nobles, meaning them alſo to be heretics. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given ſentence upon Mr. George, and that without further proceſs, had not certain men there counſelled the cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his anſwers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation.

When the biſhops with their complices had accuſed this innocent man as aforeſaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an heretic, not having reſpect to his godly anſwers to their articles, and the true reaſons which he alledged, nor yet to their own conſciences, thinking verily that they ſhould do to God good ſacrifice, conformable to the ſaying of ſaint John, They ſhall excommunicate you: yea, and the time ſhall come, that he which killeth you, ſhall think that he hath done to God good ſervice.

The Prayer of Maſter George Wiſeheart.

"O immortal God, how long ſhalt thou ſuffer the madneſs and great cruelty of the ungodly to exerciſe their fury upon thy ſervants which do further thy word in this world, ſeeing they deſire to be contrary, that is, to choke and deſtroy the true doctrine and verity, by the which thou haſt ſhewn thyſelf unto the world, which was all drowned in blindneſs and miſknowledge of thy name. O Lord, we know ſurely that thy true ſervants muſt needs ſuffer, for thy name's ſake, perſecution, affliction, and troubles in this preſent life, which is but a ſhadow, as thou haſt ſhewn to us, by thy prophets and apoſtles. but yet we deſire thee heartily, that thou conſerve, defend and help thy congregation, which thou haſt choſen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true ſervants in this preſent life."

Then by and by they cauſed the common people to void away, whoſe deſire was always to hear that innocent man to ſpeak. Then the ſons of darkneſs pronounced their ſentence definitive, not having reſpect to the judgment of God. And when all was done and ſaid, the cardinal cauſed his warders to paſs again with the meek lamb into the caſtle, until ſuch time as the fire was made ready.

When he was come into the caſtle, then there came two gray fiends, friar Scot and his mate, ſaying, Sir, ye muſt make your confeſſion unto us. He anſwered, and ſaid, I will make no confeſſion unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confeſſion unto him. Then they ſent for the ſub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence: But what he ſaid in this confeſſion, I cannot ſhew.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows at the weſt part of the caſtle near to the priory, the lord cardinal dreading that maſter George ſhould have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordinance of the caſtle right againſt that part, and commanded all his gunners to be ready and ſtand beſide their guns, until ſuch time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound maſter George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with the ſoldiers from the caſtle to the place of their wicked execution.

As he came forth of the caſtle gate, there met him certain beggars aſking him alms for God's ſake. To whom he anſwered, I want my hands wherewith I ſhould give you alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace that feedeth all men, vouchſafe to give you neceſſaries both for your bodies and ſouls. Then afterward met him two falſe fiends, I ſhould ſay friars, ſaying, Maſter George, pray to our lady, that ſhe may be me mediatrix for you to her Son. To whom he anſwered meekly, Ceaſe, tempt me not, my brethren. After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When that he came to the fire, he kneeled down upon his knees and roſe again, and thrice he ſaid theſe words, O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me. Father of heaven, I commend my ſpirit into thy holy hands. When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and ſaid theſe words:

I beſeech you, chriſtian brethren and ſiſters, that ye be not offended in the word of God for the affliction and torments which ye ſee already prepared for me; but I exhort you that ye love the word of God, and ſuffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's ſake, which is your undoubted ſalvation, and everlaſting comfort.

Moreover, I pray you ſhew my brethren and ſiſters, which have heard me oft before, that they ceaſe not, nor leave off the word of God which I taught unto them, after the grace given to me, for any perſecutions or troubles in this world, which laſt not; and ſhew unto them, that my doctrine was no old wives fables after the conſtitutions made by men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks of men. But for the word's ſake and true goſpel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I ſuffer this day by men, not ſorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cauſe I was ſent, that I ſhould ſuffer this fire for Chriſt's ſake. Conſider and behold my viſage, ye ſhall not ſee me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And ſo I pray you to do, if that any perſecution come unto you for the word's ſake, and not to fear them that ſlay the body, and afterward have no power to ſlay the ſoul. Some have ſaid of me, that I taught, that the ſoul of man ſhould ſleep unto the laſt day. But I know ſurely, and my faith is ſuch, that my ſoul ſhall ſup with my Saviour Chriſt this night, ere it be ſix hours; for whom I ſuffer this. Then he prayed for them which accuſed him, ſaying, I beſeech thee, Father of heaven, to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or elſe have of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me, I forgive them with all my heart. I beſeech Chriſt to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.

And laſt of all he ſaid to the people on this manner; I beſeech you, brethren and ſiſters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the laſt may be aſhamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themſelves from their wicked error, there ſhall haſtily come upon them the wrath of God, which they ſhall not eſchew. Many faithful words ſaid he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him.

And at laſt of all the hangman, that was his tormentor, kneeled down upon his knees, and ſaid; Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death. To whom he anſwered, Come hither to me. When that he was come to him, he kiſſed his cheek, and ſaid, Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thine office: and by and by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to powder.

When that the people beheld the great tormenting, they might not with-hold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's ſlaughter.

Adam Wallace, Martyr.

THERE was ſet upon a ſcaffold made hard to the chancellary wall of the Black-friars church in Edinburgh, the lord governor, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, with other biſhops, lords, abbots, and other inferior churchmen; and in a pulpit was placed maſter John Lauder, parſon of Marbottle, accuſer; with a great congregation of the people in the body of the church.

Before them was brought in Adam Wallace, a ſimple poor man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cunnoke, ſervant to the biſhop of St. Andrew's, and ſet in the midſt of the ſcaffold, who was commanded to look to the accuſer; who aſked him what was his name; he anſwered, Adam Wallace. The accuſer ſaid he had another name, which he granted, and ſaid he was commonly called Feane.

Then aſked he where he was born? Within two miles of Faile, ſaid he, in Kyle.

Then ſaid the accuſer, I repent that ever ſuch a poor man as you ſhould put theſe noble lords to ſo great encumbrance this day by your vain ſpeaking.

And I muſt ſpeak, ſaid he, as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have ſaid no evil to hurt any body.

Would God (ſaid the accuſer) ye had never ſpoken; but you are brought forth for ſo horrible crimes of hereſy, as never were imagined nor heard of in this country before, and ſhall be ſufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forethink that it ſhould be heard, for hurting of weak conſciences.

Now thou ſhalt hear the points that thou art accuſed of.

Adam Wallace, alias Feane: thou art openly delated and accuſed for preaching, ſaying, and teaching of blaſphemies and abominable hereſies.

In the firſt, thou haſt ſaid and taught that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of conſecration, are not the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

He turned to the lord governor, and lords aforeſaid, ſaying; I never ſaid nor taught any thing but that I found in this book and writ (having there a bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and Engliſh) which is the word of God; and if you will be content that the Lord God and his word be judge to me, and this his holy writ, here it is, and where I have ſaid wrong, I ſhall take that puniſhment you ſhall put to me.

What didſt thou ſay, ſaid the accuſer?

I ſaid, quoth he, that after our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had eaten the paſchal lamb in his latter ſupper with his apoſtles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he inſtituted a new ſacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, he bleſſed and brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, Take ye, eat ye, this is my body which ſhall be broken and given for you. And likewiſe the cup, bleſſed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the cup of the New Teſtament which ſhould be ſhed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance.

Then ſaid the accuſer, Thou ſaidſt likewiſe, and openly didſt teach, that the maſs is very idolatry, and abominable in the ſight of God.

He anſwered and ſaid, I have read the bible and word of God in three tongues, and yet never read I that word maſs in it at all: but I found that idolatry was abominable in the ſight of God. And I ſay the maſs is not founded in the word of God, therefore I ſaid it was idolatry, and abominable in the ſight of God. But if any man will find it in the ſcripture, and prove it by God's word, I will grant mine error, and that I have failed; otherwiſe not.

Then ſaid the accuſer, Thou haſt preached, ſaid, and openly taught divers and ſundry other great errors and abominable hereſies againſt all the ſeven ſacraments, which for ſhortneſs of time I pretermit and overpaſs.

He anſwered that which before he had ſaid of his anſwers, and that he ſaid nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he underſtood, ſo God judge him, and his own conſcience accuſe him, and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better inſtructed by ſcripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death: and he ſaid to the lord governor and other lords, If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood ſhall be required at your hands, when ye ſhall be brought before the judgment ſeat of Chriſt, who is mighty to defend my innocent cauſe, before whom ye ſhall not deny it, nor yet be able to reſiſt his wrath, to whom I refer the vengeance, as it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward.

Then gave they forth ſentence, and condemned him by the laws, and ſo left him to the ſecular power, in the hands of Sir John Campbel, juſtice deputy, who delivered him to the provoſt of Edinburgh to be burnt on the Caſtle-hill, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermoſt houſe in the town, with irons about his legs and neck, and gave charge to Sir Hugh Terry to keep the key of the ſaid houſe, an ignorant miniſter and imp of Satan and of the biſhops; who by direction ſent to the poor man two gray friars, to inſtruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing.

Soon after that were ſent in two black friars, an Engliſh friar, and another ſubtil ſophiſter, called Arbirotomy, with the which Engliſh friar he would have reaſoned and declared his faith by the ſcriptures. Who anſwered, he had no commiſſion to enter into diſputation with him, and ſo departed and left him.

Then was ſent to him a worldly wiſe man, and not ungodly in the underſtanding of the truth, the dean of Roſcalrige, who gave him chriſtian conſolation, among the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the ſacrament after the conſecration. But he would conſent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy ſcripture, and ſo paſſed over that night in ſinging and lauding God to the ears of divers hearers, having learned the pſalter of David without book, to his conſolation: For they had before ſpoiled him of his bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him where-ever he went. After that Sir Hugh knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his ſpirit, he came in a rage and took the ſame from him, leaving him deſolate (to his power) of all conſolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by his deviliſh venom, to have perverted him, a poor innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Chriſt his Saviour; but God ſuffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and ſeers for the time.

So

So all the next morning abode this poor man in irons, and proviſion was commanded to be made for his burning againſt the next day. Which day the lord governor, and all the principal both ſpiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other buſineſs.

After they were departed, came the dean of Roſcalrige to him again, and reaſoned with him after his wit. Who anſwered as before, he would ſay nothing concerning his faith, but as the ſcripture teſtifieth, yea, though an angel came from heaven to perſuade him to the ſame; ſaving that he confeſſed himſelf to have received good conſolation of the ſaid dean in other behalf as becometh a chriſtian.

Then after came in the ſaid Terry again, and examined him after his old manner, and ſaid he would gar devils to come forth of him ere even. To whom he anſwered, You ſhould rather be a godly man to give me conſolation in my caſe. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might reſiſt your temptations; which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do; therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace.

Then he aſked of one of the officers that ſtood by, Is your fire making ready? Who told him it was. He anſwered, As it pleaſeth God; I am ready ſoon or late as it ſhall pleaſe him; and then he ſpake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being ſure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time, to his forthcoming to the fire, ſpake no man with him.

At his forthcoming, the provoſt with great menacing words forbad him to ſpeak to any man, or any to him, as belike he had commandment of his ſuperiors. Coming from the town to the Caſtle-hill, the common people ſaid, God have mercy upon him. And on you too, ſaid he. Being beſide the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and ſaid to the people, Let it not offend you that I ſuffer death this day for the truth's ſake; for the diſciple is not greater than his Maſter.

Then was the provoſt angry that he ſpake.

Then looked he to heaven again, and ſaid, They will not let me ſpeak.

The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and ſo departed he to God conſtantly, and with good countenance to our ſights. Ex teſtimoniis & literis è Scotia petitis, anno 1550.

The martyrdom of the bleſſed ſervant of God, Walter Mille.

AMong the reſt of martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous conſtancy of Walter Mille is not to be paſſed over with ſilence.

In the year of our Lord 1558, in the time of Mary Ducheſs of Longaway, queen regent of Scotland, John Hamelton being then biſhop of ſaint Andrew's and primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in his youth had been a papiſt), after that he had been in Almain, and had heard the doctrine of the goſpel, returned again into Scotland, and ſetting aſide all papiſtry, and compelled chaſtity, married a wife, which thing made him unto the biſhops of Scotland to be ſuſpected of hereſy; and after long watching of him he was taken by two popiſh prieſts, one called Sir George Traqwhen, and the other Sir Hugh Turry, ſervants to the ſaid biſhop for the time, within the town of Dyſart in Fyffe, and brought to ſaint Andrew's, and impriſoned in the caſtle thereof. He being in priſon, the papiſts earneſtly travailled and laboured to have ſeduced him, and threatened him with death and corporal torments, to the intent they might cauſe him to recant and forſake the truth. But ſeeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained ſtill firm and conſtant, they laboured to perſuade him by fair promiſes, and offered unto him a monk's portion for all the days of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermeling, ſo that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were hereſy; but he continuing in the truth even unto the end, deſpiſed their threatenings and fair promiſes.

The biſhop of St. Andrew's, and others, being aſſembled, and having conſulted together, he was taken out of priſon, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in pulpit before the biſhops to be accuſed, the 20th day of April. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, they ſeeing him ſo weak and feeble of perſon, partly by age and travail, and partly by evil intreatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him for weakneſs of voice. But when he began to ſpeak, he made the church to ring and ſound again, with ſo great courage and ſtoutneſs, that the chriſtians which were preſent were no leſs rejoiced, than the adverſaries were confounded and aſhamed. He being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the biſhop's prieſts, commanded him to ariſe and to anſwer to his articles, ſaying on this manner, Sir Walter Mille, ariſe and anſwer to the articles, for you hold my lord here over-long. To whom Walter, after he had finiſhed his prayer, anſwered, ſaying, We ought to obey God more than men; I ſerve one more mighty, even the omnipotent Lord; and where ye call me Sir Walter, call me Walter, and not Sir Walter. I have been over-long one of the pope's knights. Now ſay what thou haſt to ſay.

Theſe were the articles whereof he was accuſed, with his anſwers unto the ſame.

Oliphant. What think you of prieſts marriage?

Mille. I hold it a bleſſed hand: for Chriſt himſelf maintained it, and approved the ſame, and alſo made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you, ye abhor it, and the mean time take other mens wives and daughters, and will not keep the band that God hath made. Ye vow chaſtity, and break the ſame, Saint Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbad marriage to any man, of what ſtate or degree ſoever he were.

Oliphant. Thou ſayeſt there be not ſeven ſacraments.

Mille. Give me the Lord's ſupper and baptiſm, and take you the reſt, and part them among you. For if there be ſeven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourſelves to ſlanderous and ungodly whoredom?

Oliph. Thou art againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and ſayeſt, that the maſs is wrong, and is idolatry.

Mille. A lord or a king ſendeth and calleth many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readineſs, he cauſeth to ring a bell, and the men come to the hall, and ſit down to be partakers of the dinner, but the lord turning his back unto them, eateth all himſelf, and mocketh them; ſo do ye.

Oliph. Thou denieſt the ſacrament of the altar to be the very body of Chriſt really in fleſh and blood.

Mille. The ſcripture of God is not to be taken carnally but ſpiritually, and ſtandeth in faith only; and as for the maſs it is wrong, for Chriſt was once offered on the croſs for man's treſpaſs, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all ſacrifice.

Oliph. Thou denieſt the office of a biſhop.

Mille. I affirm that they, whom ye call biſhops, do no biſhops works, nor uſe the office of biſhops; (as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy) but live after their own ſenſual pleaſure, and take no care of the flock, nor yet regard they the word of God, but deſire to be honoured, and called my lords.

Oliph. Thou ſpeakedſt againſt pilgrimage, and calledſt it a pilgrimage to whoredom.

Mille. I affirm and ſay, that it is not commanded in the ſcripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.

Oliph. Thou preachedſt ſecretly and privately in houſes, and openly in the fields.

Mille. Yea man, and on the ſea alſo, ſailing in a ſhip.

Oliph. Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce ſentence againſt thee.

Mille. I am accuſed of my life; I know I muſt die once, and therefore as Chriſt ſaid to Judas, What you do, do quickly. Ye ſhall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burſt with the flail; but I will abide both.

Theſe things rehearſed they of purpoſe, with other light trifles, to augment their final accuſation, and then Sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced ſentence againſt him, that he ſhould be delivered to the temporal judge, and puniſhed as an heretic, which was to be burnt. Notwithſtanding, his boldneſs and conſtancy moved ſo the hearts of many, that the biſhop's ſteward of his regality, provoſt of the town, called Patrick Learmond, refuſed to be his temporal judge, to whom it appertained, if the cauſe had been juſt. Alſo the biſhop's chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wiſe take upon him ſo ungodly an office. Yea, the whole town was ſo offended with his unjuſt condemnation, that the biſhop's ſervants could not get for their money ſo much as one cord to tie him to the ſtake, or a tar-barrel to burn him, but were conſtrained to cut the cords of their maſter's own pavilion to ſerve their turn.

Nevertheleſs one ſervant of the biſhop's, more ignorant and cruel than the reſt, called Alexander Simmerwail, enterpriſing the office of a temporal judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire; where, againſt all natural reaſon of man, his boldneſs and hardneſs did more and more increaſe, ſo that the Spirit of God working miraculouſly in him, made it manifeſt to the people, that his cauſe and articles were moſt juſt, and he innocently put down.

Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him paſs to the ſtake: and he ſaid, Nay, but if thou wilt put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſee me paſs up gladly; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myſelf. Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he aſcended gladly, ſaying, I will go up to the altar of God, and deſired that he might have ſpace to ſpeak to the people, the which Oliphant and other of the burners denied, ſaying that he had ſpoken overmuch, for the biſhops were altogether offended that the matter was ſo long continued. Then ſome of the young men committed both the burners and the biſhops their maſters to the devil, ſaying, that they believed they ſhould lament that day, and deſired the ſaid Walter to ſpeak what he pleaſed.

And ſo after he made his humble ſupplication to God on her knees, he aroſe, and ſtanding upon the coals ſaid on this wiſe:

Dear friends, the cauſe why I ſuffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (albeit I be a miſerable ſinner before God), but only for the defence of Jeſus Chriſt, ſet forth in the new and old teſtament unto us; for which as the faithful martyrs have offered themſelves gladly before, being aſſured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity; ſo this day I praiſe God, that he hath called me of his mercy among the reſt of his ſervants to ſeal up his truth with my life: which as I have received it of him, ſo willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore as you will eſcape the eternal death, be no more ſeduced with the lyes of prieſts, monks, friars, priors, abbots, biſhops, and the reſt of the ſect of antichriſt, but depend only upon Jeſus Chriſt and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation.

All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude; for they perceiving his patience, ſtoutneſs and boldneſs, conſtancy and hardineſs, were not only moved and ſtirred up, but their hearts alſo were ſo inflamed, that he was the laſt martyr that died in Scotland for the religion. After his prayer, he was hoiſted up upon the ſtake, and being in the fire, he ſaid, Lord have mercy on me; pray, people, while there is time: and ſo he conſtantly departed.

John Brown, a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Jeſus, burned at Aſhford in 1511.

THE firſt occaſion of the trouble of this John Brown, the bleſſed ſervant of God, was by a certain prieſt; who paſſing down to Graveſend in the common barge (where the ſaid John Brown was amongſt divers other paſſingers more), and diſdaining that he ſo ſaucily ſhould ſit ſo near unto him in the barge (who belike ſeemed not much to paſs upon the prieſt) began to ſwell in ſtomach againſt him. At length burſting forth in his prieſtly voice and diſdainful countenance, he aſked him in this manner, Doſt thou know, ſaid he, who I am? Thou ſitteth too near me, and ſitteſt on my clothes. No, Sir, ſaid the other, I know not what you are. I tell thee, quoth he, I am a prieſt. What Sir, are you a parſon or vicar, or ſome lady's chaplain? No; (quoth he again) I am a ſoul prieſt, I ſing for a ſoul. Do you, Sir? ſaid the other, that is well done. I pray you, Sir, ſaid he, where find you the ſoul when you go to maſs? I cannot tell thee ſaid the prieſt. I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the maſs is done? I cannot tell thee, ſaid the prieſt. Neither can you tell where to find it when you go to maſs, nor where you leave it when the maſs is done, how can you then ſave the ſoul, ſaid he? Go thy ways, ſaid the prieſt, I perceive thou art an heretic, and I will be even with thee.

So at the landing, the prieſt taking with him Walter More and William More, two gentlemen and brethren, rode ſtraightways to the archbiſhop, who at that time was William Warham.

John Brown was ſent for by the archbiſhop. His bringers up were Children of Wye baily errant, and one Bear of Wiſeborough, with two of the biſhop's ſervants; who, with certain other being appointed for the ſame, came ſuddenly into his houſe upon him, the ſame day when his wife was churched, as he was bringing in a meſs of pottage to the board ſerving his gueſts: and ſo laying hands upon him, they ſet him upon his own horſe, and binding his feet under the horſe's belly, carried him away to Canterbury, neither he nor his wife, nor any of his friends, knowing whither he went, or whither he ſhould: and there continuing the ſpace of forty days, from Low-Sunday till the Friday before Whitſunday, through the cruel handling of the ſaid archbiſhop and the biſhop of Rocheſter doctor Fiſher, he was ſo pitiouſly intreated, that his bare feet were ſet upon the hot burning coals, to make him deny his faith; which notwithſtanding he would not do, but patiently abiding the pain, continued in the Lord's quarrel unremovable. At length after all this cruelty ſuſtained, his wife yet not knowing where he was become, on Friday before Whitſunday he was ſent to Aſhford where he dwelt, the next day there to be burned.

In the mean time, as he was brought to the town over night, there to be ſet in the ſtocks, it happened, as God would, that a young maid of his houſe coming by, and ſeeing her maſter, ran home and told her miſtreſs.

Then ſhe coming to him, and finding him in the ſtocks, appointed to be burned the next morning, ſat by him all the night long. To whom he then declared the whole ſtory, or rather tragedy, how he was handled, and how his feet were burned to the bones, by the two biſhops aforeſaid, that he could not ſet them upon the ground, (he thanked God therefore); and all to make me, ſaid he, to deny my Lord, which I will never do, for if I ſhould deny him, ſaid he, in this world, he would deny me hereafter.

And therefore I pray thee, ſaid he, good Elizabeth, continue as thou haſt begun, and bring up thy children virtuouſly in the fear of God.

And ſo the next day, which was on Whitſun-even, this godly martyr was burned, where he ſtanding at the ſtake ſaid, Into thy hand I commend my ſpirit, thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord, of thy truth. And ſo this bleſſed martyr ended his life in peace.

Mr. John Calvin.

MR. John Calvin was born at Noviodune, a city of France, June 6, 1509. His father's name was Gerard Calvin; his mother's, Joan Franca.—Both of them were of good repute.

He was firſt inſtructed in the reformed religion by his kinſman, Peter Robert Olevitane; on which, he gave him to the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures, and began to abominate, and withdraw himſelf from the ſuperſtitious ſervices of the church of Rome.

I ſhould exceed all proper bounds, were I to ſet down here ſo much as the principal points of this great man's life and labours. I ſhall, therefore, only give ſome account of the ſweet and peaceable cloſe of his life.

On the 19th of December, 1562, being the Lord's day, Calvin, being in bed, ſaid to ſeveral perſons about him;——"I know not what the matter is; but I thought laſt night I heard drums beating very loud, and I could not perſuade myſelf but it was ſo. Let us therefore go to prayer; for ſurely ſome great buſineſs is in hand."

And on that very day a great battle was fought between the Guiſians and the Proteſtants, not far from Paris; news whereof was brought to Geneva a few days afetr.

In 1564 he had a complication of diſeaſes upon him; yet no one heard him utter a word unbecoming a chriſtian. All he uſed to ſay was, lifting up his eyes to heaven,——"How long, Lord?" And theſe words he often uttered in his health, when he ſpake of the calamities of his brethren; which always more afflicted him than his own.

When his friends would have diſuaded him in his ſickneſs from dictating, but eſpecially from writing himſelf, he anſwered,——"What, would you have me idle when my Lord comes?"

March 10. When all the miniſters of Geneva came to ſee him, they found him ſitting at his little table, where he uſed to write and meditate. As ſoon as he ſaw them, rubbing his forehead with his hand, as he uſed to do when he meditated; with a chearful countenance, he ſaid,—"I give you hearty thanks, my dear brethren, for the great concern you have ſhewn for me; and I hope, within theſe fifteen days (when they were to meet about church cenſures) I ſhall be preſent at your conſiſtory: for then, I believe, God will declare what he hath determined concerning me, and will receive me unto himſelf."

March 27. He was carried in his chair to the gate of the ſenate-houſe; from whence, being ſupported by two perſons, he walked into the aſſembly, preſented to the ſenators a new rector for the ſchool; and, with his head uncovered, returned them thanks for all their former favours; and particularly for the great concern they had ſhewn for him in his ſickneſs:—"For I perceive, ſaid he, this is the laſt time that I ſhall appear in this place." Which words he could ſcarcely utter, his voice failing him; and then while many tears were ſhed on both ſides, he took his leave.

April 2. Tho' he was very weak, yet he would be carried to the church in his chair; where after ſermon, he received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper from Beza's hands; and with a chearful countenance, tho' weak voice, ſung the pſalm with the congregation, ſhewing, even in a dying countenance, ſigns of much inward joy.

April 25. He made his will, a part of which I ſhall here inſert, as it farther evidenced the power of religion in him. Being now ſo weak that he could not write, he dictated to Peter Shenalot, notary of Geneva, in the following manner,—"I, John Calvin, miniſter of the word of God in the church of Geneva, being ſo oppreſſed and afflicted with divers diſeaſes, that I conclude the Lord hath appointed ſhortly to take me out of this world; therefore have determined to make my laſt will and teſtament in this form following:

Firſt, I give thanks to God, that taking pity on me, whom he created and placed in this world, he hath delivered me out of the deep darkneſs of idolatry, into which I was plunged, and hath brought me into the light of his goſpel, and made me a partaker of the doctrine of ſalvation, whereof I was moſt unworthy. And he hath not only gently and graciouſly borne with my faults and ſins, for which I deſerved to be rejected of him, and caſt out, but hath treated me with ſuch meekneſs and mildneſs, that he hath vouchſafed to uſe my labours in preaching and publiſhing the truth of his goſpel. And I witneſs and declare, that I intend to paſs the remainder of my life in the ſame faith and religion which he hath delivered to me by his goſpel, and not to ſeek any other aid or refuge for ſalvation than his free adoption; in which alone ſalvation reſteth. And, with my whole heart, I embrace the mercy which he hath uſed towards me for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake; recompenſing my faults with the merit of his death and paſſion, that ſatisfaction might be made, by this means, for all my ſins and crimes, and the remembrance of them be blotted out. I witneſs alſo and declare, that I humbly beg of him, that being waſhed and cleanſed in the blood of that higheſt Redeemer, ſhed for the ſins of mankind, I may ſtand at his judgment ſeat, under the image of my Redeemer.

Alſo I declare, that I have diligently endeavoured, according to the meaſure of grace received, and the bounty which God hath uſed towards me, that I might preach his word wholly and purely, as well in ſermons as in commentaries, and other writings; and interpret his holy ſcripture faithfully.

But, alas! that ſtudy and zeal of mine (if worthily ſo to be called) have been ſo remiſs and languiſhing, that, I confeſs, innumerable things have been wanting in me to the well performing of my duty. And, unleſs the immeaſurable bounty of God had been preſent, my ſtudies had been vain and vaniſhing. For which cauſes, I witneſs and declare, that I hope for no other help for ſalvation than this only; that ſeeing God is the Father of mercy, I truſt he hath ſhewed himſelf a Father to me, who acknowledge myſelf a miſerable ſinner.

As for other things, after my departure out of this life, I would have my body committed to the earth, in that order and manner which is uſual in this church and city, till the bleſſed day of reſurrection cometh, &c."

To the four ſyndics, and all the magiſtrates, who in a body honoured him to viſit him before his death, he ſpoke to the following effect:

"Honoured Sirs, I give you great thanks that you have done me this honour, having not deſerved it from you; and that you have ſo often borne with my infirmities: which, to me, hath always been an argument of your ſingular goodneſs for me.

Touching the doctrine you have heard from me, I take God to witneſs, that I have not raſhly and ungroundedly, but carefully and purely, taught the word of God intruſted to me; whoſe wrath I ſhould otherwiſe now perceive hanging over me. But I am certainly aſſured, that my labours in teaching it have not been diſpleaſing to him.

And I teſtify this the more willingly, both before God and yourſelves; becauſe I doubt not but the devil, according to his cuſtom, will raiſe up wicked, light, and giddy-headed people, to corrupt the ſincere doctrine which you have heard from me."

Then, conſidering the immeaſurable benefits which God had conferred on that city, he ſaid;—"I am a very good witneſs, out of how many great dangers the hand of God hath delivered you: moreover, you ſee in what eſtate you now are. Therefore whether your affairs be proſperous or adverſe, let this thing be always before your eyes, that God is he alone that eſtabliſheth kingdoms and cities: and therefore will be worſhipped by mortal men."

And, continuing his diſcourſe, he ſhewed them at large, the danger of pride and ſecurity; the great dangers they were alſo in from errors in judgment, and corruptions in practice.

Then he prayed to God for the increaſe of his gifts and bleſſings upon them, and for the ſafety and welfare of the commonwealth. After which, giving his hand to each of them, they took their leave: departing full of ſorrow, and with many tears, as from their common father.

April 28. The miniſters of Geneva being with him, he ſpake thus to them:—"Brethren, after my deceaſe, ſtand faſt in this work of the Lord, and be not diſcouraged; for the Lord will preſerve this church and commonwealth againſt the threatenings of the enemies. When I came firſt to this city, the goſpel indeed was preached, but the management of things, with reſpect to it, was very troubleſome: many conceiving, that chriſtianity was nothing more than the demoliſhing of images. And there were not a few wicked perſons, from whom I ſuffered many things. But the Lord our God ſo confirmed and ſtrengthened me, who am not naturally bold, that I gave not place to any of their attempts. I profeſs, brethren, that I have lived with you in true love and ſincere charity; and thus I now depart from you. If you have found me any way pettiſh under my diſeaſe, I crave your pardon; and give you very great thanks, that you have ſo borne, on your part, the burthen impoſed on me in the time of my ſickneſs."

Having thus ſpoken, he gave his hand to each of them, who then took their leave, ſorrowing and weeping.

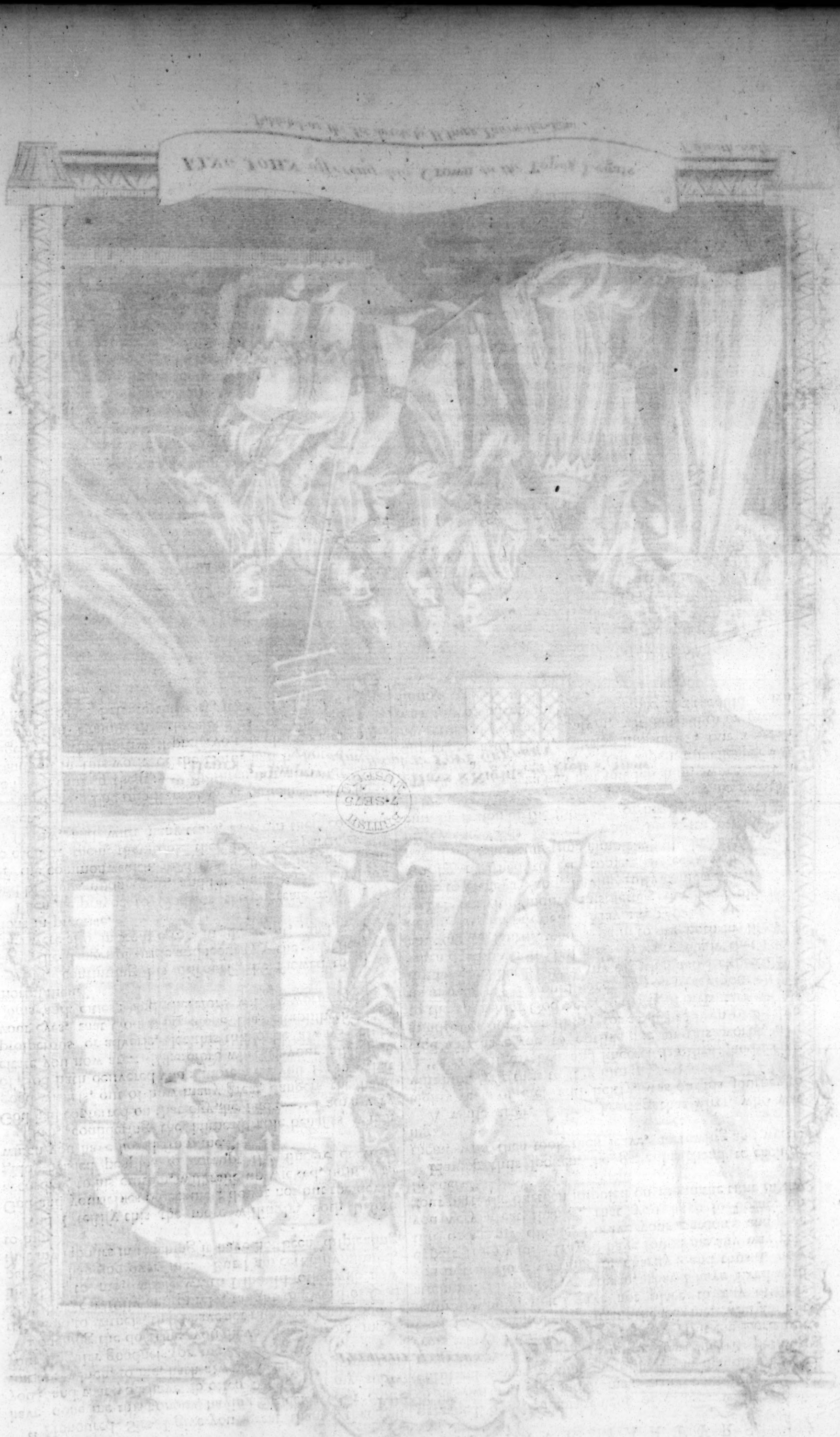
A while after, Calvin hearing that Viret, who was eighty years of age, and ſickly, was on his journey to viſit him, writ thus to ſtay him:

"Farewell, my beſt and ſincereſt brother: and ſeeing God will have you to outlive me in this world, live mindful of our friendſhip; for as it has been profitable to the church of God here, ſo the fruit of it tarrieth for us in heaven. I would not have you weary yourſelf for my ſake. I hardly draw my breath: and I expect daily when it will wholly fail me. It is enough that I live and die to Chriſt, who is gain to his both in life and death. Again farewell. May 11, 1564.

Yet notwithſtanding this letter, the good old man came to Geneva; and, having fully conferred with Calvin, he returned to Newcome. After which, Calvin paſſed his remaining time almoſt wholly in prayer, with his eyes towards heaven; while his voice often failed him, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of his breath.

He died May 27, 1564, aged 54 years, 10 months, and 17 days. Beza had but juſt left him, when Calvin ſuddenly altered for death. On which, a meſſenger was diſpatched after Beza, to bring him back; but though he returned preſently, Calvin, without a ſigh or groan, was fallen aſleep in Jeſus, before Beza could reach him.

FINIS.



Engraved
for the
PRIMITIVE MARTYRS.

Henry 4th Emperor, *waiting* 3 Days & Nights, *in* Frost & Snow;
for admittance to POPE GREGORY.

KING JOHN *offering his* Crown *to the* Popes Legate.

T. Smith sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs, by H. Trapp, Paternoster-Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM
7 SEP 75

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